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GAZETTEER GLEANINGS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

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WOMEN'S SONGS.

These songs were collected in the country round Gwalior where the Braj dialect is common.

1. A girl bride's lament.

Jâ chaḍh morâ baiṭhie.
Utar, re morâ, maiṅ chaḍhûṅ ;
Jâ chaḍh heroṅ apno mâeko.
Aggam dekho, pacham dekho ;
Kâhûṅ na dikhe mâeko.
Pûrab dekho, uttar dekho ;
N'ek na dikhe mâeko.
Nauâ dâî pardes ;
Nauâ bicharo, kyâ kare ?
Bâmhnâ dâî pardes :
Bâmhnâ bicharo, kyâ kare ?
Babulâ dâî pardes;
Babulâ bicharo, kyâ kare ?
Tahûṅ na dihoṅ torî je re bijaniâ.
Ghuḍla chaḍhe, bhaujâî, kâkul âweṅ,
Tahûṅ ne dihoṅ torî je re bijaniâ.
Pâlkî chaḍhe, torî mâiâ jo âwe,
Tahûṅ na dihoṅ, bhaujâî, torî je re bijaniâ.
Pâeṅ piâde torî lahorî bendul âwe,
Torî dihoṅ, bhaujâî, bijnî :
Hâṅs deuṅgo, bhaujâî, torî bijaniâ.

The peacock perched on the tree.
Come down, Oh peacock, I would climb
And see my mother's house from your seat.
I looked south, and I looked west,
But nowhere could my home be seen.
I looked east and I looked north
But not one glance fell on my home.
The barber[1] gave me away to a foreign land,
But the barber is not to blame.
The priest consigned me to a foreign land,
But the priest is nowise to blame.
My dear father gave me to a foreign land,
But my dear father is not to blame.
Yet will I not give thee thy fan.
If thy uncle come on his horse, sister-in-law,
Yet will I not give thee thy fan.
If thy mother come in a *pâlkî*
Yet, sister-in-law, will I not give thee thy fan.
But if thy young sister come, even on foot,
I will give up thy fan :
Laughingly will I then give thee thy fan,
sister-in-law !

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[1] The barber acts as go-between in arranging marriages, the priest, father and uncle also being concerned.

4. A girl asks her brother for a gift.

Bahin.—Kâ kî, kâ kî, re bîrâ, lâl kamân;
Kauṅ bhâiâ kheleṅ ge genḍrî.
Râmchandrâ kî lâl kamân;
Lachhman bhâiâ, kheleṅ genḍrî.
Khelat, khelat, re bîrâ, ho gâî sâṅjh;
Bâhneṅ thâîî haiṅ dwâr par.
Bhâî.—Bendul mâṅgâṅ hoe, seî mâṅg leo,
Jo man ichchhâ hoe,
Bahin.—Bhâiâ jîman ko thâr jo lihoṅ,
Bhaujâî pîwâṅ ko gaḍwâ

Sister.—Brother who has a red bow,
And plays at ball.
(My brother has) a red bow like Râmchandra's;
My brother Lachhman plays at ball.
In playing brother, evening has come
And thy sisters stand (begging) at the door.
Brother.—(sister) ask of me your request,
Whatever wish is in your mind.
Sister.—I would have the dish in which my brother eats,
And the water-jar from which my brother's wife drinks.

5. A girl's song.

Laṛkî.—Deolâ de re mere ne, bhâia baḍhâî.
Baḍhâî.—Kâhe ko âlan gâro? Kâhe ko pâlan garo?
Kâhe kî moḍon kîl?
Laṛkî.—Sone ko âlan gâro; sone ko pâlan gâro;
Rupe kî moḍo kîl.
Laṛki apne bhâiâ ko: Yâ par, mere bhâia, poḍhio,
De sir sone ko top.
Bâhar se bhîtar gâe kî mat len;
"Kahâ jo deûṅ biâhiṅ ko? Kahâ kuṅwarîṅ ko?
Mâtâ.—Kuṅwarîṅ dîje chunrî.

Girl.—Friend carpenter, give me a cradle.
Carpenter.—Of what should I make the posts? Of what the body?
Of what should I fashion the nails?
Girl.—Of gold you must make the posts, and of gold the body;
The nails fashion from silver.
Girl to brother.—Dear brother, lie in this;
And wear your cap of gold.
(My brother) went inside to ask his mother's advice:
"What (says he) shall I give the married women and what to the girls?"
Mother.—To the girls give *chunrîs*.

Kakulâ dâî pardes;
Kakulâ bichâro, kyâ kare?
Bîran dâî pardes;
Bîran bichâro, kyâ kare?
Mere karam dâî pardes;
Karam bicharo, kyâ kare?
Mere bhâg likho pardes.
Kaghaj hoe, tâhe bâṅchie;
Karam na bâṅche jâiṅ.
Pîtar hoî, tâhe badaliye;
Karam na badle, jâiṅ.
Kûṅata hoe, tâhe pâṭî;
Karam na pâṭe jâeṅ.

My uncle gave me to a foreign land,
But my uncle is not to blame.
My brother gave me to a foreign land,
But my brother is not to blame.
My past (merit) consigned me to a foreign land,
But my past is not to blame.
My fate had the foreign land written in it.
A written paper one may read,
But one's destiny cannot be read.
Even brass you can mould,
But fate you cannot alter.
Even a well can be filled up,
But you cannot fill in your own fate.

2. A girl bride's homesickness.

Kankar kunîâṅ kakrîlî.
Wâhâṅ base rangrej ; " Amar rang chunrî.[2]

Raṅgîâ, aisî re raṅgie chunrî,
Dhing dhing raṅgio sahelrî;
Khelat hî din jae.
Murhan likhio sâs nanadiâ,

Indrî[3] dharat raṅg jâe.

Lâman likhio sotlî,
Chalat phirat rang jâe.
Ghuṅghiâṅ likhio mere bîran,

Tin dekhat naiṅ sirâeṅ".

Near the stone-built well.
There dwells the Dyer; "Dye my *chunrî* with everlasting dye
O dyer, so dye it, my *chunrî*,
That on its back are my companion's figures;
So that I may pass the day with them.
On the part above my head put figures of my mother and sister-in-law,
That the ring on which I rest the water jar may wear them away.
On the skirt print a figure of my co-wife,
That as I walk she may fade away.
But on the veil print the figure of my brother,
That I may look on him and rejoice."

3. Quarrel between a girl bride and her brother-in-law.

Larkî.—Harî kalîṅ kî, pîrî kalîṅ kî, sakhî, merî re bijaniâ ;
Arosiṅ harî nâ prosiṅ harî lahore ;

Deorâ ne harî, sakhî, merî re bijaniâ.
Larkâ.—Hâthiâ chadhe, bhaujâî, tere bâbul âweṅ,
Biâhîṅ Dakhan ko chîr.

Larkî.—Biâhî paturiâṅ ud gâîṅ :
Kuṅwarîṅ rahîṅ din châr :
Rah gâe jhanjhan rûkh.

Top utâr lâlâ bhauṅ giro :

Rah gâe jhanjhan rukh, birinjan rûkh.

Girl.—Oh playmate, I had a fan of green and yellow buds ;
It has been stolen by my husband's young brother;
No neighbour took my fan, playmate.
Boy.—Sister-in-law, if thy father come upon an elephant,
To the married coloured cloth from the Deccan.
Girl.—The married wretches have all gone ;
Even the girls stayed but a day or so.
Naught is left but withered trees.

The boy took off his cap and fell upon the ground :
Naught remained but withered trees, decaying trees.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

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(Continued from Vol. XLIII p. 236.)

§75. Besides the postpositions which have been enumerated above and which are generally used to give the simple meaning of the several declensional cases, Old Western Râjasthânî (and so all cognate vernaculars) possesses a number of other postpositions, which, as they have a more complicated meaning and perform the function of prepositions rather than of case terminations, must be classed separately. In some grammars of Neo-Indian

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[2] *Chunrî.* Cloth dyed in various colours by tying knots in it and then dipping it into the dye the tied up part being unaffected.

[3] Ring on which a jar is carried on the head.

vernaculars, the latter are called **prepositions.** They are mostly nouns in the locative and in many cases they are identical with the locative adverbs (See § 101). As regards their employment, they always come after the noun they govern, thereby coinciding with the postpositions proper, but differ from the latter in that the noun governed by them is very frequently put in the periphrastic genitive with naü (regularly inflected to naï, naī before postpositions in the locative), instead than in the simple genitive. In the list below I have marked by (*) postpositions which are always construed with the periphrastic genitive and by (†) postpositions which are always construed with the simple genitive or with the simple base, whilst I have left unmarked postpositions, which are capable of either construction :

*antaī (Ap. antahī <Skt. *antasmin) " In, inside, within " F 580 ;
*arathaī, arthaī, arthi (Skt. arthe) " For " P., Daç. ;
âgaī (Ap. aggahī <Skt. *agrasmin) " Before " Dd. 7 ;
âgali (Ap. aggille <Skt. agrile) " Before " P. 418 ;
ãtaraī (Ap. antarahī <Skt. *antarasmin) " In, within " F 535, ii, 4 ;
ûpari (Ap. uppari <Skt. upari) " Over, above " (Âdi C.) ;
kâji, kâjaī (Ap. kajje <Skt. kârye) " For " Indr., Daç., P. ;
*kârani, °naī (Skt. kârane) " For " Daç. ;
kedaï (Cf. Mod. Guj. kede) " Behind, after " F 706, i, 2 ;
*chehi (Ap. chee, cheahī <Skt. chede) " At the end of " Mu. ;
† tâlî (Conjunctive participle from tâlavaü) " Except " Yog., iv., 99, Up. 67 ;
*nimattaī (Skt. *nimittakena) " For " Dd. ;
*pari, parī, paraī, parii, païri (Ap. paârẽ < Skt. prakârena) " Like, after the manner of " Yog., Indr., Âdi., Bh., P. ;
pâkhaī (Ap. pakkhahī < Skt. *paksasmin) " Without " Âdi., Daç., P., Mu., F 783;
pâkhali (Ap. *pakkhille <Skt. *paksile) " All around " Mu., F 591, ii, 3 ;
pûthaī, pûthi (Ap. putthahī <Skt. *prsthasmin) "After, behind " Âdi C., Kânh. 43 ;
bâhiri (Ap. bâhire = Skt. bâhye) " Without " P. 175 ;
bhîtari (Skt. abhyantare) " Within " Vi. 3, Ja. 29 ;
vici, vicaï (Ap. vicci = Skt. vartmani, Hc., iv, 421. Cf. Pischel, § 202) " Between " P. 259, 276 ;
vicâli (Ap. viccalle) " Between " P. 602 ;
vina (Ap. vinu <Skt. vinâ) " Without " P. 328, 329, 338 ;
*visaï (Skt. visaye) " In, within " Kal., Âdi., Bh., etc. ;
samghâtaï (Skt. samghâtake) " In company with " Dd. 6 ;
*saṅgiī (Ap. saṅgahī <Skt. *saṅgasmin) " Along with " Sast. 48 ;
sanamukhaï (Skt. sanmukhake) " In front of " Dd. 7 ;
*samîpi (Skt. samîpe) " Near " Indr. 42 ;
† sahita (tatsama) " Together with " P. 326 ;
sâkhi, sâkhaï (Ap. sakkhe <Skt. sâkse) " In the presence of " Çrâ., P., F 647
sîma (Ap. sĩva <Skt. sîma-) " Up to, till " Sast. 140, " From " Kânh. 105 ;
heti, hetaī (From Skt. hetu) " By reason of, for " Sast. 101, F 532, iv, 3.

CHAPTER IV.

ADJECTIVES.

§ 76. **Adjectives** require but very little consideration. Their employment in Old Western Râjasthânî is chiefly the same as in Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwârî. When admitting of inflexion (cf. § 56), they are made to agree with the noun in gender, number and case, with the exception of feminine adjectives, which make no distinction of number and

case, but use an uninflected form in °-*î* throughout in declension. All the adjectival post-positions of the genitive, namely : *taṇaü, naü, keraü, raü, kaü,* obey the same rule, and so also the possessive genitives of the personal pronouns and the present and past participles. Examples for each case are :

Singular.

Nom. : *Viveka-rûpîu hâthîu* Çîl. 1, *kaṣṭa-rûpiṇî sâpiṇî* Kal. 5, *viṣaya-rûpîü pâ'.î* Indr. 44, *ghûyaḍa-taṇaü çiçu* Kal. 3 ;

Accus. : *tapa-nu upadeça* Up. 3, *mâharî âṛa* P. 509 ;

Instr. : *ghaṇaï âḍambari* Âdi C., *âpaṇî buddhiĩ karî* Kal. 5, *sneha-naĩ râgiĩ* Bh., *nâma-nî sarikhâiĩ* Âdi. 75 ;

Obl.-Gen. : *daitya-nâ garva-rahaĩ* Kal. 1, *tâharâprabhâva-taü* Kal. 19, *mârîtâ puruṣa-naĩ* Yog. ii, 68, *dîkṣâ lîdhî-pûṭhiĩ* Up. 39 ;

Loc. : *aneraï dini* Âdi C., *pâchilî râtaï* ibid., *Jamunâ-naï tiri* P. 263, *râṇî-nî kukṣaĩ* Âdi. C. ;

Plural.

Nom. : *saghalî-i riddhi* Bh. 25, *moṭakā kûḍā* Yog. ii, 54, *ahaṃkâra-nâ dhaṇî* Indr. 67, *kusuma-taṇî mâlâ* Kal. 28, *mugati-nā sukha* Ja. 3 ;

Instr. : *ṭâḍhe vâyue* Up. 182, *vacana-rûpiṇî doriĩ*, Indr. 2, *cîkaṇe karme* Bh. 76, *naraka-nî jvâlâe* Âdi. 38, *mahiṣa-ne mãse karî* Yog. ii, 45 ;

Obl.-Gen. : *dina thoḍilā-māhi* Ṛṣ., *saghalā prâṇî-naï viṣaï* Yog. ii, 20, *deva-taṇā kusuma-taṇî vṛṣṭi* Kal. 20 ;

Loc. : *ghaṇî dese* Kânh. 19, *ghaṇî diçi-thî* Âdi. 13, *sagale-hî yuddhe* Âdi C., *taruvara-ne phûlaḍe* F 562, i, 3.

§ 77. To the general rule of the adjectives agreeing with the nouns, there is, however, one exception, which deserves notice. Sometimes, though very rarely, nouns in the instrumental have their adjectives in the oblique-genitive case. Examples are :

indriya-rûpîyâ core " By the thieves, the senses " (Indr. 1),
sesa thâkatâ tevîsa tî [r] thaṃkare " By the remaining twenty-three *tîrthaṃkaras* " (Âdi C.),
sagalā-hî dukkhe rahita " Free from all pains " (Âdi C.).

The same construction is adopted in Modern Gujarâtî, when an adjective refers to a noun in the instrumental (agentive), that is the subject of a transitive verb.

§ 78. When adverbially used, adjectives are capable of two constructions, *viz.* : they either assume the neuter singular termination and remain unchanged for all cases, or are declined according to gender, number and case exactly like any attributive adjective. I shall call " adjectival adverbs " adjectives in the former construction and **adverbial adjectives** adjectives in the latter construction. The adjectival adverbs will be dealt with in the chapter of the adverbs (see § 102). Here are some examples of adverbial adjectives :

gâḍhaü abhimânî " Very much proud " (Up. 27),
gâḍhî dohilî chaï " (She) is very difficult " (Ṣaṣṭ. 8),
te putra ehavaü sukhî " That son (of yours) is so happy ! " (Âdi C.),
nabha-thakî nîcaü ûtaryaü " (He) alighted down from the sky " (F 783, 52),
vani âvaï pâchaü valî " (He) goes to the forest again " (P. 263),
kā âvyâ pâchâ " Why did you come back ? " (P. 391),
vahilî tū valê " Return soon " (fem.) (P. 308),
âghaü jaî te pâchaü valaï " After having gone forward, (he) turns back " (P. 584),
pahilî keha-nî pûjâ karũ " Whom should I worship first ? " (Âdi C.),

sarpa grahiu bhalaü, paṇi kuguru-naĩ sevivaũ rûḍaũ nahĩ "It is better catch hold of a snake, than resort to a bad preceptor" (Ṣaṣṭ. 38).

The same practice has survived in both Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî. In the latter language we have a clear example thereof in the employment of the adjectives *paro, varo, ro* to form a kind of verbal intensives. For the origin of these adjectives see § 147. Instances of their employment in Old Western Râjasthânî are the following :

te urahaü lyaü "Bring it here !" (Âdi C.),

kanyâ urahî âṇaü "Bring the maiden here!" (Âdi C.),

Candanabâlâ-nu hâtha parahaü kîdhaü "(She) thrust Candanabâlâ's hand away" Up. 34,

açuci parahaũ karî "After having removed impurity" Up. 54.

§79. In the same way as in all Neo-Indian vernaculars, in the Old Western Râjasthânî too the **comparative degree** of the adjectives is expressed by putting the object, with which comparison is meant, in the ablative case. By such a process adjectives undergo no change. In the MS. *Up.*, however, I have met with some instances of the double suffix *-eraḍa* being added to adjectival positive bases to give a comparative sense. This appears to be the usual way in which Somasundara renders into Old Western Râjasthânî the Prakrit comparatives in *-tara, -yara* in the original, as may be seen from the three examples following :

gâḍheraḍaũ (Pkt. *suṭṭhuyaraṃ*) "In a greater degree", an adjectival adverb, (Up. 110),

teha-i-pâhĩ gâḍheraḍaü (Pkt. *gurutaro*) "Even stronger than that" (Up. 142),

dasa athavâ adhikeraḍâ (Pkt. *dasa ahava ahiyayare*) "Ten (men) or more" (Up. 248).

For an analogy in the cognate vernaculars, cf. the employment of the long form of the adjective to give the comparative meaning in Bihârî (Hoernle's *Gauḍian Grammar*, § 388).

The ablative postpositions, which are more commonly employed to make the comparative degree in Old Western Râjasthânî are :

pâhĩ, pâhanti and *thakaü, thakî, thî.* Examples are :

(1) *tujha-naĩ jivyâ-pãhĩ maraṇa rûḍũ* "To thee death (is) better than life" (Daç, i, 12),

eka eka-pâhi adhika dîpaï "The one is more shining than the other" (Çâl. 74),

amî-rasa-pâhi adhikî "Sweeter than ambrosia" (Çâl. 175),

câritrîyâ-pâhanti adhikaũ "More than the men of good conduct" (Ṣaṣṭ. 101),

je jîva-naĩ sâdhammî-pâhanti âpaṇâ bãdhava-putra-kalatra-mitra-ûpari adhikaü anurâga hui "That being, who has for his own relations, sons, wife and friends more affection that for his co-religionists" (Ṣaṣṭ. 148).

(2) *samudra-nâ pâṇi-thakaü gâḍhaü ghaṇaü* "Huger than the water of the sea" (Bh. 48),

eâ pã-thakî adhikaü "This one (is) greater than we" (Âdi C.),

guru-thakî ũcaĩ âsani baïsaï "(He) sits on a seat higher than (his) preceptor's" (Çrâ.),

ajaṇyâ mûâ apaḍha-thî bhalâ "Unborn ones and dead ones (are) better than ignorants" (P. 20).

It will be seen that the last way of making the comparative, *viz.* by the postposition *thî*, is likewise common to the Modern Gujarâtî. Of the Gujarâtî comparatives with *karatã* and Mârwâṛî with *sũ* I have found no traces in the MSS. I have seen.

In the two examples following, comparison is made by the comparative adjective *upaharaü* (See § 147) instead than by a postposition of the ablative :

ajñâna ûpharaũ kãi kaṣṭa nathî "There (is) no worse calamity than ignorance" (Âdi. 55),

ko lâkoḍi ûpaharũ ghaṇaü "More numerous than a hundred of millions" (Up. 178).

The **superlative degree** being made in much the same way as the comparative, the only

difference being in the general pronoun *sâhu* or *savi*, which is as a rule introduced in the former, no particular mention of it need be made here. Let me only produce the following instance of a superlative with the postposition *mâhi*, which has an analogy in the superlative with *mẽ* (See Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, § 208, b) in Hindî :

e âpã mâhi vaḍaü " This one (is) the greatest of all us " (Âdi C.).

CHAPTER V.

NUMERALS.

§ 80. **Cardinals** are generally used uninflected, except for the plural instrumental case, in which they assume the ending °*e*. Quite probably the same inflection they must undergo in the plural locative case, though I have found no instances of forms in °*e* with a locative meaning. The three cardinals 2, 3, 4 have no forms in °*e*, but they have in compensation a general oblique form, which will be dealt with presently. The cardinals, of which I have met evidence, are the following :—

1 : *eka* Bh., P., Up. etc. (Ap. *ekka*, Skt. *eka*, Guj. *eka*)

2 : *be*, *bi* Indr., Yog., Daç, etc. (Ap. *be*, Skt. *dve*, Guj. *be*)
binhi, *binha*, *banhi* Çâl. 15 etc. (Ap. *biṇṇi*, Skt.* *dveni*, Guj. *banne*)
do Rs. 31, 77, P. 14, Cat. 8 (Ap. *do*, Skt. *dvau*, Mârw. *do*)
dui Cat. 10 (Pkt. *duve*, Skt. *dve*)

3 : *triṇṇi* P., Yog., Çrâ., *triṇhi* ÂdiC., *triṇi* Vi. 38 (Ap. *tiṇṇi*, Skt. *trîṇi*, Guj. *traṇa*)
tinna Vi. 35, *tîna* ÂdiC., Cat. 6. (Ap. *tiṇṇi*, Skt. *triṇi*, Mârw. *tîna*)

4 : *cyâri* Yog., Ratn., Cat. etc. (Ap. *câri*, Skt. *catvâri*, Guj. *câra*)

5 : *pãca* Yog., Indr., P. etc. (Ap., Skt. *pañca*, Guj. *pãca*)

6 : *cha* Yog., Çâl., Ṣaṣṭ. etc. (Ap. *cha*, Skt. *ṣaṣ*, Guj. *cha*)

7 : *sâta* Yog., Çâl., P. etc. (Ap. *satta*, Skt. *sapta*, Guj. *sâta*)

8 : *âṭha* Âdi., Bh., Daç. etc. (Ap. *aṭṭha*, Skt. *aṣṭa*., Guj. *âṭha*)

9 : *nava* Cat., P. etc. (Ap. *ṇava*, Skt. *nava*, Guj. *nava*)

10 : *dasa* Yog., Ratn., Çâl. etc. (Ap. *dasa*, Skt. *daça*, Guj. *dasa*)

11 : *igyâraha* Cat. 26, *igyâra* Yog. ii, 45, *agyâra* Up. 93 (Ap. *eggâraha*, Skt. *ekâdaça*, Guj. *agyâra*)

12 : *bâra* Yog., ÂdiC., P. etc. (Ap. *bâraha*, Skt. *dvâdaça*, Guj. *bâra*)

13 : *tera* ÂdiC. (Ap. *teraha*, Skt. **trayadaça*, Guj. *tera*)

14 : *caüdara* Yog. iv, 67, 103, *caüda* Âdi., Indr., Dd., ÂdiC. etc. (Ap. *caüddaha*, Skt. *caturdaça*, Guj. *cauda*)

15 : *panaraha* Cat. 22, *panara* Çrâ., Yog. etc. (Ap. *paṇṇaraha*, Skt. *pañcadaça*, Guj *pandara*)

16 : *sola* Çâl., Dd., Cat. etc. (Ap. *solaha*, Skt. *ṣoḍaça*, Guj. *soḷa*)

17 : *sataraha* Cat. 22, *satara* ÂdiC etc. (Ap. *sattaraha*, Skt. *saptadaça*, Guj. *sattara*)

18 : *aṭhâra* Yog. i., 23, *aḍhâra* Çâl., P., ÂdiC. etc. (Ap. *aṭṭhâraha*, Skt. *aṣṭâdaça*, Guj. *aḍhâra*)

19 : *navara* Çâl. 215 (Ap. * *ṇavaraha*, *ṇavadaha*, Skt. *navadaça*)

egûṇavîsa Pr. 6 (Ap. *egûṇavimsâ*, Skt. **apaguṇavimçati* [see Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 444] Guj. *ogaṇîsa*)

20 : *vîsa* Pr., F 580, Cat. etc. (Ap. *vîsa*, Skt. *vimçati*, Guj. *vîsa*), 21 : *ekavîsa* F 722, 22 : *bâvîsa* Daç., Dd., ÂdiC. etc., *bavîsa* Dd. 7, 23 : *trevîsa* F 722, 257, *tevîsa* ÂdiC., 24 : *caüvîsa* P., Daç., ÂdiC., Cat. etc., 25 : *pâṇavisa* Çrâ., *paṇavisa* Cat. 20, F 602, 27 : *sattâvîsa* F 663, 22, 28 : *aṭṭhâvîsa* Pr. 29, *aṭṭhavîsa* Cat. 20.

30 : *trîsa* F 580, F 602, Cat. etc. (Ap. *tîsâ*, Skt. *triṃçat*, Guj. *trîsa*), **31** : *ekatrîsa* Pr., F 646, 272, **32** : *batrîsa* Pr. 10, **33** : *tetrîsa* Cat. 19, **34** : *caütrîsa* F 580, *caütîsa* Âdi C., **35** : *paṇatrîsa* Cat. 18, *païtrîsa* Cat. 18, *païtîsa* Âdi C., *pā̃trisa* Pr. 11, **36** : *chatrîsa* Pr. 11, F 722, 68, *ṣaṭatrîsa* Cat. 17, **38** : *aṭṭhatrîsa* Pr. 29, **39** : *eguṇacâlîsa* Pr. 11.

40 : *cyâlîsa* Cat. 6, 17 (Ap. *câlîsa*, Skt. *catvâriṃçat*, Guj. *câḷîsa*), **42** : *bitâlîsa* F 602, *baïtâlîsa* F 602, Âdi C., **43** : *trayâlîsa* Cat., 16, **45** : *pā̃citâlîsa* F 580, **46** : *chaïhaïtâlîsa* F 722, 41, **47** : *satatâlîsa* Up. 219, **48** : *aṭhatâlîsa* ÂdiC., **49** : *uguṇapā̃câsa* ÂdiC.

50 : *pā̃câsa* Cat. 5, F 722, 42, ÂdiC., (Ap. *pañcâsa*, Skt. *pañcâçat*, Guj. *pacâsa*) **52** : *bâvana* Pr. 29, **54** : *copana* F 535, vii, 2, **55** : *pā̃câvana* Cat. 20, **56**: *chappana* Rṣ. 63, *chapana* Rṣ. 70, F 722, **57** : *sattâvana* Cat. 14.

60 : *sâṭhi* Up. 81, Ṣaṣṭ. 162, Cat. 4, 14 (Ap. *saṭṭhi*, Skt. *ṣaṣṭi*, Guj. *sâṭha*) **63** : *tresaṭhi* Âdi C., **64** : *caüsaṭhi* Âdi C., F 722, F 728, 8, *caüsaṭṭhi* F 758, **66** : *châsaṭhi* Cat. 13.

70 : *sattari* Cat. 13 (Ap. *sattari*, Skt. *saptati*, Guj. *sittera*), **71** : *ekotaraï* Ratn. 348, **72** : *bahattari* ÂdiC., Cat. 13, *bahatari* Cat. 12, *bahutari* Âdi. 79, *buhatari* Ratn. 76, *buhutari* Ratn. 10, **76** : *solotara* Cat. 5, **77** : *sattotara* Cat. 7, **78** : *aṭhottari*, Sâlibhadracaritra 501, *aṭṭhottara* Up. 91.

80 : *aïsi* Pr. 29 (Ap. *asi*, Skt. *açîti*, Guj. *ē̃çî*), **81** : *ikyâsî* Cat. 11, **84** : *caürâsî* ÂdiC., F 722, Cat. 2, 12, **85** : *pā̃câsî* Vi. 174, **88** : *aṭṭhâsî* Cat. 10

90 : Not found (Ap. **ṇaüi*, Skt. *navati*, Guj. *nevũ*), **93** : *trâṇû* Cat. 9, **95** : *pā̃câṇû* Cat. 3, 8, **96** : *chyâṇû* Aj. 11, **98** : *aṭṭhâṇû* ÂdiC., *aṭṭhâṇũ* Up. 23, **99** : *navâṇũ* Up. 153.

100 : *saü* ÂdiC., Çîl., etc. (Ap. *saü*, Skt. *çatam*, Guj. *so*) singular, *saī̃* P., Yog., Ṣaṣṭ. etc. (Ap. *saâĩ*, Skt. *çatâni*) plural, **101** : *ikasaü* Cat. 6, **108** : *ekasaüâṭha* Dd. 4, **160** : *saüsâṭhi* Ṣaṣṭ. 162, **499** : *ûṇā̃pā̃casaī̃* Up. 33, **500** : *pā̃casaī̃* ÂdiC., Up. 33, **700** : *sâtasaï* Pr. 29, **900** : *navasaï* Pr. 29, etc.

Examples of the plural instrumental inflectional case are :

ehe pā̃ce bole " By means of these five things " (Up. 72),

kṣetra chahe bhâgi kari " After having divided the place into six parts " (Up. 152),

trîse muhûrte eka ahorâtri " Thirty *muhûrtas* are one *ahorâtri* " (F 602).

Instances of cardinals being similarly inflected in the plural instrumental in °*ehĩ* are not wanting in the Apabhraṃça (See Pischel's *Prakrit Grammar*, § 447).

The cardinal *saü* is a neuter substantive and it has a plural form *saī̃*, which is used both for the direct and for the oblique cases. Ex. :

vighna-nâ saī̃ " Hundreds of obstacles " (Ṣaṣṭ. 85),

pā̃casaī̃-nî kalatra huî " (She) became the wife of (those) five hundred (thieves)" (Up. 33).

§ 81. The cardinals 2, 3, 4 have the genitive-oblique forms : *bihũ*, *trihũ*, *cihũ*, of which the first likewise occurs in the Apabhraṃça and the two others might either be derived from Apabhraṃça **tihũ*, **caühũ*, if such forms ever existed, or be explained as having been formed after the analogy of *bihũ*. They are used instead of the direct forms in all cases, whenever a definite meaning is required, thereby exactly coinciding in both origin and usage with the so-called " Aggregatives " of Hindi (See Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, § 223). Examples :

ā̃khi bihu-mā̃ antara kisaũ " Which (is) the difference between the two eyes ? " (F 783, 31

kavaṇa bihũ cora " Which of the two (is) the thief ? " (P. 268),

milî vâta kîdhî behu jaṇe " Having met each other, the two engaged in conversation " (P. 685),

bihu-i vastu " Both the things " (Daç. iv),

bihu hâtha-nî dasa-i ãgulî "The ten fingers in both the hands" (Çrã.)

âpopaũ trihũ e kariũ "The three brought about this by themselves" (P. 270),

siṃha-râya te trihũ-naï kahaï "King Lion says to those three" (P. 574),

cihũ bhâṣâ-taṇî "Of the four languages" (Daç.),

mâsa cihũ-taṇaï anti "At the end of the four months" (Ṛṣ. 5),

cihũ disi "In the four directions" P. 11, Up. 60.

In opposition to these genitive-oblique forms, the direct ones are generally used in the indefinite meaning, as in :

bi golâ mâṭi-nâ "Two balls of earth" (Indr. 20).

All other cardinals, which have no genitive-oblique form in *-hũ*, substitute for it the emphatic enclitic *-i*, whenever the definite meaning is required. Thus :

aḍhâra-i lipi "The eighteen alphabets" (Âdi C.),

te batrîsa-i bâlâ "Those thirty-two girls" (Çâl. 60),

âvyâ Jina trevîsa-i "The (other) twenty-three Jinas came" (F 722, 257),

te chaa-i mitra "The six friends" (Âdi C.).

The same emphatic *-i* may be added, in quite the same meaning, to the direct forms of 2, 3, 4 too. Ex. :

te triṇṇi-i rahaï jala-ṭhãma "Those three live in the water" (P. 521),

te cyâra -i teṇaĩ vani rahaï "Those four ones live in the forest" (P. 574).

Of multiplicatives I have noticed but one instance, to wit :

triṇṇi sâtã "Three times seven" (Up. 81), where apparently, *sâtã* is a plural neuter form.

§ 82. **Ordinals** are as a rule formed from the cardinals by the addition of the adjectival suffix *-maü* (fem. *-mî*), which is identical with the Apabhraṃça *-maü*, Skt. *—makaḥ*. Thus : *egûṇavîsamaü* "Nineteenth" (Pr. 6) from *egûṇavisa, trevisamaü* "Twenty-third" (Pr. 8) from *trevîsa*, etc. They are inflected like regular adjectives throughout. The first ordinals, however, are formed in a different way, after the mode of Sanskrit and Apabhraṃça, to wit :

i : *pahilaü* Yog., Up., ÂdiC., etc., a form which is also found in the Apabhraṃça and which Pischel traces back to a Skt. **Prathilakaḥ* (*Prakrit Grammar*, § 449). Modern Guj. *pahelo*.

ii : *bîjaü* Âdi C., Yog., P. etc., from Ap. **biijjaü* (cf. Mâhârâṣṭrî) < Skt. *dvitîyakaḥ*. Guj. *bîjo*.

iii : *trîjaü* Bh., Ratn., Yog., from Ap. *taïjjaü, tiijjaü* < Skt. *tṛtîyakaḥ*. Guj. *trîjo*.

iv : *caüthaü* Ṛṣ., Ratn., Yog., and *cuthu* Yog. iv, 137, Çâl. 25, from Ap. *caütthaü* < Skt. *caturthakaḥ*. Guj. *cotho*.

v : Regular.

vi : *chaṭṭhaü* Ṛṣ., F 602, identical with the Prakrit and Apabhraṃça form, from Skt. *ṣaṣṭakaḥ*. Guj. *chaṭho*.

In the same way as the regular ordinals, is formed the adjective *anantamaü*, as if it were "Infiniteth" (F 580, Up. 197). In ÂdiC. there is one instance of an ordinal ending in *-iaü*, to wit : *caüvîsiaü* "Twenty-fourth".

CHAPTER VI.

PRONOUNS.

§ 83. The **first personal pronoun** is mostly met under the form *hũ*, which is but a contraction of Ap. *haũ* < Skt. *ahakám*. The Apabhraṃça uncontracted form, however, is also found in the MSS. *P.*, *Up.*, *Ṣaṣṭ*. The weak form *hũ* of the Modern Gujarâtî is also common (Çîl., Yog., Daç., F 535, F 663), though in many cases it is no doubt erroneously written for *hũ*. Modern Mârwâṛî has retained *hũ*, but Gujarâtî, which, as already remarked, has a strong tendency to prefer the weak forms in °*ũ* to the strong ones in °*aũ* > °*ũ*, has adopted *hũ*. In poetry (P. 118, 641, 650, etc.), an emphatic form *hũa* or *hũya* is to be met with. The instrumental-agentive form is *maĩ* (Kal., P., Çrâ., Up.) as in the Apabhraṃça (< Skt. *mayâ*). In the Modern Mârwâṛî, this form has come to be used as a general oblique form. For the genitive-oblique case there are two sets of forms, *viz.* : 1) *mujha* (Ṛṣ, P., F 783), *majha* (Ratn.) (> Guj. *maja*), which is from Ap. *majjhu* < Skt. *mahyam*, and 2) *mũ* (ÂdiC.), *mo* (ibid.), *mũha* (P., Ṣaṣṭ.), of which the two former are from Ap. * *mahu* < Skt. *mahyam*, and the latter is probably from Ap. **mahuha*, a redundant combination of the simple genitive *mahu* with the genitive termination *-ha*. Cf. the form *tujjhaha*, which occurs in the Apabhraṃça (See Pischel's *Materialien zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṃça*, xxxv). The latter set is chiefly used before postpositions. *P.* 30 there occurs a genitive form *muhi*, used in the meaning of the dative quite in the same way as in the dialects further in the East. Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî have curtailed *mahu* to *ma*, *mha*. No instances of other inflectional cases are available in the singular. The possessive genitive forms are: *mâharaü* and, rarely, *mâhâraü* (F 580, F 722), from Ap. *mahâraü* (See § 48) < Skt. * *mahakâryakaḥ* (Pischel's *Prakr. Gr.*, § 434); quite exceptional are *meraü* (F 608) and *moraü* (F 694), both of which seem to point to the East and bear an analogy to the Braja and Bundelî oblique forms *mo*, *me*. Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî have *mâro*, *mhâro*. Agreeably to the general remark made § 65, the locative *mâharaï*, °*raĩ* of the possessive genitive is commonly employed to give the sense of the dative case (Ratn., P., Âdi., F 783). From the genitive-oblique the following cases are formed periphrastically : *majha-naï* (dat., Ratn. 319), *mujha-naï* (acc., P. 210), *majha-rahaĩ* (gen., Kal. 6), *mũ-naï* (dat., ÂdiC.), *mũha-naï* (acc., dat., P., Ṣaṣṭ.), *mo-naï* (acc., dat., ÂdiC.) etc.

§ 84. For the plural, the nominative-accusative form is *amhe*, as in the Apabhraṃça (< Skt. *asme*). The final °*e* being commonly considered as short, the word is often written *amhi* (Vi., P., etc.) Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî have *ame* and *mhe*, *me* respectively. The genitive-oblique form is *amha* (> Guj. *ama*), which is also identical with Prakrit and Apabhraṃça *amha*, *amhahã* < Skt. *asmâkam*. The Apabhraṃça entire form *amhahã* has been preserved in *amhã*, which occurs in the MS. *ÂdiC.*, and is the prototype of Mârwâṛî *mhã*. *P.* 489 *amha* is used for the accusative. The form *amhô*, which had been hitherto known only for its being mentioned by Prakrit Grammarians, occurs twice in *P.*, namely once in the meaning of a genitive (546), and the other time in the meaning of a nominative (404). It still survives in Modern Gujarâtî *amo*. The possessive genitive is *amhâraü* (> Guj. *amâro*, Mârw. *mhâro*, *mâro*), from Ap. *amhâraü* < Skt. **asmatkâryakaḥ*, and it has a locative *amhâraï*, °*raĩ*, which is used for the dative. Another dative is formed periphrastically : *amha-naï* (*P.*, ÂdiC.)

§ 85. The Modern Gujarâtî *âpaṇa* (°*ṇe*) and Mârwâṛî *âpā̃*, which are used for the first personal pronoun plural, when the person addressed is included by the speaker, are likewise found in the Old Western Râjasthânî, namely the former in the MS. *Ratn.*, where it is very frequently used for the nominative case, and the latter in the MS. *ÂdiC.*, where it appears under the forms *ā̃pa*, *ā̃pe* for the nominative and *âpā̃* for the genitive-oblique case. The latter form is evidently from Apabhraṃça **appâhā̃*, **appahā̃* and in Modern Mârwâṛî its use has been extended to the direct cases also. In the same MS. *ÂdiC.*, we meet with one instance of *âpaṇaï* (page 5 b), apparently used as a dative.

§ 86. The **second personal pronoun** has forms quite parallel with those of the first personal pronoun, *viz.* : nominative *taũ* (P., Up., Ṣaṣṭ.), *tū̃*, from Ap. *tuhũ* < Skt. *tvakam*, and *tū̃a*, *tū̃ha* (P., Kal., Bh.), emphatic forms, which are possibly to be explained as redundants genitives. Mârwâṛî has *tū̃*, *thū̃* (< Ap. *tuhũ*) and Gujarâtî *tũ*. The instrumental-agentive forms are *taĩ* (Kal., Bh., Âdi., P., etc.), *tiĩ* (Kânh. 101, 102), *tĩ* (Ṛṣ. 65), all from Ap. *taĩ* < Skt. *tvayâ*. In the MS. *Kal.*, *taĩ* is used also for the accusative (10, 12, 23), much in the same way as it is *maĩ* in the Apabhraṃça (cf. *Siddhahemacandra*, 370, 4, 401, 4, 414, 4). Like *maĩ*, *taĩ* also has become a general oblique form in Mârwâṛî. The genitive-oblique forms are: *tujha* (Indr., Kal., Bh., P. etc.), *tajha* (Kal. 23), from Ap. *tujjhu* < Skt. **tuhyam*, and *tū̃* (Âdi C.), *tū̃ha* (P., Âdi C), from Apabhraṃça *tuhu*, ** tuhuha*. *F 795*, 18 *tujha* is used for the accusative. The possessive genitive is *tâharaü* from Ap. *tuhâraü* < Skt. **tuhakâryakaḥ*, whereof the locative form *tâharaï* is employed for the pronominal dative (F 783, 36), and *toraü* (Ṛṣ. 65, 67). Mârwâṛî and Gujarâtî have *thâro* and *târo* respectively. Examples of the periphrastic forms are: *tujha-naï* (acc., dat., P., Bh.), *tajha-rahaĩ* (dat., gen., acc., Kal.), *tū̃-naï* (dat., Âdi C.), *tū̃ha-naï* (dat., acc., P.).

§ 87. For the plural, the following forms are evidenced : nominative-accusative *tumhe*, general form, and its derivatives *tumhi* (Vi., P.), *tamhe* (Kal. 25, Ratn., P.), *tamhi* (Vi.), *tuhe* (Âdi C.), all from Ap. *tumhe* < Skt. **tuṣme* ; instrumental *tumhe* (P. 214, 261), *tamhe* (P. 109), from Ap. *tumhehĩ* ; genitive-oblique *tumha*, *tumhā̃* (Âdi C.) from Ap. *tumha*(*hã*) <Skt. **tuṣmâkam*, and *tumho* (P. 465), which last form is also used for the nominative (P. 493) and for the vocative case (P. 160). The possessive genitive is *tumhâraü* (*tamhâraü*, Ratn.), from Ap. *tumhâraü* < Skt. ** tuṣmatkâryakaḥ*, and from it the locative-dative *tumhâraï* (*tamhâraï*) is formed. Modern Gujarâtî has *tame* for the direct, *tama* for the genitive-oblique and *tamâro* for the possessive genitive; and Mârwâṛî *tame*, *the* (< O. W. Râjasthânî *tuhe*) for the direct, *tamā̃*, *thā̃* (< O. W. Râjasthânî *tumhā̃*) for the oblique, and *tamā̃ro*, *thâro* for the possessive genitive.

§ 88. Before turning to the consideration of the other pronouns, it will be necessary to remark that, with a very few exceptions chiefly confined to the forms that have become adverbs, the pronouns proper are liable to be used adjectivally also, and *vice versa* most of the pronominal adjectives are often practically employed in the function of independent pronouns. It is, in my opinion, out of such a confusion—and possibly also out of the analogy of Apabhraṃça *eha-* (<Skt. *eṣa-*)—that such forms as *jeha*, *teha*, *keha*, which are pronominal adjectives in their origin, have crept into the paradigm of the pronouns proper.

(*To be continued*).

SOME ANGLO-INDIAN WORTHIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

BY LAVINIA MARY ANSTEY.

(*Continued from Vol. XLIII. page 255.*)

In January, 1674, Smith wrote from "Hugly Garden" to Edwards,[39] "I hope ere long in Cassambazar to enquire of you." He was then occupied with his own business, though there was "little trade stirring." He had bought "Ophium" of Edmund Bugden and desired a "good Rapier and Belt wrought" to be made for him. He was then meditating a return to Europe for he remarked, "feare I shall have 8000 rupees ly dead till his [Richard Mohun's or both our arrivalls in England." This hardly tallies with the story of his ruin in his letter of October 1673 to the Company.

A month later, on the 13th February 1674, Smith again wrote to Edwards[40] regretting that he could neither go to Kâsimbâzâr, as he had intended, nor would Edwards' affairs allow of his coming to Hûglî, where Smith was apparently acting under Clavell, for he adds, "believe Mr. Clavell and I shall be gone to Ballasore before your returne from the Spaw,[41] but hope our stay will not be long." He urged his friend to "remember by next to send Shakespeere." On the 2nd February he wrote again[42] announcing his immediate departure to Balasor.

Meanwhile Clavell had been desired by the Agent at Fort St. George to furnish information regarding Smith's complaints He replied, in May 1674,[43] "For your satisfaction to the complaint of Mr. John Smith, wee referr you to the coppy of the Consultation here and to the instructions given Mr. Elwes and Hervy concerning him, and have only to add that, though there was ten dayes limited for his leaving Decca, hee was not pressed but came away at his own leisure, nor did wee give any order for the Seizing of his goods, nor ever heard that any of his goods were seized."

There are three letters to Edwards from Smith during his stay at Balasor in May and June 1674. On the 13th May he wrote in cipher[44] that he had "ended" his Dacca accounts and was "proceeding farther; of its successe shall advise when know my selfe." This remark is cryptic, but may refer to his hopes of reinstatement. On the 21st June, he urged Edwards,[45] if he had "resigned up the warehouse," to "come downe, which you may by writing the least word to W[alter] C[lavell]." Two days later, he desired his friend to send him two pieces of "Taffaties."[46]

On the 18th August, 1674, Smith returned to Hûglî. On the 19th he wrote to Edwards[47] begging him to meet him there, and urging him to "make more haste, being I cannot assure you of my Long stay, coming on my owne business, and as soone as that done must bee gone." Shortly after, he was attacked by fever and incapacitated for a fortnight.[48] His stay at Hûglî seemed to occasion surprise among the Company's servants and was

[39] *O. C.* No. 3927.

[40] *O. C.* No. 3937.

[41] The spa to which Edwards had retired, with Messrs. Vincent and Naylor, was "Bucklesore," no doubt identical with Bakreswar, a group of hot sulphur springs in Bîrbhûm District, some 30 miles from Kâsimbâzâr. In a letter of the 12th March 1674 (*O. C.* No. 3946) Edward Knipe condoled with Edwards for being compelled to drink "stinking water" instead of "punch." The allusion to the spa is interesting as no other contemporary reference has been found to this "Bath" of Bengal.

[42] *O. C.* No 3942.

[43] *Factory Records, Hugli*, Vol. 4.

[44] *O. C.* No. 3964.

[45] *O. C.* No. 3976.

[46] *O. C.* No. 3974.

[47] *O. C.* No. 3986.

[48] *O. C.* No. 3996.

commented on by Thomas Pace and Edward Reade in August and September.[49] All this time he had failed to arrange a meeting with his friend Edwards,[50] whose regard for him had evidently lessened since his dismissal from Dacca. On the 17th October, Clavell wrote peremptorily to Hûglî summoning Smith back to Balasor.[51] "It will be needful that Mr. John Smith take his passage of the first of the Company's sloops that comes this way, to be assisting here, and we order him so to doe."

In compliance with these orders, Smith left Hûglî on the 29th October.[52] On his arrival at Balasor he probably found the relations between Clavell and himself to be extremely strained. He, therefore, without permission, went off in a "country ship" to Fort St. George to make out a case for himself with the Council there.[53] On the 28th December 1674 Clavell wrote to the Agent,[54] "These may also informe you that Mr. John Smith, against our order, is proceeded on the ship *Nossa Sentusa de Monte*, whereof Mr. Richard Naplis is Pilot, upon pretence, as wee are informed, that he may recover some debts which he pretends are due unto him on the Coast, but wee can informe you that if any such Debts are, they are long since assignd to perticular persons to whome he is considerably indebted, and therefore wee presume his Clandestine departure hath been to evade the disquisition of what he Maliciously wrote to the right worshipfull Agent the 4th of May last." Clavell further remarked that Smith, if innocent, could have cleared himself at Balasor, "where witnesses were present" and an enquiry could have been held. He went on to accuse him of charging the Company with his own debts, of securing himself against legal demands made on him in Dacca, and of mortgaging unsold goods belonging to the Company to persons to whom he was indebted. The Council at "the Bay" urged the Agent at "the Fort" to send Commissioners to impartially investigate the case of Smith and also that of Joseph Hall, another thorn in their side.

The sympathies of the Agent and Council at Fort St. George were evidently with the malcontents. At a Consultation held at Fort St. George on the 18th February, 1675,[55] reference was made to "the endless debates and mutuall asperpersions in and from the Bay between the Chief and Factors there, and their displacing of Mr. Joseph Hall and Mr. John Smith from their places of Second of Hughley and Ballasore and Chief of Dacca, without orders from hence, there appearing unto the Agent and Councell to be much of private matter in their cases, these feuds having now continued many years . . . to the great disturbance of our Honoble. Employers and their affaires and of this Agency who have laboured thus long to reconcile them and remove these scandalls and offences but hitherto in vaine." It was decided to be useless to send commissioners to investigate the matter until definite orders were received from the Company, and therefore the Council contented themselves with ordering John Smith "to be restored to his Chiefship at Dacca" and Elwes to be sent as second to Patna. They further directed that, for the future, no Chiefs of subordinate factories should be displaced without orders from "the Fort."

These recommendations were not carried out, for in May, 1675, Smith was once more at Hûglî and at variance with Clavell.[56] On the 22nd he apologised to Edwards for not having "writ" since his "arrivall from the Coast," but pleaded want of time and "some differences created by Mr. Clavell not obeying the Agents orders." He added that he was

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49 *O. C.* Nos. 3993 and 3999.

50 *O. C.* No. 4018.

51 *Factory Records, Hugli,* Vol. 4.

52 *O. C.* No. 4026.

53 *Factory Records, Hugli,* Vol. 4.

54 *Factory Records, Hugli,* Vol. 4.

55 *Factory Records, Fort St. George,* Vol. I.

56 *O. C.* No. 4091.

"resolved by next shipps for the Fort, God willing, and I shall want money to adjust with some creditors, which they made a great crime my last Voyage; therefore pray use your utmost endeavours speedily to send mee what you ow mee . . ."[57] Smith's intentions to proceed to Fort St. George were frustrated, and in consequence he made common cause with Joseph Hall, who temporarily usurped Walter Clavell's position at Balasor, where both factors contrived to make themselves exceedingly obnoxious to their fellows.[58] Finding himself baulked in his hopes of recovering the Chiefship of Dacca, Smith sent a written statement of his grievances to the Council at Fort St. George, in January, 1676, as follows:—"I was in hopes to have waited upon your worship In Councell with Mr. Clavell and Marshall, but Mr. Clavell was not pleased to admit or heare of any such thing, by which you may judge how things have been carryed. Mr. Robert Elwes hath been dead about a moneth, yet it was not knowne here till within 3 dayes. I suppose it was kept so private that the Ships might not carry home the newse this yeare from any but themselves, And now Mr. Marshall pretends to the Place, which suppose is the reason of the Present Voyage to the Fort, but I hope, Since am detained, you will be pleased to see that I have my right and which you were formerly pleased to order me. And now Mr Clavell will be preasent I humbly intreate that you will end that dispute, that so afterwards you may heare no more of it. Their designe in removing Mr. Marshall from Cassambuzar, where he hath had four yeares experience, and me from Decca, where I have had no less, certainly cannot be Immagined for the Companys Interest, But rather in removing Mr. Marshall to Decca there is way made for Brother Littleton[59] to be 2d of Cassambuzar, which I heare is the present resolve; and Mr. Clavell in this yeares List to the Company of their Servants hath sett his Brother Littleton and Mr. Harvey before mee, and whether or noe this is the encoridgment and order the Company Intend amongst their Servants I humbly appeal to your Worship and address my selfe to you for Justice as well in this as other matters. I humbly take leave and Subscribe &c. John Smith."[60]

This letter was no sooner despatched than Smith decided to follow it in person, and accordingly, in defiance of Clavell's orders, sailed to Fort St. George. There he appears to have met with but little support. The quarrels among the Company's servants in 'the Bay' were referred to Major William Puckle, sent out by the Court to inspect their factories in Madras and Bengal, and with him Smith returned to Balasor in March of 1676.[61] Puckle at once began his attempt to pacify the grumblers by a general redistribution of offices, in which arrangement Smith was relegated to Patna as second, was admitted to a seat in the Council, and ranked as "9th in the Bay." If Puckle thought he had thus succeeded in "reconciling animosities" he was quickly disabused, for Smith immediately brought a "charge containing 27 articles" against Walter Clavell. The document is not extant, but it was evidently a lengthy one, as it occupied "one booke intire" in the list of Puckle's papers.[63] This "charge" was examined at Hûglî in June, 1676. No details are forthcoming and no verdict was given at the time, but the evidence was apparently in favour of Clavell, who, in his turn, promised to produce "a paper apart" of Smith's "Miscarriadges."

[57] *O. C.* No. 4091.

[58] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 28.

[59] Edward Littleton was brother-in-law to Walter Clavell's second wife, Martha Woodruff.

[60] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 28.

[61] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 18.

[62] *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 28.

[63] *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, Puckle and the Bengal Council proceeded to Kâsimbâzâr, where, on the 1st September, Clavell handed in seventeen accusations against Smith. Action in the case was deferred until the arrival of Streynsham Master, the Company's newly appointed Agent and Supervisor, whose powers were more extensive than those granted to Major Puckle. Before dealing with the counter charge, Master, however, directed the Council to find a verdict in the case of Smith *versus* Clavell. On the 18th October 1676, after "long debateing," they acquitted Clavell of unfaithfulness towards the Company.[64]

The following day, 19th October, the examination of "the proofes of Mr. Clavell's charge against Mr. John Smith" was begun, and the proceedings lasted a full week. After Smith had replied to the various counts of the charge, Clavell and his two witnesses, Samuel Hervy and Edward Reade, made their depositions. The charges chiefly concerned alleged frauds committed on the Company between 1669 and 1675. To these were added Smith's unwarranted dismissal of James Price, formerly noted, and his frequent absences without leave. An account of the case is given in *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, recently edited by Sir Richard Temple, where a summary of the affair with an analysis of the counts and the evidence for conviction is to be found.[65] The Council decided that Smith had "binn unfaithfull in his trust and Imployment in the Honourable Companyes service," especially as regarded six of the seventeen charges. On the 2nd November 1676 their verdict was given. It was agreed that since Smith had been found guilty of disloyalty, he should hold "noe charge or trust" nor be "admitted to Councell" until further orders were received from Fort St. George. He was moreover desired to repair to, and remain at Hûglî "untill the Agent and Councells pleasure be known."

Smith, however, appears to have stayed on at Kâsimbâzâr after Master's departure in November, 1676, for he is mentioned as being in that place in January, 1677.[66] By the end of 1676, his complaints of ill treatment in Bengal had reached England. In their letter to Fort St. George of the 15th December, the Court of Committees wrote: "Inclosed you have Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Smith full of Complaints, which wee would have you cause to be examined."[67]

Meanwhile the Council at the Fort carefully abstained from acting on the verdict against Smith. At a Consultation held on the 3rd February, 1677,[68] the affair was taken into consideration and it was decided that in view "of the authority vested in Mr. Master and the regularity of the proceedings," nothing remained to be done but to leave it to the Company to ratify or reverse the decision arrived at in Bengal. The opinion of the Court of Committees on the verdict was entirely in accordance with Master's finding.[69] "Wee observe the result of the Examination of the charge against Mr. Hall[70] and Mr. Smith and approve of your proceedings therein. Their Sallaries are to cease on the arrivall of these ships, and send home their Accompts, but if they desire to remaine in the Countrey, and will remove to and reside at the Fort, and be conformable to our Orders there, you may permit them for one yeer for the recovery of their Estates and Debts . . . . Wee have written to you in a former paragraph about Mr. Hall and Mr. Smith, but therein omitted to give directions how to proceed with them. Our Order is, if they shall desire to retire to the Fort, you may permit them to remain there a yeer or two, provided They comport themselves so as to give no disturbance to our affaires and conforme to our Rules. Butt if after the Triall for one yeer, Our Agent and Councell shall finde their longer abode there to be prejuduciall to our affaires, you are then to send them home, And if they do not desire to

64 *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 410.

65 See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple, I. 156-164, 411-449, and 504-506.

66 *O. C.* No. 4251.

67 *Letter Book* Vol. 5.

68 *Factory Records, Fort St. George*, Vol. 1.

69 *Letter Book* Vol. 5 pp. 504, 511.

70 Joseph Hall had also been found guilty of malpractices.

remaine at the Fort but persist to continue in the Bay, you are to send them for England by these ships to render us an accompt of their transactions according to their Covenants."

Smith was by this time a disappointed and embittered man. His hopes of accumulating riches were almost all frustrated. He had sustained "vast losses" in a cargo sent to Persia in 1676,[71] and he had now but little chance of mending his fortunes. His rancour vented itself (in 1677) in attacks on his late companions, and he was called upon to prove charges of atheism against Samuel Hervy and of "unseemly speeches" against Edmund Bugden. But although Smith persisted that he had heard Hervy declare there was "noe God or Divell", and that Bugden had slighted his superiors, both were acquitted, after examination, by the Hûglî Council.[72]

In 1678 Smith was still at Balasor, although the year allowed him to settle his affairs had already expired. He had made up his quarrel with Bugden and was living on friendly terms with his old comrade Richard Edwards, then chief of that factory.[73] In October, however, Bugden had fresh cause of complaint against Smith, who seized his share of the cargo of the *Maldiva Merchant*, a venture in which Smith, Bugden and Edwards were equally interested. Bugden was at Hûglî and could not fight his own battles, so he appealed to Matthias Vincent, Clavell's successor as Chief in Bengal. Vincent wrote to Edwards (14th October, 1678) on Bugden's behalf and informed him that he, as part owner of the cargo, was suspected of "being instrumental in assisting Mr. Smith."[74]

(To be continued.)

A NOTE ON SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION, ETC., IN THE GUJARATI LANGUAGE.

BY N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.; BANDRA.

I WELCOME with keen appreciation Dr. Tessitori's valuable Notes on Old Western Râjasthânî, begun in this *Journal*, February 1914. I have special and personal reasons for according this welcome. Dr. Tessitori's theory about the language which was current all over Gujarât and Râjaputânâ during the post-*Apabhraṁça* period is so lucidly and ably expounded, that it clears up many dark points in the history and origin of the Gujarâtî language. Recently I had occasion to write a series of articles in a Gujarâtî monthly on this subject of the origin of the Gujarâtî language, and in the course of these articles I hinted that between the 12th and 15th centuries of the Christian Era a universal language (which I termed latest *apabhraṁça*) was current in the whole tract named above, and it was not till after the 15th century that this language gradually split up into Gujarâtî, Mârwaḍi and kindred vernaculars. What I merely hinted at has been independently and ably elaborated by Dr. Tessitori, and it is with a spirit of sincere gratefulness that I welcome this authoritative support unconsciously given to me by him. I express this feeling specially because there are some who hold the simple belief that Gujarâtî as at present spoken existed even during Narasinha Mehtâ's and Mirâbai's times, and there are some who fondly imagine that the language of the land which the Parsis adopted after they landed at Sanjan about the close of the 8th century A. D. was the same as the Gujarâtî of the present day! But this limited class of persons can be safely neglected, when we find amongst them one who naïvely asserts that *Kânhaḍade Prabandha* (the well known epic written by Padmanâbha of Jâlor relating the valorous deeds of Kânhaḍadeva) was written by Kânhaḍadeva!

[71] *O. C.* No. 4206. [72] *Factory Records, Hugli,* Vol. I. [73] *O. C.* No. 4463. [74] *O. C.* No. 4502.

I must now come to the special subject of this Note. The theory propounded by Dr. Tessitori regarding the existence of Old Western Râjasthânî and its final splitting up into Gujarâtî on the one hand and Mârwâḍi on the other, is supported by a detailed examination, undertaken by him, of the peculiar features of these languages. It is not my purpose here to deal with all the details. I wish to dwell on two or three items which appeal to me as of special significance from my point of view. These items are the following features in Gujarâtî, as noted by Dr. Tessitori:—

(*a*) contraction of the vocalic groups *ăi*, *aü* into *ê*, *ô*; and (*b*) elision of *h* between vowels or after nasals.

Regarding (*b*) Dr. Tessitori remarks :—

"It is, however, to be observed that in most of such cases the *h*-sound, though disappeared in writing, is still slightly heard in pronunciation."

What I wish here to emphasize regarding this *h*-sound is

(1) That its elision (in writing only) was the result of an artificial system started by the Educational Department some 50 years ago;

(2) That, in spite of this system, the *h*-sound is now revived in writing by a considerable number of writers, in consequence of a protest raised over 25 years ago and an agitation continued since; as a result, this *h* in writing has now come to stay; and

(3) That its being slightly heard is due to the fact that it is not the strong *h*-sound of Sanskrit, but a weak sound, which I call लघुप्रयत्न हकार.

As regards (a) also attempts have been made to insist that some distinguishing sign must be used to denote this broad pronunciation. It used to be denoted in old Mss. by an inverted *mâtrâ*, thus :— कॅाठी (=the wood-apple tree), as distinguished from कोठी(= a big jar); गॅाळ as distinguished from गोळ (= round), डॅाळ (= appearance) as distinguished from डोळ (= a bucket)[1]. Some writers denote this sound by putting a semi-circular mark above the letter, with or without the *mâtrâ*, thus :— कॉंठी or कॉॅठी. It would interest some to note that this sound is peculiar to Gujarâtî alone. Thus where Marâthî has वैर, मैलें, चौथें (चवथें), and Hindî too would have चौथा, मैला, बैठा, पैठा, &ca, Gujarâtî has वॅर, मॅलुं, चॅाथुं, बॅठो, पॅठो, &ca. The phonetic genesis of this broad sound is interesting. It may be noted that in addition to the *aï* and *aü* sounds, *aya* and *ava* also are changed into ê and ô in Gujarâtî ; *e. g.*

Sanskrit.	Prâkṛit.	Gujarâtî.
नयनं	नयणं	नॅण
वचनं	वयणं	वॅण
रजनी	रयणी	रॅण
कपर्दिका	कवड्डिआ	कॅाडी
गवाक्षः	गवक्खो	गॅाख

[1] Sir George Grierson gives a list of words containing this broad sound at pp. 344 ff. of his Volume on Gujarâtî and Râjasthâni (Linguistic Survey of India). I notice, however, that wrong words have crept in occasionally ; *e. g.*, *dhol* (a drum) ; this is really never sounded with a broad *o*.

Now, both these sets of changes can be reduced to a common principle. By a certain phonetic process the medial इ and उ in a word in the Prâkrit and intermediate stages become respectively य and व[2] in Gujarâtî in some cases; thus:—

Sanskrit.	Prâkrit.	Gujarâtî
कोकिलः	कोइलो	कॉयल
देवकुलम्	देउलं	देवळ
(Deśya)	पइअं (+ ड termination)	पयडुं
,,	बाउल्ली	बावली

&ca., &ca.

The *aï* and *aü* sounds, then, really pass through the *aya* and *ava* stage before assuming the form of broad ê and ô; thus :— मइलं assumes the sound मयलं and चउत्थं becomes चवत्थं before they finally settle down into मॅलुं and चॉथुं. A close study of these sounds as they reach the ear[3] leads one to accept this theory. It must be further noted that before the broad sound is finally reached, the final *a* of *aya* and *ava* is dropped, under the operation of another phonetic principle whereby a द्रुततर (very quickly pronounced) *a* is dropped, *e.g.*,

Sanskrit.	Prâkrit or *Apabhraṁça.*	Gujarâtî.
अहं	हउं	हुं
कटकं	कडअं	कडुं

et cetera.

Thus the stages are :—

मइलं—	मयलं —	मय्लं—	मॅलुं ;
चउत्थं—	चवत्थं—	चव्थं—	चॉथुं.

The above analysis of the phonetic history of the broad sound of *e* and *o* receives a strong support from the fact that certain words having the vocalic group *aï* in them in *Apabhraṁça* are actually seen to pass through the anti-*samprasâraṇa* stage at a certain period of the Gujarâtî language, *e. g.*

Apabhraṁça		Old W. Râjasthânî
पइसार	(abstract noun from पइसइ Sanskrit प्रविशति)	पयसार
वइर	(Sanskrit वैर)	वयर
वइरागी	(Sanskrit वैरागी)	वयरागी

Dr. Tessitori has found the first two instances in *Panchâkhyâna*, 246 and 503, and the last one in Florentine MSS. 616, 126. (See § 4 (5) under Chapter II of his Notes (*Ante*, April 1914, pp. 57-58). It may thus be safely inferred that this anti-*samprasâraṇa* process had its share in the case of *aü* as well as *aï* group, and, **whether all words passed through this process in actual language or not, the phonetic origin of the broad e and o as traced here may be safely accepted as indicating the underlying principle.** Some may contend that the better theory would be to hold that the अय and अव of words like नयण, वयण, गवक्ख, कवाड्डिआ, pass through the अइ and अउ stage by the *samprasâraṇa* process before reaching the broad sound of *e* and *o*. But I am not inclined to abandon the theory advanced by

[2] This process is the reverse of *Samprasâraṇa* which also occurs in the formation of Gujarâtî words, *e. g.*, ध्वनिः–धून; स्वरः–सुर; हृदयं–हियअं–हइयुं; शतकं–सय(कं) –सइकुं, सैकुं; *et cetera.*

[3] This will be clear when we try to sound मइलं and मय्लं and see that the broad sound of *ê* is in closer affinity with the अय् than with the अइ sound; similarly with अव् and अउ. This process of broadening *e* and *o* occurs also in the case of Persian and Arabic words adopted into Gujarâtî. *e. g.*, मॅाज, ऍश, ऑलिया, कॉल, फॅसलो, *et cetera.*

me, because whereas there *are* some instances in actual language (*e. g.*, वयर &ca in *Panchâkhyâna* &ca) which indicate the anti-*samprasârana* process, there are no *actual* instances of the अय of words like नयण etc. having changed into अइ; and where, in some cases, the अय *has* changed to अइ; (as in शतकं-सय(कं)-सइकुं) the sound has either stopped short at *aï* or become ऐ in Gujarâtî,and not been broadened into *ê*. Additional reasons for adhering to my theory are already indicated above.

Furthermore, this broadening of *e* and *o* sounds occurs even when the vowel group (*aï* or *aü*) ends a word ; thus :—

Prâkṛit, *Apabhramçâ*. etc.	Gujarâtî.
छइ	छॅ
करइ	करॅ
अनइ	अनॅ
तउ	तॉ
करउ	करॉ
घोडउ	घोडॉ

In fact the final *e* in the present tense third personal singular form of Gujarâtî verbs, and the final *o* in the nominative singular masculine of Gujarâtî words ending in *o*, are really broadish in sound. However, I make this distinction between this final sound and the sound of the medial *e* and *o*; *viz.*, that in the case of the latter the broad[4] pronunciation is strongly marked and may therefore be termed विवृत, while in the case of the former it is slightly faintly perceptible owing to the fact that the sound is final and thus not very audible, and may therefore be termed अर्धविवृत. Consequently I do not demand any distinctive mark for the final sound, as I do in the case of the medial *e* and *o*.

(*To be continued.*

NOTE ON THE ROCK-HEWN VAISHNAVA TEMPLE AT MASRUR DERA TAHSIL, KANGRA DISTRICT, PANJAB.

BY H. L. SHUTTLEWORTH ESQ., HOSHIARPUR.

THOUGH rock temples of various types are fairly common in central and southern India, it has not till recently been known that the Panjab sub-Himalayan district of Kangra possesses one, remarkable alike on account of its position, elaborate structural design and carved details. There is no evidence that it had been seen by any European, prior to my first visit in April 1913, though local rumour has it that it was seen by Mr. Barnes, Settlement Officer of Kangra, in the early fifties. Brief allusions are made to it in the lists of places of archæological Monuments in the Panjab, published in 1875 and 1891, but they are misleading, in that they do not convey the impression that the temple is hewn from the live rock. Native subordinates of the Archæological Department have seen it on two occasions, but it was not until October 1913, that it was scientifically examined by

[4] Sir George Grierson designates the विवृत *e* as short and the *o* as broad. He says :—"Gujarâtî has a short *e* as well as a long *e*." It "has no short *o*, but, on the other hand, in some words *o* is pronounced broadly, like the *a* in "all." (*Introduction to the Gujarâtî Language*, Linguistic Survey of India, IX, Part II, p. 329). I suspect there is some confusion here. Both *e* and *o*, are either broad and narrow, or short and long.

Mr. Hargreaves, Officiating Superintendent of Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle of the Archæological Department. His visit, was, I venture to say, largely induced by the photographs and details, which my visit in April enabled me to forward to him. The present note, with its photographs, is the result of my April visit, followed by a second visit in November, which was made with the object of drawing up a rough plan and of supplementing the photographs, previously taken by me. I am indebted for certain information to Mr. Hargreaves and also to Mr. Vincent Smith, author of *Early History of India* and of *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, with whom I have been in correspondence.

The position of the temple on the summit of a sand stone range of hills, here some 2500 feet in elevation, is one commanding fine vistas of the snow capped Dhaulâ Dhâr to the north-east and of the Beâs valley to the west. While by path only some 8 miles from the small, but ancient town of Haripur, visited by Vigne in 1839, and some 12 miles from the historical Koṭ Kângṛâ, rough inter-hamlet hill tracks provide the sole access to it. Its inaccessibility explains why it has escaped notice for so long. On the approach from Haripur, the temple first comes into view, when the visitor surmounts the smaller parallel ridge to the south-west. In the distance the temple can scarcely be distinguished from the adjacent rock, as on this side it is sadly weather worn, if indeed it was ever quite completed. From nearer, the deep cuts that separate each end of the temple from the rest of the sandstone ridge, some of the *śikharas* and doorways become visible. But it is not till one has passed through the south-east cut and viewed the temple from the other side that the true character and size of the temple begin to manifest themselves. Even then at first it seems an extravagant and confused mass of spires, doorways and ornament. The perfect symmetry of the design, all centering in the one supreme spire, immediately over the small main cella, which together form the *vimâna*, can only be realised after a careful examination of each part in relation to the other. This difficulty is chiefly due to the destruction of several of the spires, the blocking up of the almost perfect east corner by mean huts, and the intruding trees and vegetation, that in places are helping to disintegrate the temple itself.

If the visitor stands by the Garuḍa (photo. No. 2) facing the large door to the cella, (photo. No. 3), on each side of him are the ruinous remains of two miniature cruciform shrines. Beyond them, right and left, in a straight line and in front of the corner, were two larger detached outflanking *śikhara* shrines, resembling spires of the main temple. That to the right is still partly extant, but its fellow to the east is represented only by remains of its base. The survivor contains an exceptionally fine sculptured lintel on its outside face. (See photos. Nos. 5 and 6). Behind the visitor's back is the large rectangular tank, hollowed out of the rock, shown in the foreground of photo. No. 1. Advancing towards the cella, one enters a square court, immediately in front of the door of the cella. It is now open to the sky, but was once probably covered by a portico or *maṇḍapa*, supported on carved pillars, the remains of three of which are still to be seen: the base of one *in situ* in the south corner of the court (Plan, B), part of another, or perhaps of the first, supporting the later Garuḍa (Plan, A and photo. No. 2.), and part of a third recumbent on the ground and defaced with rough

designs of Hanumân etc., (Plan, C). The fine large doorway, lavishly covered with carving, in places on inlaid panels, (photo. No. 7) leads to the central shrine, little more than 4 yards square, which contains three black stone images of Râma, Sîtâ and Lakshmaṇa[1] (*vide infra*). The shrine is plain, but for its roof, once adorned by circular, possibly floral designs, now nearly destroyed by the percolation of water from above. By the same agency the lower parts of the sides of the carved doorway have been eaten away. From the flat roof of the temple immediately over the cella springs the lofty central spire, the 28 sided base of which occupies not quite the full breadth of the roof, which is some 15 yards (photo No. 4, Plan, No. 7). It is supported right and left by two smaller attendant spires of a similar design (Plan, Nos. 8 and 9). Access to the flat roof from the court is or was given by two staircases, inside two small spires, flanking the doorway of the cella, (Plan, Nos. 5 and 6). Probably, to judge from some fallen fragments, there were two similar counterbalancing spires on the other side of the temple (Plan, Nos. 14 and 15). Now only that to the left or south-east of the sanctuary doorway is intact, steps and all.

The flat roof of the temple is about 50 yards in length; each of its corners is provided with a small *śikhara*, (Plan, Nos. 10, 11, 12, and 13) the pair at each end, being, as described previously, in line with one of the detached pair, (Plan, Nos. 3 and 4). The roof, between each pair of corner spires forms a porch, the lintels and sides of which, as of those of all the other doorways, are carved. The faces of all the *śikharas* are or were covered with carved designs, as the photos. Nos. 4 and 12 show. On each side of the temple between each of the corner and staircase spires, would be an interval of empty wall were not each such space filled in by a low, broad, but thin pyramidical structure crowning another door, (Plan, Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19). Photo. No. 4 shows No. 16. These structures Mr. Hargreaves compares to Dravidian Gopuras.

On the ground level the total number of doorways or porches, most of them incompletely excavated, was probably 28. On the roof there were 11 complete *śikharas*, which with the detached four make 15 in all. In addition there were the four Gopuras, mentioned in the last paragraph. The elaborate, yet symmetrical, general design can be best appreciated by reference to the rough index plan, which only aims at indicating the relative position of the various parts of the temple on the ground and roof level. The plan is to a large extent a restoration, as the parts indicated by broken lines now no longer exist, and many of the others are ruined in varying degrees. For exact measurements, Mr. Hargreaves' note should be referred to.

The abundance and richness of the deep-cut carvings round the doorways and on the faces of the *śikharas* are remarkable. Some of them are wonderfully well preserved by being to some extent protected from the weather by being overhung by projections. The high level of the execution is equalled in no other early temple in these parts. This will be best seen from the photos. Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 of the various carved lintels, that have suffered little injury as yet. The flower-pot design (photo. No. 11) is fairly common elsewhere. There is a specimen of it on a pillar in the Lahore Museum of a Kâṅgṛâ temple (Baijnâth ?). The animal representations, such as the tigers in photo. No. 9, the pair of geese to the top of photo. No. 10 and the ram to the right of the same

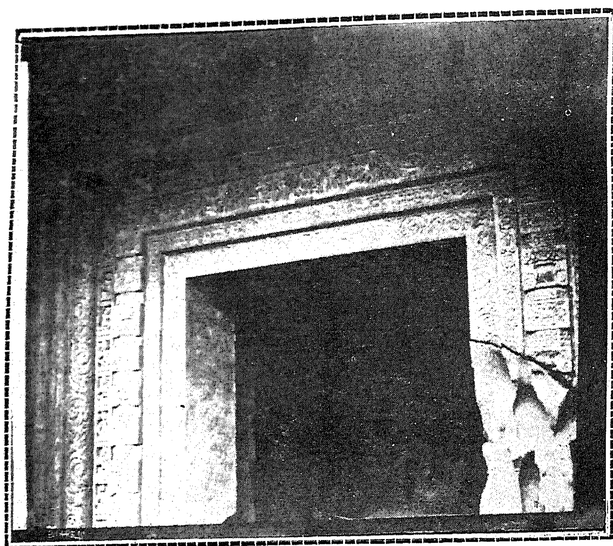
[1] 'Râma the epic hero regarded as a complete reincarnation of Vishṇu', Sîtâ his wife, Lakshmaṇa Rama's half brother (Barnett's *Antiquities* pp. 25-29.)

photo, are very realistic, while the figures of the Hindu deities, among whom Vishṇu, Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Durgâ can be recognised, the Śaktîs, attendants and especially the dancing piper at the left of No. 5 are equally well executed.

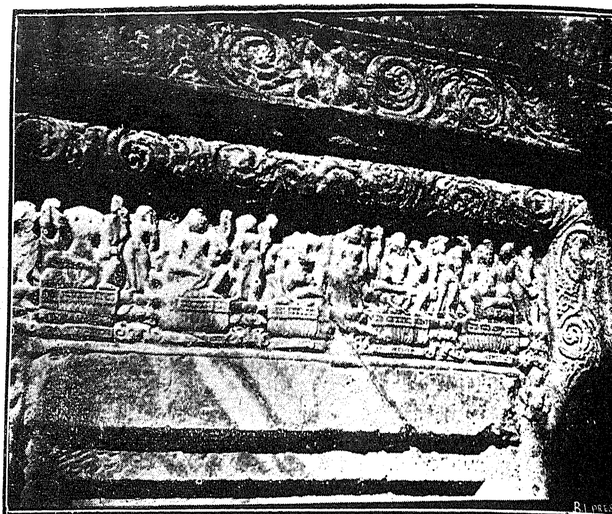
The shrine is known as Ṭhakurdvârâ, the temple of Vishṇu, though it actually contains, as noted above, images of the Râma reincarnation of Vishṇu, and his wife and half-brother, all principal actors in the Râmâyaṇa epic. Mr. Hargreaves has conjectured that the temple may have once been dedicated to Śiva. But for many years the worship of Śiva has been spreading at the expense of that of Vishṇu. The features of the face on the recurring sets of three medallions on the *śikharas* (photo. No. 12) are not unlike other admitted representations of Vishṇu. Inscriptions at Kaṇiârâ, near Dharmśâla, show that Kṛishṇa worship had established itself in this district centuries before the hewing of this temple (*Kâṅgṛâ Gazetteer*, page 258). The Garuḍa (photo. No. 2) may be recent but there are no traces at all of Śiva's bull, Nandi, that almost invariably faces that god's shrines. However, the intimate connection of Śaiva and Vaishṇava worship at a certain stage of religious development makes this a difficult question, which excavation may possibly solve.

The *pujârî* and people attribute the excavation and decoration of the temple to the exiled Pâṇḍava brothers, those Cyclopes of India, to whom other ancient marvels of architecture, such as Mârtaṇḍa in Kashmîr and the Mâmallapuram Rathas, are also assigned. The local legend, as told me, is that the work was all but finished in one night and its non-completion was due to the appearance of a Telin, who emerged from her house just before dawn. Upon seeing her, the architects, abandoning their almost complete work, fled, as recognition meant extension of their period of exile. But the work must have taken years and in date it is at least somewhat later than the structural temples of the same epoch. The perfection of the handicraft and the elaboration of the design—a striking contrast to the usual simple one-spired temple consisting of one little cella, with perhaps a pro-cella and porch—, show that it was made at a fairly late stage of architectural development. Mr. Vincent Smith from an examination of my photos. thinks it belongs to the 7th century A. D. Mr. Hargreaves puts it in the 8th century. Thus it belongs to the same period of architectural activity as the far distant Mâmallapuram Rathas (7th century), Mârtaṇḍa (A. D. 750) and the Elurâ Kailâsa (late eighth century). These dates are taken from Barnett's *Antiquities of India* pp. 242-3. There is no exact evidence from inscriptions or elsewhere to enable the date to be fixed more precisely.

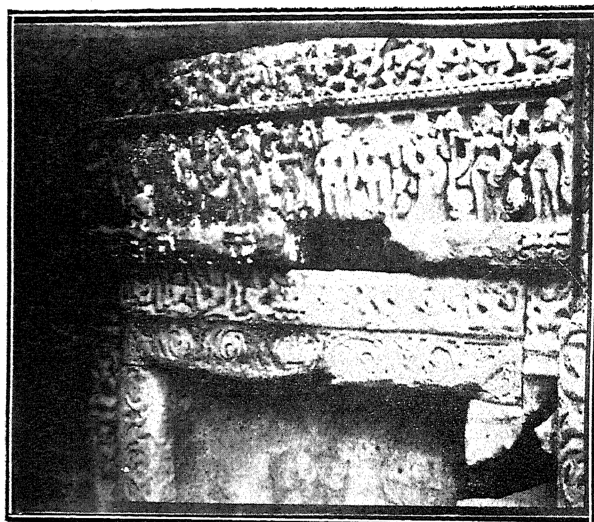
During its long existence the action of the heavy rainfall of these parts has done immense damage. Huge slices of the still surviving carved spires, or of the sides of the doors, have fallen. The south-west side has suffered most. Perhaps some of this damage is due to earthquakes, either in 1905 or earlier. Fortunately no alien iconoclast seems to have penetrated here. Now that this long neglected temple, little known except to the inhabitants of the immediately surrounding hamlets, has been notified as a protected monument, it is hoped that the proposals of the Archæological Superintendent for its preservation will soon be carried out under skilled supervision. For these proposals, as well as for technical details reference should be made to the inspection and conservation notes, drawn up by Mr. Hargreaves, who made exact measurements and had large scale photos, taken. The present general description claims no pretension to give



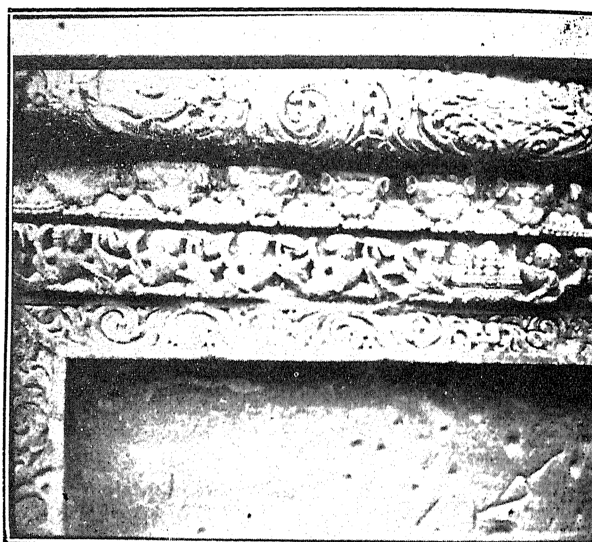
No. 7



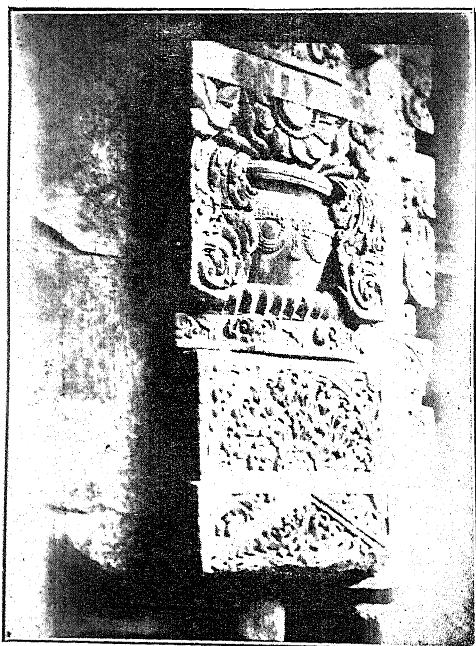
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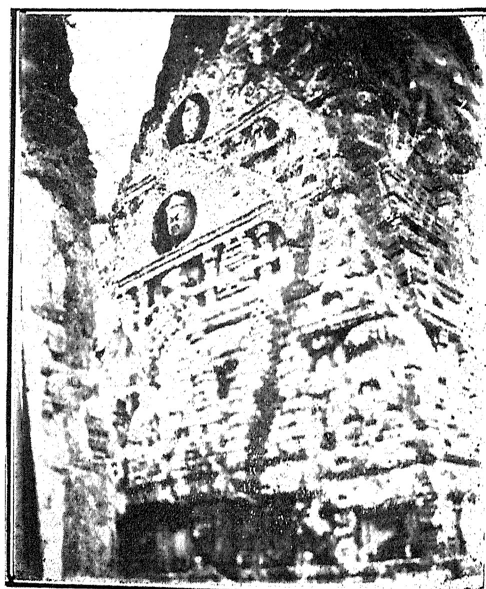
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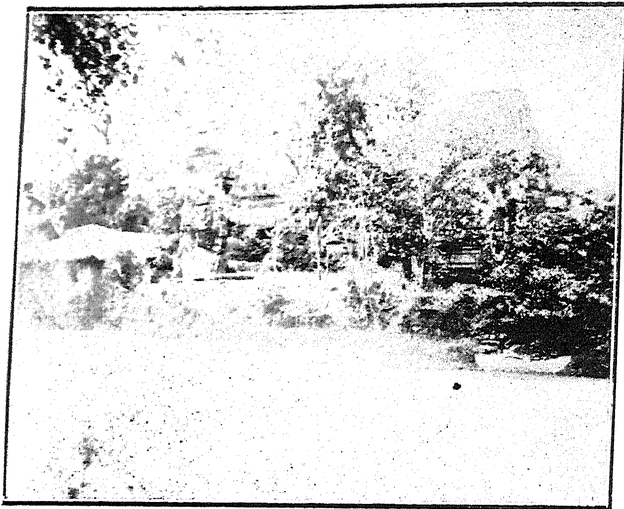


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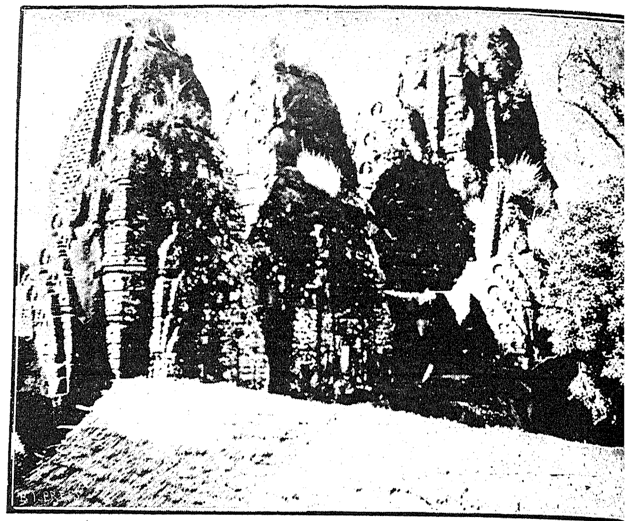


No. 11





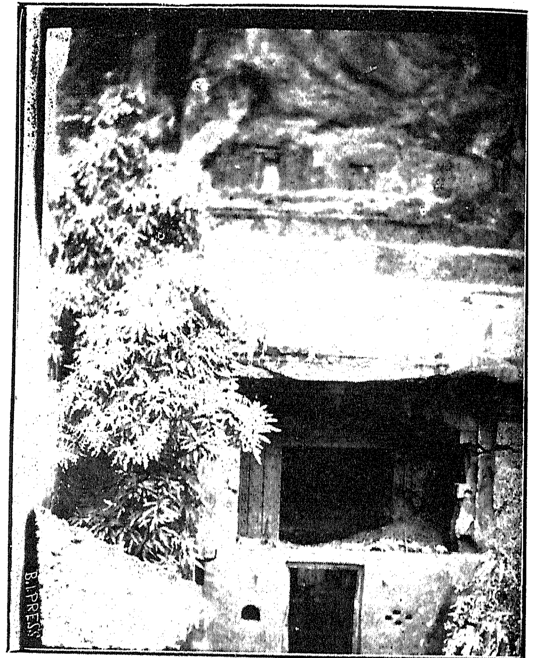
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No. 4



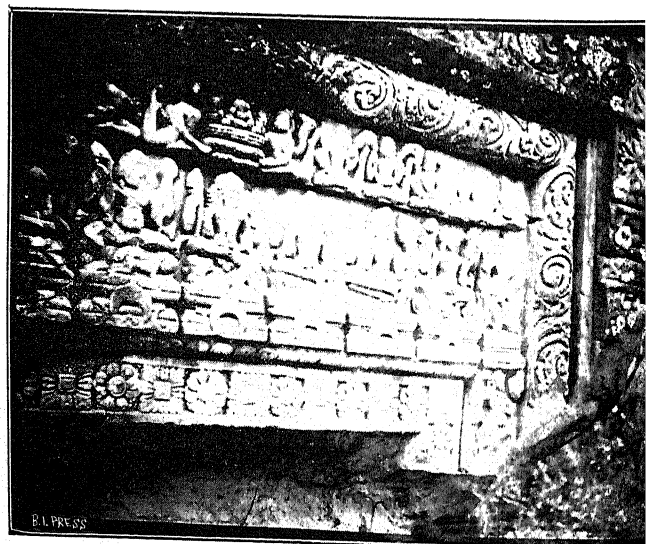
No. 2



No. 3



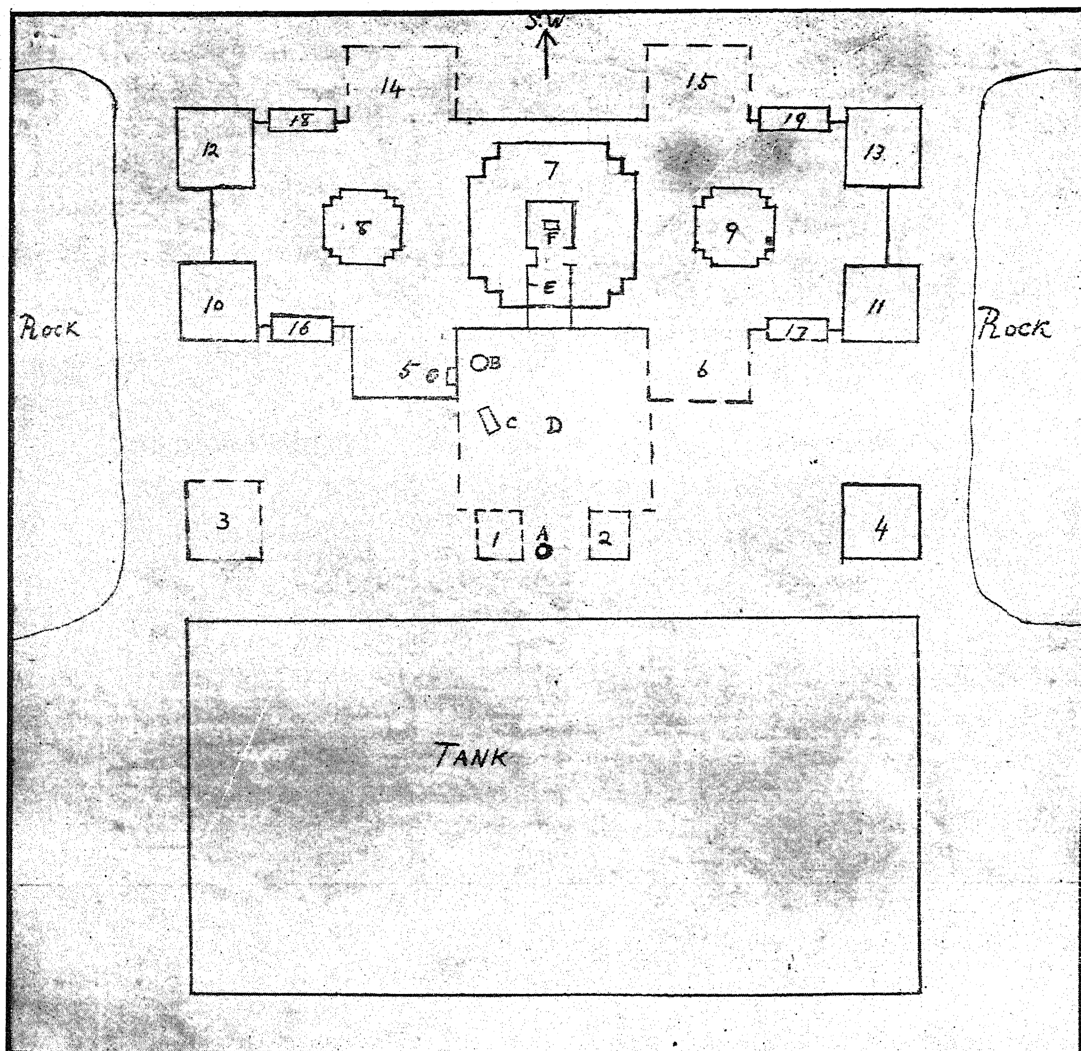
No. 5



No. 6

more than the impressions of an interested visitor, who, however, has had the fortune to aid in the virtual discovery of this striking monument of medieval Hindu devotion.[2]

Masrur Temple. Rough Index Plan.



Notes.—With the exception of spires Nos. 7, 8, & 9, the others are represented as square: they, except Nos. 16, 17, 18, and 19, are cruciform at their bases.

The broken lines indicate parts of the temple that have disappeared.

A. Garuda pillar. B. Portico pillar *in situ*. C. Fallen pillar. D. Court yard. E. Doorway to cella. F. Cella and altar. G. Staircase to roof. Nos. 1-15 spires. Nos. 16-19 half-spires. (Gopuras).

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[2] Since writing this article, I have come across the following cases in other temples, in which the 'Flower Pot' design, shown in photo: No. 11, occurs:—

(1) In the Saktî Devî temple at Chatrârî, between Chambâ and Barmaur, some 15 miles in a straight line north of Dharmśâla, which is itself about the same distance from Masrur, *vide*, Vogel's article p. 240 *I. Archæological Report*, 1902-3, plate 34-b. This temple is ascribed to *circa* A. D. 700. The design on the plate referred to is identical with that in photo. No. 11. Both may be assigned to the same period. An image of Vishṇu-Sûrya is amongst the carvings of this temple.

(2) In Ajaṇṭâ cave No. 24, see p. 56 of Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India*, 1864.

(3) At Ellora caves (a) Viśvakarma—Fergusson *Op. Cit* pp. 63-4. (b) Vihâra p. 65. (c) Tin Tal p. 66. These are Buddhist of about the 7th and 8th centuries. (d) Das Avatâra pp. 67-8 *circa* 800.

The last temple cave, which is Brahmanical, is of interest, as showing how Vaishṇava and Śaiva worship was sometimes combined. Probably the same was at one time the case at the Mârwâr temple of Maṇḍor where finally Śiva ousted Vishṇu.

The features of the face in the Medallion photo. 12 resemble those of the Vishṇu face of the Elephanta Trimûrti, depicted in plate 33 of Coomaraswamy's *Arts and Crafts of India*. They also resemble those in the Vaishṇava sculpture in Chaitya No. 19 at Ajaṇṭâ. This particular medallion is, I consider, meant to represent Vishṇu. However, the fact that these medallions, most of them much weatherworn, are all in sets of three, suggests that each set may have represented the Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Siva trinity.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE YOGA-BHÂSHYA OF VYÂSA.

Since Raja Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's Introduction to his translation of the *Bhoja-vṛitti* on the *Sûtras*, in which he decried the *Yoga-bhâshya* and questioned its genuineness, it has suffered a great deal of unmerited obloquy at the hands of the Sanskritists. The subject was generally unfashionable. There was no *guruparamparâ*, available to unravel its intricacies, and so it was easier to ignore the work than tackle it seriously. That the work is fairly old—so old that it is hard to interpret—as the Shastris say, its *Shailî* is altogether too different from that of the later *bhâshyas* to allow of always accurate interpretation is borne out incontestably by the fact of its being quoted in the *Nyâya-bhâshya*. One passage e. g. is सोऽयं विकारो व्यक्तेरपैति नित्यत्वप्रतिषेधात् which the *vârtika* of Uddyotakara reads as तदेतत् त्रैलोक्यं विकारो etc. It occurs in *Yoga-bhâshya* on S. 13. ch. III. This shows that the work has to be assigned to the 1st or 2nd century A. D. at the latest.

GOVINDA DAS.

BENARES.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SHAHJAHAN AND JAHANARA.

REVERTING to Mr. Vincent Smith's interesting account of De Laët's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis* (*ante*, Vol. XLIII, p. 223) and the scandalous story he spread regarding Shâhjahân's alleged incestuous relations with his daughter Jahanârâ, at p. 203 of my Edition of Vol. II. of Peter Mundy's *Travels* (*Hak. Soc.* issues for 1914) the following version thereof will be found: "This Shawe Jehan amonge the rest hath one Chiminy Beagum, a verie beautifull creature by report, with whome (it was openly bruited and talked of in Agra) hee committed incest, being verie familiar with him many times in boyes apparrell, in great favours, and as great meanes allowed her." Chamanî Begam was the *third* of Shâhjahân's daughters, the other two being Jahanârâ and Raushanârâ. She died in 1616.

Peter Mundy travelled to and from India between 1628 and 1634, keeping an invaluable *Journal* divided into "Relations." He left Surat overland for Agra in November 1630, and arrived in January 1631. In August 1632 he went to Patna, returning to Agra in December. In March 1633 he started back by a different route for Surat. He gives a special "Relation" about "the Great Mogoll Shawe Jehan," in the course of which occurs the above note. He clearly means Jahânârâ by "Chiminy Beagum," but I am not aware of any evidence showing that Jahânârâ was ever known to the Court by her sister's name after her sister's death.

I look upon the story as an instance of the scandalous gossip about those in high places, which has only too often been handed down as Indian history: in this case, to account for the great favours publicly showered on Jahânârâ by her fond and notoriously ill-regulated father; having its root in the common knowledge that the Mughal Emperors' daughters were not allowed to marry for reasons of State. Later on the tremendous rivalry between Jahânârâ and Raushanârâ, and the jealousies of the opposing factions of Shâhjahân and Aurangzêb, which they respectively joined, would be quite enough to perpetuate the scandal with acrimonious additions.

R. C. TEMPLE.

in the Ratnágiri District, a buffalo is offered to the goddess Redjái on the full moon day of *Chaitra* every third year. [1] At Náringre offerings of cocoanuts, etc. are made to the deities Bhávakái, Chala, etc. on the 1st of the month of *Márgashirsha*. [2] The Schoolmaster of Ibrampur states that one of the following deities is the *grámadevata* of every village in the Ratnágiri District *viz*: Chandkái, Varadhan, Khem, Bahiri, Kedár, Vággaya, Antaral, Manaya, Salbaya and Vághámbari. A procession in their honour takes place in the months of *Chaitra* and *Fálgun*. The *Pujáris* are generally either Guravs or Marátha Kunbis. A ceremony called *Palejatra* is performed in the sowing season, while the *Dhal-jatra* is performed at the harvest time. At these fairs fowls, cocoanuts, goats, fruits, etc. are offered to these deities.[3] At Málwan on the no-moon day of *Shrávan* (August) local deities and ghosts are propitiated by offering to them goats, fowls, etc.[4] At Pálset in the Ratnágiri District, the god Parashurám is the most important deity especially for Chitpávans. He exterminated the Kshatriyas twenty-one times, and having no space for himself and his Bráhmans, he asked the sea to provide him with new land. On meeting with a refusal, Parashurám became enraged and was about to push the sea back with his arrow, when, at the instigation of the sea, a black-bee *(bhunga)* cut the string of his bow, and the arrow only went a short distance. The people say that the space thus recovered from the sea came to be called Konkan.[5] At Anjarle there are two local goddesses Sawanekarin and Bahiri. Offerings of goats and fowls are made to them in the months of *Márgashirsha* (December) and *Fálgun* (March). Sometimes liquor and eggs are also offered. Offerings can be made on any day except Monday and *Ekádashi*, Tuesdays and Sundays being considered most suitable.[6] At Ubhádánda in the Ratnágiri District, Ravalnáth and Bhutanáth are held in great reverence. They are believed to be incarnations of the god Shiva. The *Pujáris* are generally Guravs, Ghádis, Ráuls and Sutárs.[7] The following goddesses which are popular in the RatnágiriDistrict are believed to be incarnations of the goddess Durga, *viz*. Navala-devi, Vághur-devi, Jakha-devi and Kálkái.[8] At Maral in the Ratnágiri District there is a *swayambhu* or natural *linga* of the god Shiva. It is called Maheshwar, and in its honour a fair is held on the *Sankránt* day.[9] The chief local deity of the Dahánu taluka, Thána District, is Mahálakshmi. She has seven sisters and one brother, two of the sisters being the Pangala-devi at Tárápur and the Delavadi-devi at Ghivali. Goats and fowls are offered to the Pangala-devi on the *Dasara* day. Her *Pujári* is a Gurav. It is said that the goddess Delwadi used to receive her garments from the sea, but now this is no longer the case though it is still believed that the incense which is burnt before her comes floating from Dwárka.[10] In the village of Edwan there is a goddess called Ashápuri, who used to supply her devotees with whatever they wanted. The devotee was required to besmear with cow-dung a plot of ground in the temple, and to pray for the things wanted by him. The next day, when he came to the temple, he found the desired things on the spot besmeared with cow-dung.[11] At Mángaon the *Pujári* of the local goddess is either the Pátil or the Madhavi of the village.[12] In the village of Dahigaon cocoanuts are offered annually to the village Máruti, and fowls and goats to the other local deities, in order that the village may be protected against danger and disease.[13] It is believed that any

1 School Master, Dábhol, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Ibrámpur, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Málwan, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Palset, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Sákharpe, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Dahánu, Thána.
11 School Master, Edwan, Thána.
12 School Master, Mángaon, Thána.
13 School Master, Dahigaon.

Bráhman who acts as the *Pujári* of the god Shiva will find his family exterminated, and for this reason Bráhmans do not act as *Pujáris* in the temples of Shiva.

In a few temples of goddesses like Jakhái etc. the *Pujári* is of the Mahár caste.[1] A great fair is held in honour of the goddess Vajrá-bái or Vajreshwari near Nirmal in the month of *Kártika* (November). The *Pujári* of the goddess is a Gosávi of the Giri sect. The worship of Bhimasena is not prevalent in the Konkan, but the hero Bhima, like Máruti, is held in reverence by the gymnasts. Bhima is not worshipped, but a work called the *Bhima-stavaráj* is read at the bed of a dying man in order that he may obtain salvation. At Ashirgad there is a *gumpha* or cave of Ashwathâma, a hero of the Mahábhárata, and it is said that a noise is heard coming from the cave on the full moon day.[2]

Wherever a village is founded, it is customany to establish a village deity as the guardian of the village. The deities chosen are Máruti, Káli, Chandkái, Varadani, etc. In the Konkan, goddesses are preferred, and on the Ghats generally Máruti is preferred. Certain ceremonies are performed for consecrating the place to the deity, and sometimes the deity is called after the village as Marleshwar[3] etc. By many lower class people the goddess Pondhar is often selected as the guardian of a new village. At Shahpur, if the newly founded village is to be inhabited by high class Hindus, the deities Máruti and Durga are selected as *gráma-devatas*, but if it is to be inhabited by lower class people, then such deities as Mhasoba, Chedoba, Jákhái, etc. are chosen.[4] In the Bassein and Sálsette tálukas the following deities *viz*. Máruti, Chedá, Chandkái, and Shiva, are chosen as village deities. Cheda is represented by a long piece of wood or stone besmeared with red-powder, and is placed on the outskirts of the village. No Bráhman is necessary for establishing a Cheda. The *Pujári* is generally a Kunbi or Máli, and he establishes the deity by offering it a goat or fowls and cocoanuts.[5] Sometimes the guardian deity of a new settlement is decided upon by a *Kaul*. Two or three names of deities are selected, betelnuts or flowers are placed on the sides of the guardian deity of the neighbouring village and that deity in whose name the betelnut falls first is chosen as the deity of the new village.[6] At Chaul, the deity called Bápdev is very popular among the lower classes. It is represented by a big stone fixed on mortar and besmeared with red-powder. When it is established for the first time in a village, a Bráhman is required to make the first *púja* or worship, but after this it is worshipped by a *Pújári* of a lower caste.[7] The Mahars in the Kolába District select the ghost-deity called Jhaloba as the guardian deity of a new settlement.[8] In many cases the deity of their former village or of the neighbouring village[9] is named by a Bhagat or exorcist, who becomes possessed.[10]

In the Konkan every village farm is supposed to be under the guardianship of the minor godlings, the majority of which are called *Bhuta-Devatás* or ghostly godlings. In some cases the field guardians are also the Bráhmanic godlings like Máruti and Shiva. To the Bráhmanic guardians of the field, cocoanuts and flowers are offered at the sowing and reaping seasons, and to the rest, fowls, cocoanuts, and sometimes goats, are offered. The higher classes feed one or two Bráhmans in order to propitiate the deities of the fields; and for the propitiation of the minor deities of the field

[1] School Master, Bhiwandi, Thána.
[2] School Master, Agashi, Arnála, Thána.
[3] School Master, Agashi, Thána.
[4] School Master, Malgund, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Shahápur, Thána.
[6] School Master, Agáshi, Thána.
[7] School Master, Medhe, Kolába.
[8] School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
[9] School Master, Akol, Kolába!
[10] School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
[11] School Master, Shiroshi, Thána District.

the lower classes perform a rite called *Dalap*. This rite is performed by a man of the Gurav, Ghádi, or Rául, caste by sacrificing to the field deity a goat or fowls and cocoanuts. The *pujári* repeats prayers for a good harvest, and then distributes portions of the offerings among the people assembled there for witnessing the rite.[1] In the Ratnágiri District on the no moon day of *Jeshta* people assemble in the temple of the village deity and perform a rite called *Gárháne* in order that they should have a good crop, that their village may be free from diseases, and that their cattle may be protected. A similar rite is performed on the first day of the bright half of the month of *Márgashirsha* (December), and on this occasion sometimes a goat or sheep is sacrificed at the boundary of the village.[2] In order that there should be a good harvest, the villagers of Kankaoli worship on certain days from the month of *Kártika* (November) to the month of *Shimga* (March) the minor deities of the field by offering them fowls, cocoanuts, etc.[3] At Achare (Ratnágiri) some people worship the god of the clouds on the day on which the *Mriga-shirsha* constellation begins, and they believe that thereby plenty of rain is ensured for the season.[4] For good harvests and for the protection of their cattle, the villagers of Achare pray to the *Gráma-devata* in the month of *Jeshta* (June), and then go in procession from the temple of the village deity to the boundary of the village, where they sacrifice a cock and offer some cooked rice with a burning wick upon it, to the deity that presides over the fields and harvests.[5] In the village of Palset of the Ratnágiri District the goddess Khema is worshipped by the villagers to obtain good crops, and for the protection of their cattle. The *Púja* or special worship takes place on the full-moon day of *Márgashirsha* and on this occasion the sacred *Gondhal* dance is also performed.[6] In certain villages of the Ratnágiri District, for obtaining good harvest, people worship the godling Mahápurush at the beginning of the sowing and reaping operations, and offer the deity fowls, cocoanuts and cooked rice.[7] In the village of Málwan, at the sowing and reaping seasons, the villagers usually make offerings of fowls and cocoanuts and goats to the guardians of the fields, but Bráhmans and such Kunbi farmers as do not eat flesh make offerings of cooked rice mixed with curds.[8] At Ubhádánda village, in order to secure a good harvest and for the protection of the cattle, the villagers worship the spirit godlings called *Sambandhas* and perform the rite called *Devachár*.[9] At Kochare, annual prayers are offered to the godling called Gavat-dev for the protection of the village cattle.[10] In the Devgad taluka people believe that some deity resides in every farm or in every collection of fields, and that good or bad harvests are caused as the deity is pleased or displeased.[11] In order that there should be plenty of rain and that the cattle should be protected, the villagers of Málgund assemble in the temple of the village deity and offer prayers on the full moon day of *Fálgun* (March) and on the 1st day of the bright half of *Márgashirsh*.[12] In the Kolába District, for the protection of cattle and for good crops, prayers are offered to the god Bahiri and the ghosts Khavis and Sambandh.[13]

At Chauk in the Kolába District the villagers perform a special *púja* or worship of the god Krishna in order that the village cattle may be protected.[14] At Casawani a fair called *pále jatra* is held in the month of

[1] School Master, Parule, Ratnágiri.
[2] School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Kankaoli, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Masure, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Palset, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Malwan, Ratnágiri.
[9] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[10] School Master, Kochare, Ratnágiri.
[11] School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.
[12] School Master, Malgund, Ratnágirl.
[13] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[14] School Master, Chauk, Kolába.

CHAPTER III.

DISEASE DEITIES.

AT Vengurla, in the Ratnágiri District, when epidemic diseases prevail, the people of the village assemble and prepare a basket in which are placed cooked rice, cocoanuts, lemons, wine, red flowers and *Udid* (Phaseolus radiatus) grain. The basket is then carried out of the village along with a cock or a goat, and deposited outside the village boundary. To carry this basket, a person belonging to the Mahar caste is generally selected. The people of the next village similarly carry the basket beyond their village limits; and it is finally thrown into the sea. It is believed that if the basket of offerings to the disease-deities is carried from one village to another, it is sure to bring the disease with it. Great care is therefore taken to throw the offerings into the sea. In cases of small pox a feast is given to women whose husbands are alive. In some cases boiled rice is mixed with the blood of a cock, and on the rice is placed a burning black cotton wick in a cocoanut shell with a little oil in it. The whole is then carried beyond the village boundary and thrown away.[1] In the village of Mitbáv in the Ratnágiri District, epidemic diseases like cholera, small pox, plague, etc., are supposed to come from disease deities, and in order to avoid the danger of such diseases the people of the village go to the temple of the village deity and pray for protection. The special form of worship on such occasions is the *Kaul* i.e., asking a favour from the deity. When an epidemic of plague broke out for the first time at Sangmeshwar, the people of the village at once proceeded to worship the village deity; b cases of plague occurred, even after w ing the village goddess *Jákhmáta*. W people went to the temple and asked th why the plague continued, it was annou the deity through the temple ministr she was helpless in the case of plag desired the people to worship the go thereby signifying that the village de limited powers, and that the power of great evils lies with Shiva the god of tion.[2] In the Devgad Taluka of the R District in epidemic diseases like chole the usual ceremony, *i.e.*, the *Paradi* (scaring basket) is performed. A containing boiled rice, red powde flowers, lemons, betel nuts, betel leave is prepared, and on that rice is a burning cotton wick dipped in oil. basket is then carried beyond the boundary along with a goat having flower garland round its neck. Th is set free at the outskirts of the v In cases of small pox, married women husbands are alive are worshipped turmeric powder, cocoanuts, flowers, etc incense is kept burning in the house. deity of small pox is also specially worsl for a number of days. It is represente brass or copper *lota* with a cocoanut over it. This process is called *mánd bh* *i.e.* arranging the materials of worship. girls in the house sing songs in praise small pox deity. It is believed that in thi the severity of the disease is reduced.[3]

CHAPTER III.

DISEASE DEITIES.

AT Vengurla, in the Ratnágiri District, when epidemic diseases prevail, the people of the village assemble and prepare a basket in which are placed cooked rice, cocoanuts, lemons, wine, red flowers and *Udid* (Phaseolus radiatus) grain. The basket is then carried out of the village along with a cock or a goat, and deposited outside the village boundary. To carry this basket, a person belonging to the Mahar caste is generally selected. The people of the next village similarly carry the basket beyond their village limits; and it is finally thrown into the sea. It is believed that if the basket of offerings to the disease-deities is carried from one village to another, it is sure to bring the disease with it. Great care is therefore taken to throw the offerings into the sea. In cases of small pox a feast is given to women whose husbands are alive. In some cases boiled rice is mixed with the blood of a cock, and on the rice is placed a burning black cotton wick in a cocoanut shell with a little oil in it. The whole is then carried beyond the village boundary and thrown away.[1] In the village of Mitbáv in the Ratnágiri District, epidemic diseases like cholera, small pox, plague, etc., are supposed to come from disease deities, and in order to avoid the danger of such diseases the people of the village go to the temple of the village deity and pray for protection. The special form of worship on such occasions is the *Kaul* i.e., asking a favour from the deity. When an epidemic of plague broke out for the first time at Sangmeshwar, the people of the village at once proceeded to worship the village deity; but a few cases of plague occurred, even after worshipping the village goddess *Jákhmáta*. When the people went to the temple and asked the reason why the plague continued, it was announced by the deity through the temple ministrant that she was helpless in the case of plague, and desired the people to worship the god Shiva, thereby signifying that the village deity has limited powers, and that the power of averting great evils lies with Shiva the god of destruction.[2] In the Devgad Taluka of the Ratnágiri District in epidemic diseases like cholera, etc., the usual ceremony, *i.e.*, the *Paradi* (disease-scaring basket) is performed. A basket containing boiled rice, red powder, red flowers, lemons, betel nuts, betel leaves, etc., is prepared, and on that rice is kept a burning cotton wick dipped in oil. The basket is then carried beyond the village boundary along with a goat having a red flower garland round its neck. The goat is set free at the outskirts of the village. In cases of small pox, married women whose husbands are alive are worshipped with turmeric powder, cocoanuts, flowers, etc., and incense is kept burning in the house. The deity of small pox is also specially worshipped for a number of days. It is represented by a brass or copper *lota* with a cocoanut placed over it. This process is called *mánd bharane* *i.e.* arranging the materials of worship. The girls in the house sing songs in praise of the small pox deity. It is believed that in this way the severity of the disease is reduced.[3]

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1 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

2 School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.

3 School Master, Fonda, Ratnágiri.

In the Sangameshwar taluka of the Ratnágiri District, when epidemic diseases prevail, the people of the village assemble in the temple of the village deity, offer a cocoanut to the goddess, and ask for a *Kaul* (omen). After receiving the *Kaul* they pray for mercy. It is believed that if the *Kaul* is in favour of the people the diseases will disappear.[1] At Achare in the Málwan taluka of the Ratnágiri District it is believed that epidemic diseases such as cholera, small pox, etc., are caused by the anger of the deities *Jari* and *Mari*; and in order to satisfy those deities animal sacrifices are offered at the time of their worship. There are no other deities who cause such diseases.[2] At Vijayadurg in the Ratnágiri District, in cases of small pox, the child suffering from the disease is made to sleep on a silk garment *Sovalen*. Flowers are thrown upon the patient's body, and are given to him to smell. Incense is burnt in the house. On the seventh day from the beginning of the disease, the child is first bathed in milk and then in water. Black scented powder called *Abir* is thrown on the body. After two or three days an image representing the deity is made of flour, which is worshipped, and a feast is given to Bráhmans and unwidowed women.[3]

At Basani in the Ratnágiri District the disease of small pox is averted by a Bráhman worshipping the goddess *Shitala*. Bráhmans are also worshipped, and a feast is given to them. In cases of cholera and the other epidemic diseases the village deity is worshipped and sacrifices are made to her.[4]

At Kochare in the Vengurla taluka of the Ratnágiri District, a woman whose husband is alive is made to represent the goddess *Jari Mari*, and is worshipped with flowers, red powder *Kunku* and black ointment *Kájal*. She is given a feast of sweet things; and rice an cocoanuts are put into her lap by another wc man whose husband is alive. She is the carried in procession through the village wit beating of drums and the singing of songs This is similar to the *Paradi* procession, whic is also common in that District.[5]

At Navare in the Ratnágiri District, i cases of small pox, the diseased child and th person into whose body the small pox deitie called *Báyás* enter, are worshipped with *Abi* black scented powder, flower garlands, &c.[6]

At Pendur in the Málwan taluka of th Ratnágiri District the wrath of the femal deities or *Mátrikás* is supposed to be the caus of epidemic diseases, and these *Mátrikás* ar accordingly worshipped for their pacification.[7]

At Chaul in the Kolába District the god Shankar is worshipped by Bráhmans when epidemic diseases prevail in a village. The worship consists in repeating *Vedic* hymns. The nine planets are also propitiated by sacrifices of boiled rice, etc. There is a famous temple of the goddess Shitala at Chaul where the deity is worshipped by Bráhmans, who recite *Vedic* hymns, whenever small pox prevails in the village. The *mantras* of the goddess and the Shitala *Ashtaka* are also repeated in the *Pauránic* style. The women walk round the temple every day as long as the signs of the disease are visible on their children. The goddess is worshipped with turmeric and red powders, and clothes and fruits are given to her. The *Kaul* ceremony is also practised in this District. It is worth noticing that even Musalmáns ask for a *Kaul* from this goddess. The days fixed for *Kaul* are :—Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The morning hours are considered specially auspicious

[1] School Master, Sangmeshwar, Ratnágiri.
[2] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Vijaydurg, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Kochare, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Navare, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.

for the *Kaul*. There is another temple at Chaul, of the goddess Shri Golába *Devi*. This goddess is also worshipped when other epidemic diseases prevail in the village. *Saptáha* i.e. continuous worship for seven days is also performed in honour of the deity. The gardeners (*Mális*) of the village worship this deity every Tuesday morning with cocoanuts gathered from every house in the village. This temple is being repaired at present.[1]

When epidemic diseases prevail in the village of Poladpur of the Kolába District the god Shiva is worshipped by continuously pouring water over the deity's head or *linga*. Sacrifices of fruits and animals are also offered to the village deity. Where there is a temple of the deity Mári or Mahámári, the deity is worshipped through a Bráhman, and sacrifices of cocks and goats are offered to her. The deity named Shitala is worshipped in cases of small pox.[2]

At Vávashi in the Pen taluka of the Kolába District, in cases of epidemic diseases, the people of the village invoke the god Shiva, and holy fires called *homa* are kindled in honour of that god. Sacrifices of boiled rice are also offered to the deity. For averting small pox the deity Shitala is invoked by the *mantras* called *Shitala Astaka*. For averting fevers the gods Shankar and Vishnu are also worshipped.[3]

At Medhe in the Rohe taluka of the Kolába District the god Shiva is worshipped in order to avert an epidemic, and Hanumán is worshipped to avert fevers.[4]

At Málád in the Salsette taluka of the Thána District, when an epidemic prevails in a village, the goddess *Navachandi* is worshipped and the *Homa* is kindled in her honour. On the last day of worship a goat is set free as a sacrifice to the deity. The *Bali* i. e., the offering of boiled rice, and the goat are taken beyond the boundary of the village, and handed over to the people of the neighbouring village, who follow the same procedure, and at last both the sacrifices are thrown into the sea. The goat generally dies, as it does not get water and food till it reaches the sea.[5]

In the village of Anjur in the Thána District, in cases of long standing fevers the Bráhmans observe the ceremony called *Udak Shanti* or propitiation by water. It is as follows:— An earthen pot filled with water is placed on the ground. On the top of the pot is placed a round plate in which the image of the god Brahmadev the son of Vishnu is consecrated. Four Bráhmans sit on the four sides of the pot and repeat their Vedic hymns. These four Bráhmans are supposed to be the four mouths of the god Brahmadev. It is believed by the people that by performing this ceremony the fever is made to disappear.[6]

At Rái in the Thána District some people believe that malarial fevers are averted by placing secretly a small stone on the head of the god Hanumán.[7]

In the Kolhápur District the nine planets are worshipped in the house to ward off diseases such as cholera, small pox, fevers, etc. The goddess Laxmi is worshipped in order to avert small pox, the worship being generally performed in a garden or a grove of mango trees, when parched rice, cocoanuts and lemons are offered to her. The people assembled at the spot partake of the food. To avert fever, the people perform a certain ceremony ordained in the *Shástras*. If the sick person is supposed to be under the evil influence of the planet Saturn, the planet is invoked by repeating the

[1] School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.
[3] School Master, Vávashi, Kolába.
[4] School Master, Medhe, Kolába.
[5] School Master, Málád, Thána.
[6] School Master, Anjur, Thána.
[7] School Master, Rái, Thána.

mantras, and worshipped with the usual offerings. Garments such as a *Sári* and a *Choli* are offered to the goddesses Mári and Kálubái. When an epidemic disease such as cholera prevails in a village, the people of the village instal the deity Margai at a place where four roads meet, and worship her for seven or eight days with much ceremony. Every one brings offerings of cocoanuts, lemons, *ambil* or conjee, cooked rice and curds, etc. with the beating of drums to offer to the deity. After worshipping the goddess in this manner for eight successive days they sacrifice a *Bali* of a he-buffalo before her. The deity is then put upon a bullock cart and carried through the village with the beating of drums and much ceremony, to be thrown away beyond the village boundary along with the offerings.[1]

Epidemic diseases are not attributed to witchcraft at Devgad in the Ratnágiri District. It is believed that they are caused by the accumulated sins of the people.[2] In the Dápoli taluka of the Ratnágiri District epidemic diseases are attributed to witchcraft by low caste people. The power of averting such diseases lies in the hands of the village deities. They are therefore propitiated by the sacrifices of cocks, goats, and cocoanuts.[3] At Poládpur in the Kolába District, epidemic diseases are sometimes attributed to witchcraft by low caste people. Persons well versed in the *mantras* of evil spirits are called Bhagats or exorcists. Some of them keep evil spirits at their command. The poor people believe that what these exorcists foretell is sure to occur. It is believed that the spirit dwells on the tongue of these exorcists. When these spirits are hungry, they are let loose in the village by the sorcerers for the destruction of the people, thus causing an epidemic. When a spirit is to be destroyed, the people of the villa assemble in a mob and attack the sorcerer, small quantity of blood is taken from h tongue and water from the earthen pot of Chámbhár is poured upon it. It is believe that by so doing the spirit is permanentl destroyed and the sorcerer either forgets a his *mantras* or they become ineffective. Th spirit is called *tond bhut*, and it sometime troubles even animals.[4]

At Chauk in the Karjat taluka of th Kolába District, the people believe that th devotees of the Mári deity bring on epidemi diseases by the use of their *mantras*, and in order to satisfy them, offerings are made to the deity Mári which are taken by the devotees or Bhagats.[5] At Váde in the Thána District epidemic diseases are attributed to witchcraft. There are some women who are supposed to bring on, or at least foster, the growth of such diseases by their evil *mantras*. Such women are threatened or punished by the people, and sometimes they are even driven out of the village.[6] In the village of Anjur of the Thána District, if a man vomits blood accidently and falls ill, or dies, it is believed to be due to the act of *Muth Márane*, that is, the throwing of a handful of rice over which incantations have been repeated. If there be any sorcerer in the village who has learnt the same incantations, he alone is able to return the *Muth* to the sorcerer who first used it.[7] At Shirgaum in the Umbergaon taluka of the Thána District, when epidemic diseases prevail in the village, the people of the village take a turn round the village in a body and kill a buffalo. A *Bali* or offering of boiled rice, cocoanuts, cocks and goats is also offered to the deities that cause epidemic diseases.[8]

1 Rao Saheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
2 School Master, Mithbáv, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.
5 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
6 School Master, Váde, Thána.
7 School Master, Anjur, Thána.
8 School Master, Umbergaon, Thána.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF MAGADHA.

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I

The Saisunâga Dynasty.

BEFORE the sixth century B. C. India has no political history worth the name. The great desideratum in ancient Indian history is chronology, and the different strata of composition in the sacred books of the Hindus have baffled attempts at chronological arrangements of any historical accuracy. For the earliest period it is difficult to distinguish the mythical from the historical, and actual facts from clever conjectures. No such difficulty exists from the sixth century. Then a great kingdom was in its full bloom. The religious movements of the time were intimately associated with the imperial dynasty of Magadha. Both from the Buddhists and the Jainas we have traditional accounts of the reputed founders of their faiths and their contemporary kings and dynasties. These are preserved in the *Jâtakas*, the *Dîpavaṁsa*, the *Mahâvaṁsa*, the *Divyâvadâna*, the *Kalpadruma-Kalikâ*, the *Râjâvali*, the *Therâvali*, and other works of lesser renown. From the Hindus, too, we have in the *Purâṇas*, mixed up with the creation and ordering of cosmic systems, dry annals, mostly names and dates, of those who held sway over portions of Indian soil. Of the *Purâṇas*, the *Mâtsya*, the *Vishṇu*, the *Vâyu*, the *Brahmâṇḍa* and the *Bhâgavata* are of the highest value for historical purposes. The dates of their composition, or rather compilation, are uncertain, but it is admitted on all hands that they embody ancient tradition. They contain lists of kings and the periods of their rule, with a reference here and there to the acts of important kings or the happenings in their times. There are, besides, some pieces of secular tradition preserved in the dramatic works of Bhâsa, and in the *Bṛihadkathâ* and the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*. The closing scene in the dynasty of the Saiśunâgas was the usurpation of the throne by Chandragupta backed up by the diplomatic zeal of Châṇakya. The Greek accounts of the usurpation are fragmentary and conflicting; they may be dismissed as useless but for their chronological value. The deaths of Gautama and Mahâvîra and the advent of Alexander are the great historical landmarks from which the chronological details have to be made up.

The main source of history for this period is tradition:—Hindu tradition as recorded in the *Purâṇas*, and preserved by Bhâsa, Bâna and other writers, and Buddhist and Jaina tradition as recorded in the Pâli and preserved in later works. Opinions have differed, and must always differ, as to value of tradition in the reconstruction of the early history of India. It was believed by the early generation of critics that the legends of ancient India consist mostly of cock and bull stories and are of no value for historical purposes. But the evidence of epigraphy on the life-history of Aśoka has demonstrated the importance of Indian legend if judiciously employed. As M. Senart[1] puts it, "the legends have preserved of our Piyadasi recollections sufficiently exact, not only to allow a substantial agreement to appear, but even to contribute usefully to the intelligence of obscure passages in our monuments." Prof. Rhys Davids and Dr. Fleet also plead for a critical examination of the early legends. One must, of course, be on one's guard not to distort the version of a legend or to read his own meanings into it. Nor can a statement in one school of tradition, say the *Purâṇas* or the *Dîpavaṁsa*, be looked upon as history in the absence of corroborative evidence from another direction. But, where more than one distinct streams of legend converge to the same conclusion, and this conclusion is not inconsistent with established facts and does not suggest any inherent improbability or absurdity, it may be accepted as historical. And, curiously enough, these legends, Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina, disclose profound similarities, in spite of a flagrant disregard of chronology and occasional differences in detail.

[1] *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2. 231

The data of the *Purâṇas* may be summed up in tabular form, and those of the Buddhist and Jaina records. We shall then examine these data, with special reference to the points at issue :

THE PRADYOTA DYNASTY

Vishṇu—Purâṇa,	Vâyu P.	Mâtsya P.	Brahmâṇḍa. P.	Bhâgavata P.
(1) Pradyotana.	Pradyota.	Balaka.	Sudyota. 23	Pradyota.
(2) Pâlaka or Gopâlaka.	Pâlaka 24.	Pâlaka 28 or Tilaka.	Pâlaka. 24	Pâlaka.
(3) Viśâkhayûpa. (In some MSS. *r* or *p* instead of *y*.)	Viśâkhayûpa 50. (In some MSS. *dh* or *s* instead of *y*.)	Viśâkhayûpa 53.	Viśâkhayûpa 100.	Viśâkhayûpa.
(4) Janaka.	Ajaka 21.	Sûryaka 21	Ajaka 21.	Rajaka.
(5) Nandivardhana.	Vartivardhana 20.	Nandivardhana. 30.	Nandivardhana 20.	Nandivardhana.
Total 5 rulers 138 or 128 years.	138 yrs.	152 yrs.		138 yrs.

THE 'SAI'SUNÂGÁ DYNASTY.

Vishṇu—Purâṇa	Vâyu P.	Mâtsya P.	Brahmâṇḍa. P.	Bhâgavata P.
(1) 'Siśunâga.	(1) 'Siśunâka 40.	'Siśunâka 40.	'Siśunâka.	'Siśunâka.
(2) Kâkavarṇa.	(2) 'Sakavarṇa 36.	Kâkavarṇa 36 or 26.	Kâkavarṇa.	Kâkavarṇa.
(3) Kshemadharman.	(3) Kshemadharman or Kshemavarman 20 or Kshemakarman.	Kshemadharman 36	Kshemadharman 20.	Kshetravarman.
(4) Kshattraujas.'	(5) Kshattrajaus 40.	Kshemavit 24, Kshemajit 36, or Kshemarchis 40.	Kshattraujas 40.	Kshetrajña.
(5) Vidmisâra or Vidhisâra.	(6) Bimbisâra 28.	Bindusena or Vindhyasena 28.	Viddhisâra 28.	Vidhisâra.
(6) Ajâtaśatru.	(4) Ajâtaśâtru 25	(8) Ajâtaśatru 27.	Ajâtaśatru 35.	Ajâtaśatru.
(7) Darbhaka.	(7) Harshaka or 25 Darśaka Udayin or Udaya 33.	(9) Vaṁśaka 24 or 40.	Daśaka 35.	Darbhaka.
(8) Udayâśwa or Udayana.	Nandivardhana 42.	(10) Udibhi 33, Udambhin or Udâsin.	Udâsin 23.	Ajaya.
(9) Nandivardhana.		(11) Nandivardhana 40.	Nandivardhana 42.	Nandivardhana.
(10) Mahânandin.	Mahânandin 43.	(12) Mahânandin 43,	Mahânandin 43,	Mahânandin.
Total 362.	362.	360 or 354.	362.	360.
Mahâpadma.	Mahâpadma 88.	Mahâpadma 88.	Mahâpadma 88.	Mahâpadmapati *alias* Nanda.
Sumâlya or Sumâtya.	Sumâlya.	Sukula or Kusâla.	Sahalya.	Sukalpa.
	Kauṭilya.	Kauṭilya.	Kauṭilya.	

N.B.—The numbers given in brackets above show the order assigned to the ruler in the dynastic list. The other numbers denote the number of years ruled by the king.

Kalpadruma—Kalikâ.	*Mahâvaṁsa.*	*Divyâvadâna.*
'Sreṇika	Bimbisâra. 52.	Bimbisâra.
Kuṇika	Ajâtaśatru. 32.	Ajâtaśatru.
Udaya	Udayabhadraka. 16.	Udayibhadra.
Nava Nanda (9 of the name 'Nanda').	Aniruddha } 18.	Munda.
	Muṇḍa. }	Kâkavarṇin.
	Nâgadasaka. 24.	Sahalin.
	Susanâga. 18.	Tulakuchi or (Bhulekuchi in some MSS.)
	Kâlâśoka. 28.	Mahâmaṇḍala.
	10 Sons 22.	Prasenajit.
	9 others 22.	Nanda.
Chandragupta.	Chandragupta.	Vindusâra.
		Susima.

(1) The Predecessors of Sisunâga.

The *Purâṇas* are certainly wrong in making the Saiśunâgas the *successors* of the Pradyotas. For Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina traditions agree in making Pradyota a contemporary of the Buddha; and, therefore, of Bimbisâra. Chinese Buddhist tradition[2] says that Pradyota was born on the same day as Bimbisâra and Udayana of Kausâmbî. Jaina tradition[3] followed by Merutuṅga makes Chaṇḍa Pradyota the contemporary of Bimbisâra, and father of Pâlaka. The Buddhist records[4] also know Pradyota as Chaṇḍa Pajjota because of his cruelty, and the *Purâṇas* agree that he was the father of Pâlaka. The relations between Pradyota and Udayana have passed into folk-lore.[5] It may therefore be established that (Chaṇḍa) Pradyota, Udayana, and Bimbisâra were contemporaries of the great Buddha.

The *Jâtakas* seem to know a good many rulers of Kâśî (Benares) and some of their names are familiar names of Magadha kings. Perhaps this may be a coincidence, but the early Buddhists seem to have known a great deal more about Kâśî than about any other country. The Kâśî district was no doubt the bone of contention between Magadha and Kośala. Bimbisâra was given a grant of the revenues of a village there for his wife's 'bath and perfume money.' Ajâtaśatru got the grant confirmed[6] and married the Kośala princess Vajirâ. Perhaps the city of Benares was already a part of Magadha, and the disputes were

[2] Rockhill,—*Life of the Buddha*, (citing DulvaXI). The *Chullavagga* (XI. 1. 11) says that Udayana of Kausâmbî presented 500 robes to Ânanda.

[3] See *Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, page 130, 131.

[4] *Jâtaka* No. 522 (See Cambridge translation Vol. V page 71). *Mahâvagga* VIII. I. The latter mentions his cure from jaundice effected by Jîvaka, the physician of Bimbisâra.

[5] Kâlidâsa, for instance, refers to the story in his *Meghadûta*, Part I :

" प्रद्योतस्य प्रियदुहितरं वत्सराजोऽत्र जह्रे " etc.

" प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथा कोविदग्रामवृद्धान् " etc.

[6] *Jâtakas* 239 and 283.

(See Cambridge Translation Vol. II, pp. 162, 275.)

only about certain villages in the Kâśî district. Anyhow we find Benares an integral part of the empire of the Mauryas, and we nowhere find mention of its conquest by the Magadha kings.

The Purâṇic details also lead us to the same conclusion:

हत्वा तेषाम् यशः कृत्स्नम् शिशुनाको भविष्यति
वाराणस्यां सुतस्तस्य संप्रास्यति गिरिव्रजम्

(*Vâyu-Purâṇa*)

वारणस्याम् सुतं स्थाप्य अध्यास्यति गिरिव्रजम्

(*Mâtsya-Purâṇa*)

Śiśunâga was evidently the ruler of Kâśî before he conquered Magadha. There is further no scrap of evidence to show that he succeeded the Avanti line or that Ujjain was a part of his kingdom. On the other hand, as pointed out already, Ujjain was under the independent dynasty of the Pradyotas.

(2) The number of the rulers.

The *Mâtsya* speaks of the "twelve sons of Śiśunâga", but the *Vishṇu* and *Vâyu* name only ten rulers[7]. The *Mâtsya* interpolates two names which are not found in the other *Purâṇas*, Kâṇvâyana and Bhûmimitra. That these are interpolations is proved by the same names occurring in the list of the Kaṇwa dynasty, both in the *Mâtsya* and in other *Purâṇas*. But the fact that the compiler of the *Purâṇa* felt the need to interpolate perhaps shows that the tradition was strong that there were twelve rulers in the dynasty. Of all the *Purâṇas* of value to us here the *Mâtsya* seems to be the earliest, judging both from its style, its clumsy arrangements and confusions in detail. All the *Purâṇas* agree that there were two more generations of rulers, whom the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhâgavata* call the Nandas. So that there were (10+2) 12 generations from the first Saiśunâga to the last of the Nandas (inclusive).

The *Dîpavaṁsa* and *Mahâvaṁsa* agree that there were seven generations after Bimbisâra. But the former has the last generation consist of '10 brothers of Śiśunâga who ruled collectively for 22 years', while the latter makes one Kâlâśoka the seventh in descent from Bimbisâra, and puts after him ten sons of Kâlâśoka and nine other rulers. The *Divyâvadâna* knows only nine rulers on the whole, while the Mongol tradition as embodied in the *Foekoekei*[8] knows one more. We may pin our faith on the comparative reliability of the *Dîpavaṁsa*, it being the oldest of these works. Its seven generations after Bimbisâra fall into line with the Purâṇic data on the subject.

The Jaina *Kalpadruma-kalikâ* has twelve rulers before Chandragupta, though it, of course, begins the list with Bimbisâra. This tradition is used by the Jaina Scholars, Hemachandra and Merutuṅga. Other Jain records make it clear that there were seven generations from Bimbisâra to Chandragupta. The *Kalpasûtra* mentions Sthûlabhadra as the 7th in succession from Mahâvîra[9]. And Sthûlabhadra was the *mantrin* of the 9th Nanda, *i. e.*, of the predecessor of Chandragupta.[9] Thus it is established in the light of all our records, Brâhmaṇ, Buddhist, and Jaina, that (1) there were twelve generations of rulers known before Chandragupta, (2) that seven of these came after Bimbisâra, and (3) that the last nine rulers formed a special set, known in the Purâṇic and Jaina tradition as the Nandas.

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[7] दश द्वौ शिशुनाकजाः (*Mâtsya-P.*); शैशुनाकनृपा दश (*Vâyu-P.*)
[8] Page 230. Cited by Wilson: *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, p. 186 note.
[9] Jacobi: *Jaina Sûtras*, p. 287, 289; *Ante*, Vol. XI., p. 246.

(3) Names of the Rulers.

And the twelve rulers have almost the same or similar names in all the lists. The names in the *Purâṇas* are always the same, or at any time, variants of the same name. In the *Dîpavaṁsa*, we have Bimbisâra, Ajâtaśatru, Udaya, and Śiśunâga; and Nâgadasaka is perhaps the same as (Nâga) Darśaka or Harshaka of the *Purâṇas*. Kâlâśoka of the *Mahâvaṁsa* is practically the same as Kâkavarṇa (Raven-Black).[10] The names Nandivardhana and Sahâlin (Sâhalya or Sumâlya) also occur in the *Mahâvaṁsa* beside a crowd of other curious names, for which there is absolutely no foundation anywhere else.[11] The name Mahâpadma has the same meaning as Mahâmaṇḍala or Ugrasena, and the Puranic Kshatrajit has its Buddhistic counterpart in Prasenajit. Thus the only name peculiar to the Purânic list is that of Mahânandin, by whom hangs the tale of the beginning of a separate Nanda dynasty; while the name Mundo stands alone, both in the *Divyâvadâna* and the *Mahâvaṁsa*. Perhaps it may be possible to identify the one name with the other, especially as the name Munda appears as Mahâsamuda in the *Râjaratnâkarî*. It is therefore clear that in the various legends the same twelve names stand out, in spite of confusions, imperfections, and spurious additions.

Prof. Geiger denies the historicity of Darśaka on the authority of the *Mahâvamsa*. But Bhâsa in his *Svapna-Vâsavadattâ* mentions him by name as the Maharaja of Magadha and brother in law of Udayana, the Vatsa Râja. The tradition embodied by Bhâsa is confirmed by the *Divyâvadâna*, which mentions the burning of लावणिका and the Kauśâmbi minister Yaugandharâyaṇa.[12] Bâṇa in the *Harshacharita*[13] gives the king of Avanti the same name as Bhâsa gives him, *viz.*, Mahâsena. So Darśaka must be accepted as a historical personage. But the references in Bhâsa seem to depict him as a very young man during Udayana's marriage with his sister Padmâvati. The latter is introduced as गुरुभिरभिहितनामधेयस्यास्माकं महाराजदर्शकस्य भगिनी ।[14] Further, the Mahâraja does not appear at all in the *Svapna-Vâsavadattâ*. The latter work[15] mentions Gopâlaka Bâlaka (the same name as in the *Puraṇâs*) as Mahâsena's son and about the same age as Udayana. It is not therefore unlikely that Darśaka was two generations younger than Ajâtaśatru, Pradyota and the Buddha, *i.e.*, that he came after Udaya. This view is further supported by the *Dîpavaṁsa* tradition[16] that Darśaka (Nâgadasaka) ascended the throne 46 years after the Nirvâṇa of Gautama Buddha.

4 The Order of the Rulers.

We may now discuss the place of each ruler in chronological sequence. The *Purâṇas* distinctly declare Śiśunâga to be the founder of the dynasty, while the Buddhist and Jaina records seem to agree that Śiśunâga, Kâkavarṇa and the rest were rulers of the dynasty after Bimbisâra, the contemporary and friend of the Buddha and Mahâvîra. The *Purâṇas*

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[10] Duncker, following Lassen, regards the two as identical (see *History of Antiquity.—India*, p. 380).

[11] Turnour: *Mahâvaṁsa*, Vol. II., p. 31.

[The *Mahâvaṁsa* (Turnour Vol. I, p. 28 *et seq.*) actually mentions 19 rulers after Kâlâśoka—Baddasenah, Corandewarne, Mangureya, Sarvatnega, Jâlika, Ubeca, Satcheya, Corawa, Nandi Vardhana, Pantche Wekeya. After them, Ugrasena-Nandeya, Puducat-Nandeyah, Pandûcagah-Nandeya, Bhûpala-Nandeya, Rattepala-Nanda, Govisanah Nanda, Dasasittica Nanda, Dhanapala Nanda;—two generations of 22 years each. The names deserve no comment, but some appear to be borrowings from Hindu sources—Nandi Vardhana, Ugrasenah (=Mahapadma). The first is the name of a Śiśunaga King. Dhanapala is probably another form of Hiraṇyagupta, while Dasasittica reminds one of Sarvârdha-Siddhi of the Mudrârâkshasa tradition.]

[12] *Divyâvadâna* XXXVI.

[13] *Harshacharita*, Chap. VI p. 221.

[14] *Svapna-Vâsavadattâ* (Trivandrum) p. 4.

[15] *Ibid* p. 69.

[16] *Dîpavamsa* V. 77, 78.

name the dynasty Saiśunâga, apparently after its founder. It is indeed possible to suppo that the dynasty might have been named not after the first ruler but after the most famou Such a supposition, however, is untenable in this case, as none of the authorities knov anything of Siśunâga beyond what the *Purâṇas* tell us—that he founded the dynast 'supplanting the renown of the Pradyotas.'[17] The question may be set at rest by appealir to other Buddhist and Jaina traditions than the ones hitherto considered. The Jai tradition followed by Hemachandra[18] makes Bimbisâra (Sreṇika) a successor of Prasenaji king of Magadha, who resided at Râjagṛiha. The Tibetan chronicle[19] makes Bimbisâra, sc of Mahâpadma, king of Magadha. The *Avadâna* has both these names in the list. It thus clear that both the Buddhists and the Jainas know of the (royal) ancestors Bimbisâra; so that Bimbisâra was not the founder of the dynasty. The confusions an contradictions are due to their huddling together the names of the predecessors and th successors of Bimbisâra. The Puranic version may therefore be accepted.

Siśunâga should top the list and Kâkavarṇa be placed next to him, for both th *Mahâvaṁsa* and the *Purâṇas* agree that he or his variant Kâlâśoka came after Siśunâga We have, according to all accounts, two more generations to take us to Bimbisâr According to Buddhist or Jaina tradition, these should be Mahâpadma and Prasenaji while, according to the *Purâṇas*, the places belong to Kshêtravarman and Kshatraji Curiously enough, all these names have very much the same meaning—Mahâpadma, or mor properly Mahâpadmapati, means 'the lord of a huge host'[20] and Prasenajit 'the conquero of a huge host.' So too, Kshetravarman would mean "valorous in the field" and Kshatraj the conqueror of warriors. It is therefore easy to identify these rulers of Buddhist and Jain tradition with the ones mentioned in the *Purâṇas*, because these traditions know Prasenaj and Mahâpadma, and they also tell us that the latter was the father of Bimbisâra. W may therefore take it that Mahâpadma was son of Prasenajit.

Bimbisâra, and Ajâtaśatru present no difficulty whatsoever, as they stand in the sam order everywhere. Some manuscripts of the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* arrange the names in the orde Kshema-Varman, Ajâtaśatru, Kshatraujas, Bimbisâra; but this is obviously wrong, as i makes Ajâtaśatru, the well-known son of Bimbisâra, his grand father. The Buddhist record place Udaya after Ajâtaśatru, but all the *Purâṇas* agree in introducing a Harshaka o Darśaka between them. A certain variant of the latter name is, as we have seen, no unknown to the *Mahâvaṁsa*;[21] and we may therefore consider him an historical personage It may, of course, be contended that the Buddhist records, which tell us so much abou Bimbisâra, Ajâtaśatru, and Udaya, ignore his existence altogether; and this would b

[17] 'हत्वा तेषां यशः कृत्स्नं शिशुनाको भविष्यति' (*Vâyu-P.*)

The Burmese Buddhist legend knows Siśunâga as the 'son of Nâga' whom Udaya discovered i the wilds, etc. But this tradition is very late and extraordinary (Bigandet: *Legend of Gaudama* Vol. II, p. 115.)

[18] Hema Chandra: *Mahâvîra-charita.*

[19] *Dulva* XI. (Rockhill, *op. cit.* p. 16). This Mahâpadma must not be confused with Nand Mahâpadma under whom the Buddhist council is said to have been held 137 A. B. (See *Ibid*, p. 186).

[20] Śrîdhara in his gloss on the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa.* XII. 1.

It may also be remarked that Kshatravarman and Kshattraujas are most probably surnames. We have a parallel in the Yadava names Kṛitavarman and Kṛitaujas in the *Vâyu-Purâṇa.* (Book IV Chap. XI). I may also mention that the *Kûrma-Purâṇa* gives Kṛitadharman as a variant fo Kṛitavarman.

[21] The *Mahâvaṁsa* calls him 'Nâga-dasaka,'—evidently one of the Saiśunâgas. (See Turnour Vol. I, p. 28).

improbable if Darśaka had come between the two last named kings in the list. The difficulty would disappear if we consider him as the successor, not the predecessor of Udaya. The Buddhist accounts tell us little about the successor of Udaya, but have retained his name in the general confusion in which the period is involved.

The next rulers, according to the *Purâṇas*, are Nandivardhana and Mahânandin. The Buddhists have Nandivardhana and Mahâsamudha or Munda. It may therefore be inferred that they were historical characters. The only ones known after these are Mahâpadma and Sumâlya or Sahalya, who are constituted by the *Vishṇu* and *Bhâgavata Purâṇas* into a separate dynasty. The *Mahâvaṁsa* names, Kalaśoka, his ten sons and their nine successors may be rejected as spurious and conjectural, as there is no confirmatory evidence of any kind, and as the names are not in the original *Dîpavaṁsa*. As I have already pointed out, the Purânic Kâkavarṇa may have suggested the Buddhist Kâlâśoka of the *Mahâvaṁsa* genealogy and Kâkavarṇin of the *Avadâna*. The last of the Nandas is a favourite hero of legend, but we shall consider the whole question of the Nandas separately. All traditions are agreed that Chandragupta was the direct successor of the Nandas. For example, the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* assumes the fact, and it is mentioned in the *Bṛihadkathâ*. The *Purâṇas* must therefore be wrong in interposing a century of Châṇakya's rule between the last of the Nandas and Chandragupta. I shall try to show that this was probably due to the chronological exigencies of the *Purâṇas*.

(5) Chronology.

The main difficulty is one of chronology. For we have but confused statements in the *Purâṇas*, and we are worse confounded by the apparently absurd dates given by the Buddhists and the Jainas. The *Purâṇas* give 360 or 362 years for the whole dynasty, and at the same time throw out a vague suggestion that their dates are wrong; for the periods allotted to the individual reigns do not always make up the sum total of 360 or 362. Again, we have a hundred years more given to Mahâpadma and his son, and an extra hundred to Châṇakya[23] who is alleged to have ruled independently before handing over the reins of power to Chandragupta. The Jainas give a hundred and fifty-five years to the Nandas alone, whom the *Purâṇas* confine to two generations.

The *Mahâvaṁsa* says that 162 years elapsed between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Chandragupta. According to Hemachandra the accession of Chandragupta was 155 years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahâvira. The two accounts, therefore, nearly agree. The latter is, no doubt, out of accord with the rest of Jaina tradition, but it must have been thought out by such an erudite scholar as Hemachandra, and even Merutuṅga says that[24] his statement is worthy of careful consideration. It agrees also with the Puranic

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[22] शिशुनागस्य पुत्तो असोको तदा आसि महीपति
पाटलीपुत्ते नगरहि रज्जं करेसि खत्तियो ।

(*Dîpavaṁsa*, V. 25.)

[23] उद्धरिष्यति कौटिल्यः समाः द्वादशभिस्तु तान्
भुक्त्वा महीं वर्षशतं ततो मौर्यान् गमिष्यति

(*Mâtsya-P.*)

The *Vâyu* and *Brahmâṇḍa* give the same story. In the *Vâyu P.* (Bombay text) we find the epithet नन्देन्दुः applied to Kauṭilya. This is absurd. The correct reading is certainly नन्देन्धः as I find in an old MS. of the Purâṇa in the Oriental MSS. Library, Madras. Kauṭilya was 'the fire which consumed the family of the Nandas.'

[24] Bhau Daji *op. cit*, pp. 130, 131.

tradition. It is well known that the *Purâṇas* give 100 years to the nine Nandas, but it is not so well known that most of them give an extra hundred to Kauṭilya. The point is that they recognise two centuries to have elapsed between the first of the Nandas and the first of the Mauryas. It appears to me that the *Purâṇas* are not wrong in the period assigned, but that they are wrong in confining the Nandas to two generations. I shall presently go to the considerations which incline me to this view. My theory is that Mahâpadma, the first of the Nanda dynasty, is not the successor of Nandivardhana, but the father of Bimbisâra, the Kshatrajit of the *Purâṇas.* In the light of this view the nine Nandas are the last nine rulers of the Śaiśunâga dynasty. There is nothing absurd in giving two centuries to nine generations of rulers.

It is easy enough to fix the date of the beginning of the Śaiśunâga dynasty. It is almost certain that the Buddha attained *Nirvâṇa* between 487 and 477 B. C. According to the Buddhists, this event took place in the eighth year of Ajâtaśatru's reign. The *Purâṇas* are agreed that Bimbisâra reigned 28 years. There were four generations before Bimbisâra, and we may assign 22 years to each generation. This accords with the average duration of reigns in European history. The *Mahâvaṁsa* itself assigns 22 years only to each of two generations (of nine and ten rulers respectively) immediately preceding Chandragupta. The Puranic data also fall into line if we refer the total 362 years to the Śaiśunâgas and Nandas put together (19 rulers). In this way we get, counting backwards, $477 + 7 + 28 + 88$ $(4 \times 22) =$ *c.* 600 B. C. as the most probable date of the beginning of the rule of the Śaiśunâga dynasty.

The probable duration of each reign may now be worked out. The data of the *Purâṇas* have to be viewed critically. They have considered contemporary dynasties and rulers as having come one after another. I have already referred to the mistake as regards the Pradyotas of Avanti, who are the contemporaries of the Śaiśunâgas, but are considered by the *Purâṇas* as their predecessors. To come to individual rulers, the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* mentions, among the rulers of Kosala, Prasenajit, son of Râhula, son of Śâkya Buddha, whereas we know from the Buddhist records that Prasenajit was the son of king Aranemi Brahmadatta of Śrâvasti and a contemporary of the Buddha.[25] The years assigned by the *Purâṇas,* moreover, are not mutually exclusive in most cases. Therefore it is that the totals given for individual reigns do not agree with the total for the whole dynasty. From Parîkshit to Nanda, for instance, we have 1115 years given in the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa,* whereas the details of reigns come up to 1500 when added. Commentator Śrîdhara notices the fact, but attempts no explanation. Again, the *Purâṇas* give 137 years to the ten Mauryas, which figure does not agree with the details given. As a matter of fact, the overlapping of reigns was more usual than exceptional. This was due to the custom of the reigning kings getting their heirs recognised even in their own lifetime. The same difficulty appears in dealing with the *Therâvali* also. An old Sthavira has been known to ordain the foremost of his disciples long before his demise.[26] The difficulties of the *Purâṇas* are, moreover, due to their confusions in genealogy affecting their system of chronology. They are thus led to allow abnormally long reigns for rulers in some cases and compress a series of reigns into a few years in other cases.

Śiśunâga is given 40 years of reign by the *Purâṇas,* and 18 by the *Mahâvaṁsa.* He was already king of Benares before he conquered Magadha, and he may have ruled a

[25] *Dulva XI.* (Rockhill *op. cit,*)

[26] See, for instance, *Dîpavaṁsa* IV. 41.

score of years previously. In any case, 18 years seem to be a more reasonable period for him than 40. Kâkavarṇa is assigned 36 years, but some copies of the *Mâtsya-Purâṇa* give only 26 years, and this may be accepted as it nearly tallies with the Buddhist date for Kâlâśoka or Kâkavarṇin. According to Hindu tradition[27] not recorded in the *Purâṇas* but current certainly in Bâṇa's day (7th cent. A. D.) Kâkavarṇa was beheaded in the precincts of the capital city. The next ruler is Kshetravarman, to whom also the *Purâṇas* give 36 years; but some MSS. of the *Vâyu* and the *Brahmâṇḍa* agree in giving him only 20 years. The lowest period for Kshattraujas *alias* Mahâpadma, father of Bimbisâra, is 24 years given in some MSS. of the *Mâtsya*. Our authorities are agreed[28] in assigning 28 years to Bimbisâra *alias* Śreṇika. For Ajâtaśatru the *Vâyu-P.* gives 25, *Mâtsya* 27, while the *Brahmâṇḍa* gives 35 and the Buddhist records 32. The Buddhists knew him intimately, and their date may be accepted. A longer period than usual may be allowed for one who is said to have ascended the throne long before his natural time. The Buddhists give Udaya 16 years,[29] and this seems to fit in with the Jaina story of his career having been cut short by assassination. Darśaka is given 24 in the *Purâṇas*, the same period of reign as the *Mahâvaṁsa* gives to Naga Dasaka. Nandivardhana may be allowed 22 years and Mahâ-Nandin 28 years. The latter corresponds in time to the Buddhist Kâlâśoka, who is reported to have reigned 28 years. Rejecting the impossible 88 years for Mahâpadma we may allow him 28 years according to the *Vâyu-Purâṇa*. The *Mâtsya-Purâṇa* assigns 12 years to Sahalya, and another 12 for the subjugation of the 'eight sons of Mahâpadma', while the *Vâyu-Purâṇa* allows 16 years for the latter event. The *Mahâvaṁsa* allows 22 years for the generation preceding Chandragupta. It is possible that Sahalya ruled 16 or 22 years, or that he ruled 12 years and that the civil war continued for several years after him. The latter supposition may explain the Puranic rule of Kauṭilya, for he was the hero of the interregnum.

6 The Nandas.

The *Purâṇas* say that Mahâpadma 'will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race' and that 'after him the kings will be Śûdra-born.'[30] They also credit him and his eight sons with a century of rule. The *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* adds for Mahâpadma an appellation 'Nanda', but the *Mâtsya*, *Vâyu* and *Brahmâṇḍa* say nothing of Nanda. The commentary on the

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27 Bâṇa's *Harsha charita, Uchchvâsa* VI. (Bombay Text, p. 199).

" काक वर्णः शैशुनारि : नगरोपकण्ठे कण्ठे निचकृते निस्त्रिंशेन. "

Prof. Cowell in his translation corrects शैशुनारि into शैशुनागि but, curiously enough, takes काकवर्ण with the previous sentence, thus making शैशुनागि and काकवर्ण two different kings (See *Trans.* p. 193). The Text shows clearly however, that शैशुनागि is only an epithet of Kakavarna.

28 Excepting only the *Mahâvaṁsa* which gives him 52 years.

29 *Dîpavaṁsa*, IV. 38.

30 ' महापद्मपतिः कश्चित् नन्दः क्षत्रविनाशकृत्
शासयिष्यति महापद्मः द्वितीय इव भार्गवः ' (Bhagavata-P.)

उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः (Vâyu-P.)
अखिल क्षत्रान्तकारी भविता (Vishnu-P.)
सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः (Mâtsya-P.)

Even the Saiśunâgas are called both by the *Vâyu* and *Mâtsya* क्षत्रबन्धवः This explains perhaps why Buddhaghosha places Bimbisâra in the third caste (Vaiśya).

Bhâgavata explains Mahâpadmapati as lord of an immense host[31] or of countless wealth, *mahâpadma* in Sanskrit denoting 100,000 millions. The Buddhist records know nothing of a separate Nanda dynasty, but say that the nine last rulers were of the same dynasty as Bimbisâra. The *Dîpavaṁsa* does not mention the Nandas, but says that Śiśunâga had ten brothers, who reigned after him. The *Divyâvadâna* knows no distinction between Nanda and Śaiśunâga rulers, whom it mixes up together in the same dynasty. Jaina tradition makes the nine Nandas the nine rulers after Udaya and assigns them nine generations. Even the *Purâṇas* agree with Jaina tradition, that the nine Nandas ruled one after another and were not joint rulers.[32] It is highly improbable that nine kings ruled, eight of them brothers, too, in two generations. It seems almost certain in the light of the facts that the Nandas were simply the later rulers of the Śaiśunâga dynasty.

The chronological data available to us point also to the same conclusion. The Jaina *Therâvali* of Merutuṅga assigns 155 years to the Nandas, on the strength of some old *Gâthâs*. Hemachandra tells us in the *Pariśishṭa-parvan* that Chandragupta's accession came 155 years after the *Nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra. Though this is not in accord with other Jaina traditions, it deserves notice as coming from so eminent a scholar in Prâkṛit. And it accords with the most probable dates of Gautama Buddha and Mahâvîra. In this view all the Śaiśunâgas from Mahâvîra's, *i. e.*, Bimbisara's time (the two being contemporaries) were themselves Nandas. It has been already pointed out that the break of 200 years, which the *Purâṇas* allow between the first of the Nandas and Chandragupta, requires nine generations of rulers instead of two as stated in the *Purâṇas*.

The very names of some of the rulers seem to suggest this view. We have in the Śaiśunâga list such names as Nandivardhana and Mahâ-Nandin. In one Buddhist list—that in the *Divyâvadâna*—we have Kâkavarṇa and Mahâmaṇḍala among the rulers after Udaya. Nanda and Upananda[33] are familiar to us as Nâga kings in the Buddhist *Jâtakas* and as saints in the *Therâvali* of the Jainas. There is a strong Buddhist tradition that the council of Vesâli[34] was held under the presidency of Mahâpadma Nanda, 100 years after the *Nirvâṇa*; and another that it was held under a Śaiśunâga king, whom they name Kâlâśoka. The Nandas have no separate place in the Rajput *Vaṁśâvalis* given by Tod.[35] Prof. Jacobi[36] says of Ajâtaśatru that he 'laid the foundation of the empire of the Nandas and Mauryas.' There is thus some confusion in our authorities of Śaiśunâgas and Nandas.

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[31] पद्मव्यूह is explained in *Manu*, VII. 187, 188, Châṇakya's *Arthaśâstra* and the *Vaddhaki-Sûkara-Jâtaka* (No. 283).

[32] महापद्मस्य पर्याये भविष्यन्ति नृपाः क्रमात् ।

Mâtsya-Purâṇa (Bombay Text, p. 272.)

[33] 'नन्दोपनन्ददमन.' in the *Sarabhanga Jataka* (No. 522). See also the *Saddharma Pundarik*' (S. B. E. XXI, 5).

[34] See Poussin on the first two Buddhist Councils *Ante*, *Vol.* 1908.

The oldest account of the council is in the *Chulla-vagga*, Bk. XII. It makes no mention of Kâlâśoka. For the tradition that it was held under Kâlâśoka, see *Mahâvaṁsa*, and Dr. Fleet's article in *Ind. Emp.*, Vol. II (Epigraphy). Prof. Rhys Davids holds that it was held under Nanda, and Rockhill's tradition associates the Nanda with 'Mahapadma' (*Life of the Buddha*, p. 186). Târanâtha tries to reconcile the two traditions by saying that the council was held under Aśoka, but that the brothren were fed by Nanda!

[35] Tod: *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* Vol. I. (See geneaological table.)

[36] Introduction to the *Jaina Sûtras*, pp. XIV to XVI.

But the tradition of nine Nandas seems to have been so widely spread as to be unhesitatingly accepted by various schools of tradition. It is likely to be true, therefore, that there were nine rulers who bore the name of Nanda, called Nava-Nanda[37] for this reason. The *Mahâvaṁsa* tells us that these were the sons of the successor of Kâlâśoka, whom we have identified with Kâkavarṇa. Thus we come to the father of Bimbisâra, whom the Buddhists call Mahâpadma. He has eight successors in the dynasty. Now, according to the *Purâṇas*, Mahâpadma is the first of the nine Nandas. Both the Buddhist and Puranic stories are reconciled if by *sons* we understand *successors*, or descendants of Mahâpadma the son of Kshetravarman. The mistakes in the *Purâṇas* seem to be due to their having confused Mahâpadma *alias* Kshatrajit, son of Kshetravarman, with Mahâpadma, son of Mahânandin.

(7) The last of the Nandas.

Mr. V. A. Smith says that Mahâpadma was the son of the queen of Mahâ-Nandin by a barber paramour. There is nothing said in the early records of the Buddhists and the Jainas about the servile origin of the predecessors of Chandragupta. Merutuṅga asserts that Nanda was born of a '*barber* prostitute', perhaps translating the word गणिका of the *Purâṇas*. But this word means simply वेश्या (prostitute), and in this sense it is used in the *Harivaṁsa*. Mr. Smith seems to have based his statement on what Greek writers have said of the ruler of the Gangaridae—that he was the son of the queen by a barber paramour, who supplanted the rightful king upon the throne. But to the Greek Magadha was not the land of the Gangaridae but of the Prasii,[38] and the name of the king mentioned by Quintus Curtius and Diodorus Siculus is Xandrames or Agrammes, not Nanda. If so, the Mauryas, not the Nandas, would seem to have a servile origin, and even this on the assumption that Chandragupta was ruler of the Gangaridae before he became ruler of the Prasii. The *Purâṇas* speak not of the queen's paramour (as the Greek story would have it), but of the king's son by a Śûdra concubine as having succeeded the king without a revolution. The *Divyâvadâna*[39] contains a tradition that a Brâhmaṇ lady of Champâ acted as barber to a Maurya king (Bindusâra) and was finally married by him and became the mother of his son Aśoka. Her name Janapadakalyâṇî is exactly the same as that given in the *Sangâmâ-vachara-Jâtaka* to the wife of Prince Nanda, a half-brother of Gautama Buddha. It is thus seen that our accounts in some way associate Nanda, or Janapadakalyâṇî, with menial service or extraction, in Magadha or some country near it; but it is impossible to say definitely what country or in what way.

According to the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa* tradition, Chandragupta Maurya, who succeeded the Nandas, was of the same family as the Nandas.[40] According to the *Mahvaṁsa*, Chandragupta belonged to the Śâkya family of Kapilavastu. The *Atthakathâ* says that his father was the last king of Mayûrapura or Dehli (Indraprastha).[41] The *Jâtiviveka*, probably a

37 In the *Sthavirâvali-charita* of Hemachandra and the *Kalpadruma-kalikâ* of Lakshmîvallabha.

38 See McCrindle : *Megasthenes*, pp. 66, 135. The map and the footnote regarding 'Prasii.'

39 *Divyâvadâna*, (Edited by Cowell and Neill) p. 369.

40 They were all descended from Sarvârṭha-Siddhi (Mackenzie MS. preface to the *Mudrâ-Râkshasa*). The Bṛihatkathâ, however, says Châṇakya displaced Hiraṇyagupta, the son of Nanda's wife, by a Brâhmaṇ (paramour) Indradatta. The tradition in the *Bṛihatkathâ* is so full of supernatural details that it may be left out of account altogether. The *Divyâvadâna* styles Chandragupta alone as Nanda.

41 *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, 1895.

later work, explains 'Maurya' as the offspring of a barber and a Sûdra woman, or of a barber and a female slave.[42] This meaning is hardly more than a malicious conjecture. The *Śabda-kalpadruma* is somewhat milder; it explains the word as equal to मौलिक (=कुलीनभिन्न), 'not of noble extraction'. If Buddhist traditions are to be believed, Mauryas were princes at Pippalavana[43] when Buddha died. That no infamy attached to the meaning of the word is clear from the mention of Sthavira Mauryaputra of the Kasyapa *gotra* in the Jaina *Kalpa-Sûtra*,[44] as one of the Sthaviras in apostolic descent from Mahâvîrâ.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p. 28.*)

CHAPTER VII.

ADVERBS.

§ 99. According to their origin, **adverbs** may be divided into : instrumental, locative, adjectival and undeclined. It will be seen that this historical division almost exactly corresponds with the different classes they fall into according to their meaning also. In fact instrumental adverbs involve the idea of manner, locative adverbs the idea of place and time (often, indeed, both meanings go together, as in *pâchaï*), adjectival adverbs the idea of quantity or degree, as a modification of the idea of manner, whereas undeclined adverbs, as they have no common origin, have no common meaning either. It is among the last that the adverbs of negation are included. Many instrumental and locative adverbs, the latter especially, are postpositions at the same time.

§ 100. **Instrumental adverbs** in Old Western Râjasthânî are generally employed as adverbs of manner, much in the same way as in Sanskrit and all the Prakrit dialects. The following is a list of the commonest amongst them :

âḍaĩ P. 683 "Across" (Guj. *âḍe*)

kaṣṭaĩ P. 321 "With pain or difficulty" (Skt. *kaṣṭena*)

joḍilaï Âdi C. "Unitely" (Skt. √*juḍ*)

dohilaĩ P. 444, Daç. "With difficulty" (Ap. *dullahaẽ*<Skt. *durlabhakena*, see §§ 6, 51)

niçcaĩ Âdi. 46, Indr. 22 "Certainly" (Skt. *niçcayena*, cf. Ap. *ṇicchaĩ*, Siddhahem., iv 358, 1)

prâhaĩ, prâhiĩ Up. 100, Daç. "Mostly" (Ap. *prâaẽ*<Skt. *prâyakeṇa*, see § 38)

maïuḍaĩ Up. 117 "Late" (Ap. *maüḍaẽ* <Skt. **mṛduṭakena*.

rûḍaï Daç. i, 15 "Well" (Ap. *rûaḍaẽ* < Skt. **rûpaṭakena*)

vegi P. 217 "Speedily" (Ap. *vegẽ* < Skt. *vegena*)

saṃkṣepaï kari Âdi C. "Concisely" (Skt. *saṃkṣepeṇa*)

sahaji P. 636 "Naturally" (Ap. *sahajẽ* < Skt. *sahajena*)

sâcaĩ Çâl. 109 "Truly" (Ap. *saccaẽ* < Skt. *satyakena*)

sâthaï Âdi C. "Together" (Ap. *satthaẽ* < Skt. *sârthakena*, see § 70, (4))

sukhaï, sukhiĩ, sukhĩ kari Âdi C., Çrâ., Indr. 71 "Easily, comfortably, joyfully" (Skt. *sukhena*)

[42] Quoted in *Asiatic Researches.* (See Vol. V, p. 285.) By Col. Wilford.

[43] *Fa hien*, XXIV.

[44] See Jacobi's Edn. p. 289.

haraṣĩ Ṛṣ. 140 "With joy" (Skt. *harṣeṇa*).

The following are adverbial phrases:

eṇaĩ prakâraĩ Kal. 43, Daç. "In this way, thus"

isî parĩ Ṣaṣṭ. 162 "Ditto." (See §§ 3, 53)

iṇi vidhaĩ Âdi C. "Ditto."

kisĩ kâraṇĩ Daç. v, 92 "For which reason? wherefore?"

§ **101**. **Locative adverbs** are either of place, or of time, or both of place and time. A good many of them are adjectives in *-ilaü*, *-alaü* in the locative (see § 145).

(1) Examples of locative adverbs of place are:

anethi, *anethiĩ* Çâl. 12, P. 524, Up. 167 "Elsewhere" (Ap. * *aṇṇetthae*, see § 95)

aneraĩ Up. 97 "Ditto." (Ap. *aṇṇaerae* < Skt. * *anyakâryake*)

araĩ paraĩ Daç. X "Near and far, all around" (From *arahaü* and *parahaü*, for which see § 147)

âsaĩ pâsaĩ Âdi C. "On all sides, all around" (Ap. *pâsae*<Skt. *pârçvake*)

keḍaĩ Âdi C. "In the rear" (Guj. *keḍe*)

dûri, *dûraĩ* P. "Far, in the distance" (Ap. Skt. *dûre*)

pâkhali P. 549 "On all sides, all around" (From the adj. *pâkhil(a)ü* < Ap. * *pakkhilaü* < Skt. * *pakṣilakaḥ*)

bâhari P. 238 "Outside" (Ap. Pkt. *bâhire* [Siddhahem. ii, 140]=Skt. *bahis*)

mathâlaĩ F 647, comm. "Upon, over" (See § 145)

mãhaĩ P. 201, 413 "Inside" (Ap. *majjhahĩ* < Skt. * *madhyasmin*, see § 74, (7))

vici P. 288 "In the middle" (Ap. *vicce* [Siddhahem. iv, 350, 1]=Skt. *vartmani*)

heṭhali Âdi C. "Down, under" (From the adj. *heṭhil(a)ü* < Ap. *heṭṭhillaü*, see Pischel's *Prakr. Gr.*, §. 107).

(2) Examples of locative adverbs of time are:

kâlhi, *kâli* Up. 152, Daç. X "Yesterday, to-morrow" (Ap. *kalle* < Skt. *kalye*)

dîhaĩ P. 683 "By day" (Ap. *diahae* < Skt. *divasake*)

paramaĩ Daç. X "After-to-morrow" (Skt. * *paramake* ?)

prabhâtaĩ Âdi C. "At dawn, in the morning" (Skt. *prabhâtake*)

râtaĩ Âdi C. "By night" (Loc. from Ap. *ratti* <Skt. *râtri*)

vihâṇaĩ P. 626, 686 "At dawn, in the morning" (Skt. * *vibhânake*)

sãjhaĩ Âdi C. "In the evening (Loc. from Ap. *saṃjhâ* < Skt. *saṃdhyâ*)

Compound adverbs:

tiṇi vâraĩ Âdi C. "At that time"

havaḍâ-naĩ kâli Ṣaṣṭ. 97,140 "In the present time".

(3) Examples of locative adverbs indicative of both place and time are:

âgaĩ P. "Before", Up. 149 "Afterwards" (Ap. *aggae* < Skt. *agrake*)

âgali P., Çrâ., Dd., Âdi C. "Before, in front, further on, previously" (Ap. *aggille* <Skt. * *agrile*)

pâchaĩ (*pachaĩ*) Dd., Âdi C. "Behind", P. 488, Dd. "Afterwards" (Ap. *pacchae* < Skt. * *paçcake*)

pâchali Çrâ. "Behind", Ja. 10 "Afterwards" (Ap. *pacchille* < Skt. * *paçcile*).

§ **102**. **Adjectival adverbs** are formed by employing absolutely the neuter singular form of the adjectives. This practice is common to all Neo-Indian vernaculars, though, of course, it is not clearly visible to-day except in such languages, which, like Gujarâtî, Marâṭhî and Sindhî, have retained the neuter gender. The employment of the neute

form of adjectives to make adverbs, mostly of manner, can be traced back to the Sanskrit. For the Apabhraṃça, I may quote the example *vahillaũ* (=Skt. *çîghram*), which is found *Siddhahem.*, iv, 422, 1. Here are a few examples for the Old Western Râjasthânî :

ghaṇũ Âdi. 76, Daç. iv "Greatly"
thoḍũ Daç. iv "Little"
pahilũ Daç. iv "Firstly"
rûḍaũ Âdi. 85 "Well"
valataũ Vi. 26 "In reply"
bhûkhiu ghaṇaũ "Very hungry" (P. 162)
socaï mani ghaṇaũ "(He) greatly grieves within (his) heart" (P. 690)
râja-kuâri valatũ bhaṇaï "The princess says in reply ..." (Vi. 26)
joi nîcũ jaṇaṇi-naï kahaï "Looking downwards (she) says to (her) mother" (P. 351).

For the adverbial adjectives, see §. 78.

§ 103. **Undeclined adverbs**, *viz.* adverbs that have not originated from any inflected form, are :

ajî Âdi C. "As yet, to this time" (* *âja-i* < Ap. *ajja-i* < Skt. *adyâpi*)
ati-hĩ Daç., Çrâ, etc. "Greatly, excessively, very" (Skt. *ati*, see § 104)
heva P. 184, an expletive used in poetry to strengthen the idea expressed by any word, "Exactly, just, certainly, indeed, etc." (Skt. *eva*, see § 38)
sahî Vi., Çâl., P. etc. "Ditto.",

and the adverbs of negation, which are the following :

nahĩ (< Ap. *ṇâhi*, ° *hĩ* < Skt. *na-hi*), which comes, as a rule, after the verb[34] and very often involves in itself the meaning of the substantive verb. Examples:

hâtha halâvaï nahĩ nirarthaka "(He) does not stir his hands unnecessarily" (Âdi C.)
sakati nahi mujha tehavi "I have not such a power" (F 783, 6)
nahî vidyâ vyâkaraṇa samâṇa "There is no lore like grammar" (P. 23).
(Modern Gujarâtî has *nahi* and Mârwâṛî *nahĩ*);

naĩ, which is but a contracted form from the former, as commonly met with in Modern Mârwâṛî. Ex.:

strî-taṇaï vasi naĩ-ji jâi "strîṇâṃ vaçaṃ na câ' pi gacchet" (Daç. ix);

na (Ap. *ṇa* < Skt. *na*), which is placed before the verb procliticaliy and even compounded with any such verbs as begin by *â*°. Ex.

nâṇaï (*na-âṇaï*) "Does not bring" (P. 284, Ṣaṣṭ. 45)
nâṇivaü (*na-âṇivaü*) "Is not to be brought" (Âdi C., Ṣaṣṭ. 16)
nâpaĩ (*na-âpaĩ*) "Does not give" (Ṣaṣṭ. 40)
nâpyaü (*na-âpyaü*) "Was not given" (F 783, 68)
nâvaï (*na-âvaï*) "Does not come" (Kal., Ṛṣ., Yog., P. etc.)
nâviu (*na-âviu*) "Did not come" (Ratn. 215);

and lastly:

navi (Ap. *ṇavi* < Skt. *nâ'pi*), which also comes before the verb. Ex.

cûḍâmaṇi pagi navi dharaï "(One) does not put a frontal gem on (his) foot" (P. 105)

carama-sarîrî navi maraĩ "He who is in his last existence does not die (before the time)" (F 783, 57).

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[34] In the following example from *Up.* 25, *nahî* is put before the verb : *nahî jâu* "I will not go".

The imperative negative adverb is *mâ*, *mī̃* (Bh. 76), as in Sanskrit, or, more commonly, *ma*. The latter is often reduplicated to give more force, as in :

ma ma bîhaü "Do not be afraid!" (P. 191).

In *Âdi* C. (page 15 a) we find also the Western Hindî negative *mata*, a form which is quite strange to Gujarâtî and may well be regarded here as a Mârwâṛî peculiarity :

hathiâra mata vâhaü "Do not make use of weapons."

Of adverbs being identical with the conjunctive participle, I can quote but the single instance of *valî* "Again".

104. Lastly, under the head of the adverbs we may reckon the **emphatic particles**, which are appended enclitically to the words, whereof the meaning is to be emphasized. In Old Western Râjasthânî the commonest emphatic particles are *i* and *ji* (*ja*), both of which likewise occur in the Apabhraṃça, the former having derived from Sanskrit *api*, and the latter from Sanskrit *eva*, through Prakrit *jeva* (see Pischel's *Prakr. Gr.*, §. 336). Examples of their employment are:

adhâra-i lipi "The eighteen alphabets" (Âdi C.)
âvyâ jina trevîsa-i "All the twenty-three Jinas came" (F 722, 257)
saghalâ-i jîva jîvivâ vā̃chaī̃ "All individuals wish to live" (Daç.)
saghalaü-i vaṃsu "The whole family" (Ṣaṣṭ. 78)
kihā̃-i "Skt. kutrâ'pi" (Daç., passim)
kimha-i "Skt. katham-api" (Bh., Âdi.)
kahî-i "Skt. kadâ'pi" (Yog., Bh., Ṣaṣṭ.)
ko-i, ke-i "Skt. ko'pi, ke'pi" (see §. 91)
âja-i-lagaï "Even now" (Indr. 10)
nîlaja-i hũtaü "However much shameless" (Kal. 3)
pâṇigrahaṇa na karaũ-i "I will not marry at all" (Up. 48)
etalũ-ji "Only this much" (Yog. I, 28)
nâvaï-ji "Does not come at all" (Kal. 35)
hũ karesi-ji "I will certainly do (it)" (Daç.)
vîtarâga-ji jâṇaï "The *vîtarâga* only knows (it)" (Indr. 48)
teha-ja "That very thing" (P. 173)
sâta-ja "Only seven" (F 555).

Often both *i* and *ji* are combined together, as in :

sukhī-i-ji "Quite easily" (Çîl. 34)
eka-i-ji "One only" (Ṣaṣṭ. 151)
dâlidra-i-ji hui "Becomes quite poor" (aṣṭ. 26).

When the word to be emphasized is a noun, adjective or pronoun in construction with a postposition, emphatic particles are always inserted between the word and the postposition. Examples:

gurûâ-i-naī̃ "Even to the teachers" (Indr. 49)
saghalā̃-i-naī̃ teha-naī̃ "To all of them" (Bh. 76)
tujha-i-ji-rahaī̃ "Skt. tavai'va" (Kal. 25)
yakṣa-i-ji-nũ "Of that very *yakṣa*" (Up. 44).

Other emphatic particles are the following:

-ī, which in my opinion has a double origin, *i. e.* when attached to interrogative pronouns and adverbs to render them indefinite, is from Ap. *-ī* <Skt. *-cid*, and when used

as a general emphatic particle after any other word, is from *-hî* quoted below. Examples for each of the two cases are :

ko-i, ke-i "Skt. *kaç-cid, ke-cid*" (see § 91)

be-i "Both" (Âdi C.)

sagale-i [*desanâ*] *sĩbhali* "All heard the sermon" (*ibid.*)

In the MS. *Up.*, *-e* is commonly written for *-i* (cf. § 7, (2)) as in the following:

jñâni-e-ji "Only those who are endowed with knowledge" (Up. 205)

madhyâhne-e "At noon too" (Up. 230);

-u (*-û*), which is identical with Ap., Skt. *-u*. Examples:

be-u "Both" (P. 105)

amhe-û "We too" (Up. 177)

taü-û "Even then" (Up. 232)

sahû te-û-ja "All these things" (Up. 64). .

When appended to a word ending in °*a*, *-u* (*-û*) may contract with that vowel into °*û*.

Examples :

ekû (*eka-û*) "One only" (Up. 24)

ehû-ja (*eha-û-ja*) "This very one" (Up. 46)

kâraṇû-ja (*kâraṇa-û-ja*) "The very reason" (Up. 77);

-hî, which is possibly to be connected with Sanskrit *-hi*, which was also capable of being used in the meaning of the emphatic particle *-hi*. Examples:

tima-hî-ja "In this very way" (Âdi C.)

kadi-hî "Never" (*ibid.*)

ima karatā-hî "By doing so" (*ibid.*)

taü-hî "In that very occasion" (Ṣaṣṭ. 40)

te-hî-ji "They only" (Ṣaṣṭ. 80)

e triṇi-hî bola "These three things" (F 753, 1) ;

Of the emphatic particle *-hi* (*-hī*), I can quote for the Old Western Râjasthânî only one instance, to wit :

ati-hi, ati-hī "Exceedingly" (see § 103). In the following phrase from *Ṣaṣṭ.* 46, *-hi* stands for *-hî* :

iṇi-hi-ji kâraṇi "Out of this very reason".

CHAPTER VIII.

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 105. According to their meaning, **conjunctions** may be divided into: 1) copulative, 2) adversative, 3) disjunctive, 4) conditional, 5) concessive, 6) causal, 7) explicative, and 8) comparative conjunctions.

§ 106. The general **copulative** is *anaĩ* "and," from Apabhramça *aṇṇaĩ* < Sanskrit *anyâni*, often curtailed into *naĩ* according to § 2, (4). It is a plural neuter in origin and meaning perfectly corresponding to the Greek adversative ἀλλά. It has a weak form *anĩ*, *ni*, *ni*, which occasionally occurs in poetry (Kânh., 47 etc.) and, more rarely, in prose (Dl. 5). Other copulatives are *paṇi* (P., Dd., F 783 etc.), *piṇa, piṇi* (Âdi C.) "also, even", which is to be connected with the Sanskrit *punar*, and *vali*, which has been already explained § 103. The latter is used either alone in the sense of "again, further, then", mostly to introduce a new subject, as in the example:

vali guru-naũ svarûpa-kahaĩ "Next comes the description of the *guru*" (Ṣaṣṭ. 104), or pleonastically after *anaĩ*, as in :

jogî naï valî râya "The ascetic and the king" (P. 132).

Examples of the use of *anaĩ* and *paṇi* are :

âṇaï bhavi anaï paraloke-e "In this existence and in the other world" (Up. 185)

amha-naï piṇa kĩi-eka dyaü "Give something even to us" (Âdi C.)

Modern Gujarâtî has *ne, paṇa, vaḷî* and Mârwâṛî *nai, piṇa, vaḷe.*

§ 107. The **adversative** conjunctions are: *puṇa* (Indr., Up. etc.), *paṇi* (Indr., P., Âdi C., Dd. etc.), *piṇa, piṇi* (Âdi C.), identical with the copulative (§ 106); *parã* (Dd. Âdi C.) from Sanskrit *param* (§ 20); and the tatsamas *paraṃtu* and *kiṃtu* (Âdi C.). Examples :

thala dekhaï puṇa tîra pâmî na sakaï "[He] sees the firm earth, but cannot reach the shore" (Indr. 60)

vari âpaṇũ jîvitavya chãḍiü, na puṇa guru-naü parâbhava na sahiu "[He] chose to loose his life, but did not bear an offence to [his] teacher" (Up. 100)

ghoḍâ hâthî vinâ saraï, piṇa âhâra vinâ na saraï "One can dispense with horses and elephants, but not with food" (Âdi C.)

parã etalaü viçeṣa "But there is this difference" (Âdi C.)

§ 108. The general **disjunctive** conjunction is *kaĩ, kaï* "Or", which has survived in Modern Gujarâtî *ke*. I am inclined to look upon it as being a shortened form from Apabhraṃça *kãĩ* < Skt. *kâni*, but possibly it might also be explained as a strong form of the disjunctive *ki*, which is found in most of the cognate vernaculars and is derived from Sanskrit *kim*. It is used both in positive and interrogative sentences. Examples :

rûpĩ karî Rambhâ jimî | kaï Urvasî samãna "Like Rambhâ in beauty, or equal to Urvaçî" (F 715, ii, 10)

ê sâcaü kaï boliu âla "Is this true, or did you speak in joke ?" (P. 244)

kaĩ maĩ soki-taṇâ suta mâryâ | kaĩ maĩ iṇḍã phoḍyã re "Did I ever kill the sons of [my] co-wives, or did I ever destroy eggs ?" (F 783, 74).

The conditional disjunctives are: *nahĩ-taü, -tu* (Ṛṣ., Up., Çrâ., Âdi C.) and *nahĩ-tari* (P., Up. etc.) "if not, otherwise, else". Their second elements are derived from Sanskrit *tatas* and *tarhi* respectively. Their Modern Gujarâtî representatives are *nahi-to* and *nahi-tara*. For examples of their employment see § 109.

§ 109. The **conditional** conjunctions are *jaï* and *jaü (ju)*, whence Modern Gujarâtî *je, jo*. The former is from Apabhraṃça *jaï* < Skt. *yadi*, and the latter from Apabhraṃça *jaü* < Skt. *yatas*. Both are indiscriminately used in the protasis and govern the correlative *taü (tu)* in the apodosis. Examples:

jaï eha jaga-mâhi râga-dveṣa na huta, taü kaüṇa jîva duḥkha pâmata "If in this world there were not the [passions of] attachment and hatred, then which living being would undergo sufferings ?" (Up. 129)

ju lahũ, taü liũ, nahĩ-taü na liũ "If I obtain [it], I will take [it], if not, I will not take [it]" (Up. 218).

Not unfrequently *jaï, jaü* are omitted in the protasis, and the conditional sense of the clause is left to be understood from the *taü* in the apodosis. Examples:

kahisyaï, taü yuddha karisyã "[If he] will tell [us to do so], then we will fight" (Âdi C.)

jîvitavya mâgaï, taü jîvitavya-i dîjaï "Were he to ask [our] life, we should give [him] even our life" (Up. 265)

bâhari bhikṣâ lahaũ, taü liũ, nahî-tara nahî "If I get alms outside [the village], then I will take [it], otherwise not" (Up. 108).

§ 110. The commonest form of the **concessive** conjunction is *tuhaï* (Ṛṣ., P., F 577 etc.) "yet, nevertheless" which, as I explain it, is derived from *taü-hi* (< Skt. *tato-hi*) through metathesis of the *a* (§ 50). It is therefore made up of the conditional or illative *taü* and an emphatic enclitic, quite after the analogy of Sanskrit *tathâ'pi*, Braja *tau-hû* etc. *Ṣaṣṭ.* 86 this conjunction occurs under the form *taü-hî*, which is the parent of Mârwâṛî *to-hî*. To give more force, *puṇa, paṇi* is added to *tuhaï* in much the same function of an emphatic particle, as in: *tuhaï puṇa* (Ṛṣ. 209) and *to-hi paṇi* (F 555) [from *taü-hi paṇi*], from the latter of which Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî *to paṇa* has derived. *Ṣaṣṭ.* 157 we find also *paṇi taü-hi*. In the *Up.* we come across two forms, *te-û* and *ta-û*, both used in the meaning of "notwithstanding, in spite of that." The former I explain as being made up by combining the correlative pronoun *te* with the emphatic particle *û* (see § 104), and the latter as being derived from the former by *e* being weakened to *a*, unless, indeed, it is to be written *taû* and to be explained as a contraction from *taü-û*.

§ 111. Under the head of **causal** conjunctions I include, besides the causal proper, the illative and final also. All the three classes are closely connected with one another and generally formed from the pronouns. I have noticed the following:

jeṇi . . . . teṇi "Because . . . . therefore"

tiṇaï, tiṇi, tiṇi bhaṇî "Therefore"

jeha bhaṇî . . . . teha bhaṇî "Because . . . . therefore"

taü "Then, therefore"

jima "So that, in order that."

Examples of their use are:

tiṇi bhaṇî hivaï çrîṚṣabhacaritra kahîaï chaï "Therefore the life of the Venerable Ṛṣabha is now being related" (Âdi C.)

jiṇi kâraṇi e kâla dharmaĩ rahita chaï teha bhaṇi "For the reason that this [present] age is destitute of religiousness" (Ṣaṣṭ. 160)

taü te kusneha-naĩ dhikkâra huu "Therefore let that pernicious love be cursed" (Ṣaṣṭ 111)

tumhe rahaü dûr[a]i gaja-râya | jima svâmî-naũ lahaũ pasâya "Stand aside you noble elephant, so that I may obtain the favour of the king" (P. 496).

A final prohibitive is *râkhe, rakhe*, which is an optative-imperative singular form from the verb *râkhaï* < Ap. *rakkhaï* < Skt. *rakṣati*, and is used in the meaning of "lest" or "beware," as in:

râkhe ko dekhaï "Let no one see [me]" (Up. 22)

thoḍî-i velâ râkhe pramâda karaü "Beware not to indulge in negligence, even for a very short time" (Up. 123)

rakhe nivârũ karatâ teha "Beware not to keep him off" (P. 100).

§ 111*a*. The **explicative** conjunctions are *jã* and *je*, the former identical with Apabhramça *jã, jaṃ* < Skt. *yad*, and the latter identical with the Old Western Râjasthânî relative pronoun (§ 90). They are used in much the same function of English "that", to introduce a clause employed as the object of the preceding verb, or as the subject or predicate nominative of a verb. Examples:

(*To be continued.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

By V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p.* 31).

Visvanatha's other conquests.

Viśvanâtha also established his power in the other parts of the peninsula. The Polygar memoirs of Coimbatore and Tinnevelly clearly say that the local chiefs of those regions waited on him, acknowledged his supremacy, and agreed to pay tribute. The Polygars of the western hills from the Ânaimalais to the Cape paid similar obeisance and tribute; some of them indeed resisted, but their arms were hardly equal to the task of vanquishing the great general. The MS. chronicle of the Râmabhadra[12] Nâiks of Vaḍagarai says that Viśvanâtha had to oppose in the west certain Chôḷa chiefs who had taken possession of the hill fortress of Kambam, but the loyal heroism of Râmabhadra saved the situation and ensured the Nâik supremacy in that quarter. In the east, the fierce Maravas of the coast naturally resisted the northern invaders. Their great chief, the Sêtupati[13], says the *Pâṇḍyamaṇḍala-choḷa maṇḍala-Toṇḍamaṇḍala-Râjâkkaḷ*,[14] had been the master of the whole country from Valkoṇḍa[15] to Râmêśvaram, and in the pride of power, withheld the payment of tribute to the Râya. It attributes the invasion of Viśvanâtha to this fact and says that "with 1,000 troops he reached Valkoṇḍa, took it by surprise, defeated the forces which came against him from Trichinopoly (which, the MS. says, had been fortified by the Sêtupati), and reinforced by fresh troops from the north, conquered the whole region of Madura and Tinnevelly." The MS. is indeed wrong in saying that, at the time of Viśvanâtha's invasion, the Sêtupati was the undisputed master of the basins of the Kâvêri, the Vaigai and the Tâmbraparṇi; but it is right in its attributing a great power in this period to the Marava lord, and a general victory to Viśvanâtha. The most significant fact in it however, is its statement that Viśvanâtha's conquests extended in the north as far as Valkoṇḍa. The region from Valkoṇḍa to the Cape, we understand, was exactly[16] the country which was ruled by the Madura Nâiks in the height of their prosperity; and yet this was the region conquered by Viśvanâtha. It shews clearly that the first of the Nâik monarchs carried the Nâik arms to the farthest limit they ever reached, and that his successors had only to keep their dominions intact. They had no need to engage in offensive operations. Their skill had to be devoted to the maintenance of the dominions they inherited and not to the acquisition of new ones. That Viśvanâtha's kingdom extended as far as Valkoṇḍa in the north is proved by other authorities also. The chronicles of Kadirmalai[17] Muttu Mâdar Nâiks of Dhammappaṭṭi, of Turaiyûr[18], and of Ariyalûr[19] leave no doubt as to the fact that Viśvanâtha was recognized as the *karta* in the lands north of the Kâvêri and the Coleroon. Valkoṇḍa was the frontier outpost on this side and served here the purpose which Satyamaṅgalam and Âttûr played in Koṅgu proper.

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[12] See Appendix IV, Section 17. [13] For the early history of the Sêtupatis, see Chapter V.

[14] For a translation of this important MS. by me, see the *Journal* of the *South Indian Association*, March 1915.

[15] This is called in Vâlikanḍapuram, *i.e.*, the village where Vâli was seen (by Râma). It is 8 miles N. N. E. of Perambalûr, a Taluk centre in the Trichinopoly district. It is the Valconda of the historian Orme. Near it is the famous Rânjanguḍi fort, which, like Valkoṇḍa, was the scene of frequent engagements between the English and the French in the Carnatic wars. The Saiva temple of the place was partly demolished, some say, byHaidar and Tippu, and others say, by the Jagirdar of Ranjangudi for the building of the fort there in the 18th century. Madura Nâiks evidently built a fort here, the ruins of which can be seen. For a detailed description of the history and antiquities of the village see, *Trichi, Gaz.* 307-8; Sewell's *Antiquities* I, 263-4 and *Ind. Ant.* IV.

[16] See Appendix I. [17] See Appendix VII. [18] See Appendix II. [19] *Ibid.*

The extent of his realm.

From what has been said an idea of the extent of Viśvanâtha's kingdom can be gained. The high uplands north of the strategic town of Satyamaṅgalam divided it from Mysore. Further east, across the Kâvêri, the hills of Baramahâl served the same purpose. Still further east, a few miles from Âttûr, a southern bend of the frontier brought it to the north-eastern brows of the Pachchaimalais. A line from these hills across the country to the Coleroon, passing between Uḍayârpâḷayam and Ariyalûr, marked the boundary on this side. Along the Coleroon it then extended as far as Trichinopoly, from where a route going direct to Vallam, and from Vallam to the coastal neighbourhood of Muttupêṭṭai and Ati-Vira-Râman-paṭṭaṇam, divided the northern dominions of the new kingdom of Madura from the southern districts of Tanjore. In the west, the mountains of the Nilgiris, the Ânaimalais, the Paḷnis and the Travancore hills formed a series of mountain-barriers, which, while protecting the Nâik kingdom from the incursions of foreigners, enabled it at the same time to erect forts of its own that could serve as centres of offensive operations against a troublesome king of Travancore or a savage tribe of the forests.

SECTION II.

The difficulties of Viśvanâtha.

With the completion of the conquest of the peninsula, Viśvanâtha was able to devote himself to the work of pacification and settlement. It is in this work that we see his real greatness. The historian will join the chroniclers and praise, without hesitation and without limitation, his work as a ruler and administrator. Both in the method and the spirit of his settlement, in the organization of the governmental machinery and the formulation of the principles of administration, he furnishes—the most critical historian will acknowledge—the subject of a free panegyric. The difficulties that confronted him at the outset were difficulties which would have baffled any statesman. The problems to be solved, the difficulties to be overcome, and the clash of interests to be reconciled, were such as to tax the capacity and engage the energy of the most capable and energetic politician. He had in the first place to provide for the military security of the kingdom. Secondly, he had to consider a strangely complex situation in which political, social and even racial questions conflicted with each other. Politically, he had to gratify the soldiers and the men who had left their distant homes and followed him with unswerving loyalty in expectation of rewards in the form of lands, riches and offices. There was a wild, though natural, clamour among them for favours.

The Telugu chiefs.

We have already seen in the first chapter who were the Telugu chiefs that followed him and had colonised the country in the 15th century. The latter naturally supposed that their co-operation, allegiance and services were as valuable as those of the captains and lieutenants who came directly from the Telugu country. How far could the respective claims and clamours of these be satisfied ?

The Tamil chiefs.

But it was not the scramble for favours among his countrymen alone that Viśvanâtha had to satisfy. There were the indigenous chiefs of the country, the Tamilian magnates, sullen and discontented, proud though conquered, most of whom traced their ancestry and their history to the early days of the Pâṇḍyan rule. Weak and disunited as they were, they were too influential a class to be ignored. There were in the first place the Vânada Râyars and the Pâṇḍyans. There was the Sêtupati, the head of all the Maravâs, who could muster thousands of hardy soldiers and daring fighters at a nod, and was universally

considered the first of the minor rulers of the land. There was again the Toṇḍamân of Pudukkoṭṭai. In the neighbourhood of Madura were the Kavuṇḍa chiefs of Kavuṇḍan-Kôṭṭai and Veḷḷayakuṇḍam. The former[20] of these claimed to be a descendant of Srî Kṛishṇa and of Immudi Vallavâḍu Achyuta Râma Kavuṇḍan, who lived and distinguished himself in the Raya's service about S. 800! Kanaka Râya Kavuṇḍan of Veḷḷayakuṇḍam was hardly less extravagant in his claims. He also traced his ancestry to Kṛishṇa, and to Anupparasa, a servant of the Râya[21] in S. 626! It was in Tinnevelly that the indigenous chiefs were most numerous and influential. The chiefs of Êḷâyirampaṇṇi and Sivagiri whose legendary history has been already given. Tennambi Âṇḍukoṇḍâr (the 11th of his dynastic line,) and Varaguṇa Râma Pâṇḍya Vaṇṇian, (the 91st of the Sivagiri chiefs)—waited on Viśvanâtha for confirmation and favour. Farther south there were the valiant Uḍaya Talaivan of Talaivan Kôṭṭai; the ambitious Valangai Puli Teva of Chokkampaṭṭi; and the daring Puli Kuṟṟâla Têva of Naḍuva Kuruchchi. Even more important was the fierce "tiger of the south", the chief of Singampaṭṭi who claimed to be the descendant of one Âpadôdharaṇa Teva, a Marava of Râmnâḍ, who about 1,100, became the servant of "Kalita Pâṇḍyan," and in that capacity conquered, it is said, a Canarese raider named Sirdâr Sanjayan, and got the lands around Singampaṭṭi as his reward. Similar was the position of Marudappa Têva of Ûttumalai, the chief of Ûrkâḍu, etc. In the Province of Coimbatore also there were an equal number of old chiefs, whom the policy and wisdom of Viśvanâtha had to conciliate and satisfy. But here the vast majority were, as we have already seen, Kavuṇḍans or Veḷḷâḷas.

Their mutual conciliation.

Such were the indigenous chiefs, who had to be considered by Viśvanâtha in his settlement of the kingdom. Hardy and turbulent, they were not likely to be satisfied with a status inferior to that of the Nâiks or Tôṭṭiyans. To gratify them was a difficult and delicate business. Their suspicion and hatred of the foreigners had to be removed, and in its place there had to be created a feeling of trust and fellowship, of confidence and equality. They should be made to feel less as the conquered than the favoured; that under the new regime they might not have the old scope for disloyalty and disaffection, but were sure to have a new security and a new strength. The Tamil and Telugu chiefs, in short, must be made to feel one responsibility, one interest and one principle of loyalty. The question thus was not one of pure politics. It was racial and national. The solution undoubtedly involved sacrifice on all sides. The Telugu and Canarese followers of the new king were foreigners in another land. Imbued with the idea of conquerors, they had naturally a contempt for the conquered, which the differences of custom and language were likely to increase rather than decrease. This gulf, Viśvanâtha had the penetration to see, must be bridged. The pride of conquest should on the one hand be changed into the responsibility of administration, and the sullen discontent of the conquered, on the contrary, into the happy loyalty of dutiful subjects. The love of power and the expectation of rewards which inspired the Telugu adventurers must be gratified; but at the same time, their ambition should be restrained, and they should be made to respect the beliefs and feelings of his new subjects. The investment of power should not mean increased room for the violation of peace or the oppression of the many; and the high position of his Telugu lieutenants must be combined with a high sense of duty, their strength with sympathy, and their ambition with absolute loyalty to

20 See Appendix IV. The MS. is of course absurd in its dates,

21 *Ibid.*

their suzerain. Viśvanâtha's work, in brief, was not only one of pacification and settlement, of efficiency and strong government, but of union and conciliation, of racial integration and mutual understandings.

Administrative Problems.

Over and above this racial and political question, Viśvanatha had to solve the problem of actual administrative improvement. The country had long been subject to the evils and hardships of wars, and all security of person and property had gone. Owing to the lack of efficient government, the local chiefs had degenerated from the position of governors into tyrants or robbers. A regular and efficient police had to be established, on a definite and easily workable understanding with the local authorities. Forests were, in spite of the colonisations of recent Telugus and Canarese, abundant still, and had to be cleared. Cultivation which had received a set-back had to be revived, deserted villages to be re-inhabited, roads to be constructed, temples revived, travel made safe and irrigation works opened. "There is nothing" says Gibbon, "perhaps more adverse to nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations, in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of barbarians may pass over the earth, but an extensive empire must be supported by a refined system of policy and oppression : in the centre, an absolute power, prompt in action and rich in resources ; a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts ; fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion and regular administration to protect and punish; and a well disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair." What Viśvanâtha did was complete in every one of these remedies.

SECTION III.

Aryanâtha Mudali.[22]

Such were the difficulties which Viśvanâtha had to surmount and the remedies which he had to provide. And it is admirable how efficiently and thoroughly he set himself to his work. A warrior as well as statesman, he had the further advantage of the precepts and counsels of a remarkable minister and companion, Aryanâtha. No king has ever had an abler or a more faithful lieutenant and no master ever been served with a greater devotion or a more genuine feeling of loyalty. But Aryanâtha was not a mere devoted servant. He was much more. He was an uncommonly prudent and orderly minded statesman with a keen eye for practical organization and administration. Among the many rulers, generals and public men that flit across the pages of Indian History and vanish into darkness as soon as their meteoric career is over, there are comparatively few substantial statesmen whose wisdom, foresight and zeal were such as to introduce a new institution or policy which became an enduring factor in the history of their country. But even such rare individuals have, either owing to the scarcity of materials or ignorance of historians, been thrown into undeserved oblivion. Of these real but unrecognized makers of history, Aryanâtha Mudali is one. A contemporary of Akbar and Todarmal, a trusted lieutenant of Vijayanagar and Viśvanâtha, he has left, as monuments of his genius, institutions which have not died to the present day. A profound scholar, it is said, in the sciences of astrology and mathematics, a good general and a farseeing statesman, Aryanâtha was a versatile genius, and could acquit himself with as much felicity in the field as in the court. He took, as we have already seen, a prominent part in the establishment of the Naik dynasty of Madura, and now co-operated with its founder, Viśvanâtha, in the government of the kingdom, the evolution of order in place of confusion, and good government in place of anarchy. For more than half a century

[22] All the MS. histories which give an account of Aryanâtha's life can be seen in Appendix I.

after Viśvanâtha's death, as we shall see presently, he was the pilot of the infant kingdom, the trusted minister and adviser—thanks to the amiability of his manners, the moderation of his counsels and his tact in managing men of different moods, desires and temperaments, —of three successive rulers of Madura ; so that, when he died about 1600, he left it a strong and well-defended state, with sound finances, an efficient army, and a wholesome policy to be pursued by his successors.

His early life.

A few words may not be considered unnecessary in regard to his earlier life and career. Born of poor Veḷḷâḷa parents, somewhere in the 2nd or 3rd decade of the 16th century, in a small hamlet called Maipêḏu, near the historic town of Conjeevaram, Aryanâtha, it is said, had certain experiences in his youth which foreshadowed his future greatness. A story, not uncommon in the case of many other Indians, who rose from similar obscurity to conspicuous stations and dignities in life, is narrated of his boyhood. When he was twelve years of age, we are informed, he went into a field where, owing to exhaustion, he fell asleep. The sun shone directly on his face, and his sleep was disturbed. Just at that time, a cobra, it is said, emerged from a neighbouring hole, and spread its hood, in parental solicitude, over the bright and handsome face of the unconscious boy. A priest of a local Ganêśa temple, who happened to witness this extraordinary spectacle, surmised, with the penetrative instinct of a Brâhman, the greatness in store for the boy. He awakened him, fore-told his coming greatness ; and when Aryanâtha naturally evinced a feeling of suspicion, he emphasised his prophecy, took the youth home, entertained him at a feast, and exacted from him a written promise to the effect that, in case he became a great and wealthy man and made his mark in the world, he would give half his wealth to him. His interest centred in the welfare of the boy, the Nambi, we may be certain, undertook, from this time onward, his education. Endowed by nature with the choicest gifts of mind and body, Aryanâtha became, when these were cultivated by a sound education, an intellectual prodigy. He attained considerable proficiency in mathematics, for which he had a natural aptitude, in the allied science of astrology, and in the military occupations of fencing, wrestling and archery. When about twenty, Aryanâtha resolved, at the instance of his Brâhman preceptor and benefactor, to try his fortunes in Vijayanagar, then the resort of all men of talents and adventure. He first, we are told, entered the service of a nobleman of the court, Peñja Mudali by name, the elder brother of an agent in the employ of the great Nâgama Naik. It was, we can hardly doubt, at this time that Aryanàtha first saw his later friend, companion and master, Viśvanâtha Nâik, and laid the foundation of that close friendship which was to thicken with time and grow with age and vicissitudes. Nor can we be surprised at their mutual attraction. Both were men of culture and capacity, of romantic temperament and adventurous spirit. Both were men of great penetration, of organizing genius. Equal[23] in ambition and intellect, in hardy physical valour as well as intellectual vigour, in the potential capacity for political organization and the potential talents of statesmanship, they seem to have had from the beginning a feeling of mutual esteem, cordiality and confidence. It is said, that the entry of Aryanàtha into Peñja Mudali's service was signalised and followed by a very auspicious occurrence in the career of his master. Peñja Mudali had, we are told, the honour of receiving the privilege of a royal palanquin. Attributing his fortune to the auspicious advent of the young hero, Peñja entertained a tender regard for him and became inspired by a zeal to elevate him. He therefore commended his virtues and his talents to Nâgama Nâik, who promptly introduced him into the imperial presence. Tradition has it that,

[23] Aryanâtha must have been about 20 years younger than Viśvanâtha.

when Aryanâtha was presented before the emperor for an appointment, he found the ministers who were engaged in the adjustment of the budget accounts, unable to calculate them correctly, and that he, untutored villager as he was, pointed out the mistake committed by the royal accountants, and audited the account to their satisfaction. The genius of the young adventurer attracted the emperor's attention, which ripened into favour and confidence when Aryanâtha investigated the emperor's horoscope, and expounded his career in such a way as to dazzle the best astrologers of the court. These services gained for Aryanâtha the office of a royal accountant, in which capacity he so conducted himself as to be considered an excellent officer, equal to any important trust. But the emperor soon had occasion to thank Aryanâtha as a public benefactor and a trustworthy friend of his house. In our sketch of the early life of Viśvanâtha Nâik, we have already seen how he is said to have distinguished himself above his contemporaries by his success in killing the sacrificial buffalo during the Navarâtri festival. The MS.[24] which records the life of Aryanâtha Mudaliâr, it is curious to observe, attributes the honour of the achievement, to Aryanâtha and not his friend. It says that when the emperor, courtiers and people were in despair as to the efficacy of the sacrifice, Aryanâtha came to the rescue, and so adjusted the posture of the buffalo and the direction of the axe that it was easy for the 'executioner' to perform his task. It is difficult to say which of the chronicles is true; but we may believe with Mr. Taylor that both Viśvanâtha and Aryanâtha must have acted together and accomplished the task. However it was, the service of Aryanâtha did not go unrewarded. The grateful emperor declared him his special favourite, and bestowed on him, together with the title of Mudaliâr, the rare honour and privilege of a state palanquin. It was not long before the emperor further honoured him, after a victorious contest with a wrestler of great renown and valour, by investing him with the command of a section of the imperial army. In the summit of his glory, the great Veḷḷaḷa aventurer did not forget his people. As a sign of his prosperity and a reminder of his old occupation, he sent, it is said, a plough and an ox-goad of gold to his sister. And when, shortly after, his marriage took place, he spent ten lacs of *mohars*, fed 40,000 relations and castemen, bestowed dresses and ornaments to whoever came to him, and celebrated at his own expense the marriages of many of his poor relatives and dependents. It was soon after this rise in Aryanâtha's fortunes that the war between the Pâṇḍya and the Chôḷa took place, and that Nâgama Nâik, who was despatched to restore order, turned traitor. One of the *Mirtanjiya MSS.* tells us that when Chandra-Sêkhara came to Vijayanagar to appeal to the emperor, Aryanâtha attached himself to his cause, procured the Râya's interview with the ex-chief, and arranged for the punitive expedition of Viśvanâtha Nâik. Aryanâtha, we are further told, served as the lieutenant of Viśvanâtha in the campaign, and distinguished himself by his feats of valour. And when Viśvanâtha returned with his captive father to the imperial court, he left Aryanâtha, as we have already seen, in Madura as his representative, with a view to co-operate with Chandra-Sêkhara in the restoration of order and good government. In the subsequent events which ended in the elevation of Viśvanâtha to the sole and undisputed rule of Madura, Aryanâtha played a no mean part in securing that end; and it is not surprising that when the Nâik chief proceeded to pacify and settle the kingdom, the sword as well as the advice of Aryanâtha was at his disposal. And Viśvanâtha displayed his gratitude and his regard by adorning him with the seal-rings of both the offices of Daḷavâi and Pradhâni; and alike in the camp and in the council-room Viśvanâtha found in his lieutenant a devoted servant and an indispensable officer.

[24] The *Mirtanjiyu* MS. ii.

SECTION IV.

The Fortifications of Visvanatha.

The first work of Viśvanâtha and his minister was to provide for the defence and security of the realm. Their general scheme was to erect a chain of forts along the frontier and in the interior, so that external invasions and internal commotions could be easily checked.

The Forts on the northern frontier.

With regard to the frontier forts, the most important were in the north and northwest; for it was in this quarter that the kingdom was, on account of the sleepless ambition of the Mysoreans, who aspired to recover the districts of Salem and Coimbatore, most seriously open to the danger of invasions. A glance at the map will shew that there are two lines of march from Mysore into the plains of Coimbatore, namely the courses of the Kâvêri and of the Moyâr-Bhavâni; through the two respective passes of Kâvêripuram and Gazelhaṭṭi. Viśvanâtha's task was to erect as many as 24 forts from the thresholds of these passes all along the routes. On the first of these, that is, the Kâvêripuram route, the principal forts were at Kâvêripuram, 34 miles north-east of Bhavâni, the extreme limit of the Nâik kingdom in this side;[25] at Sâmapaḷḷi,[26] 32 miles north of Bhavâni;[27] at Bhavâni itself and at Âṇḍiyûr,[28] 12 miles north-west of it. It will be seen that all these forts were in the modern Bhavâni Taluk; and beyond, in the Taluk of Koḷḷêgal, the Nâik of Madura had no footing. On the Gazelhaṭṭi route, the principal forts were at Talamalai,[29] at the head of the pass; at Gazelhaṭṭi[30], 10 miles east of the junction of the Moyâr and the Bhavâni; at Daṇai-Nâiken-[31]Kôṭṭai, and at Satyamaṅgalam, situated near the southern end of the pass, and therefore commanding a most strategic situation[32]. It was for this reason that, throughout the Nâik period, Satyamaṅgalam was the seat of a deputy governor, whose loyalty or bravery was always a matter of special concern to the king. It came, as we shall see later on, into the hands of the Mysore rulers in the latter part of the 17th century.

25 The walls of this fort stood in 1859. Kâvêripuram has a Saiva temple with many inscriptions. It has a large number of resident Kanarese Brahmans.

26 Spelt sometimes *Chambali, Sambali,* etc. The walls of the fort had been constructed of brick and stone. The bricks were sold about 1856 to the Iron Company and the walls were then demolished. *Mad. Journ.* VI (new series).

27 Bhavâni is famous for its sanctity and its Sangamêśvara temple, an extensive resort of pilgrims. It is 7 miles N. N. E. of Erode railway station. The Sangamêśvara temple has a Vaishṇava shrine also. The legend is that the god appeared here in the form of a *linga* to confer wealth on Kubêra. The nectar-pot is also said to have overflowed and joined the Kâvêri here. Here also the Asurâs were overcome by Kâḷi in the four corners of the town. The temple has only one entrance in the north. It was repaired by the Arch. Dept. in 1909. (See *Mad. Arch. Rep.* 1910). The walls of the fort are still standing in ruins. See *Coimbatore Manual* 441-2. *Ind. Ant.* I, 215. An incomplete legend of the place in detail is given in one of the *Mack. MSS.* See also *Mad. Jour.* XXII, 112 and *Buchanan* I, 429.

28 The ruins of the stone fort are still seen. A finely sculptured old Saiva temple is here.

29 The fort is now in ruins. 5 miles N. of this, at Hanuma Malai, there is another fort.

30 Ten miles east of the junction of the Moyâr and the Bhavâni. It is the gate of the most important pass between Mysore and Coimbatore.

31 Its large mud and stone-fort is practically demolished. There is a Saiva temple here.

32 The Satyamaṅgalam fort was standing in its entirety in 1858 and played a most important part in the frontier wars between Madura and Mysore, and later on, in the Anglo-Mysorian wars. For details, see *Imp. Gaz. Madras,* II p. 95.

In the North-west.

Such were the forts established by Viśvanâtha between Mysore and Coimbatore. A similar chain of forts were erected against the hill tribes who lived in the mountains to the west of Coimbatore province. The northernmost of these was at Attilturai[33], 26 miles N. W. of Satyamaṅgalam. Constructed on a lofty isolated hill 1,500 feet high, this strong and almost inaccessible fort commanded the valley of the Moyâr, and so formed the most strategic hill fortress of the Nâiks. Immediately south of it, in the southern face of the Nîlgiri hills, which are situated in the *duâb* between the Moyâr and the Bhavâni, are the two forts of Bhâgêśvaran-Kôṭṭai and Malai-Kôṭṭai. Farther south, beyond the Pâlghât gap, two similar forts were constructed on the Ânaimalais.

The forts of Koṅgu Proper.

While the Coimbatore Province was guarded on its frontiers by the fortifications on the passes, on the one hand, and the western hills on the other, the interior parts of it were not neglected. Here, in the semi-circular bend made by the Bhavâni and the Kâvêri, occupied by the two modern taluks of Coimbatore and Erode, were the forts of Coimbatore in the west, guarding the early course of the Noyyal river, of Erode and of Perundurai in continuation of the Kâvêri forts. Coming to the south, the course of the Amarâvati, we find it guarded by Dhârâpuram and Karûr forts, while the region between the early course of the Amarâvati and the Pâlghât gap was defended by the fort at Poḷḷâchchi.

Part of the Koṅgu province[34] was the southern part of the district of Salem, and the description of the military system of the former cannot be complete without a description of that of the latter. A survey of the geography of the modern district of Salem will shew that it is naturally divisible into three distinct tracts of country. On the north is the Hośûr Taluk, known as the Balaghât, situated on the Mysore table-land and forming the most elevated portion of the district. Immediately south and east of it is the extensive plateau covered by the Taluks of Krishṇagiri, Dharmâpuri, Tirupattûr and Ûttaṅgarai, known to history as the Baramahâl, and divided from the southern parts of the district by the chain of hills which lie around the central Shevarâys. These hills, broken only at four places, the historic passes of Kottappaṭṭi, Manjavâḍi, Môrûrpaṭṭi and Tôppûr, formed the barriers of the Nâik kingdom in this quarter. The region to the south of them, the third and the southern most geographical division of the Salem district, the well-known Talaghat, comprising the four taluks of Salem, Âttûr, Nâmakkal and Tiruchchengôḍu, was distinctly within the Nâik territory. From time immemorial this region had remained politically separate from the Baramahâl and the Balaghât, and formed with Coimbatore the Koṅgu country, and now it became, with Coimbatore, the Koṅgu province of the Madura Nâik kingdom. And Viśvanâtha, with his usual policy, consolidated the region by the construction of a number of forts. The MS. chronicles inform us that these forts were at Salem,[35] Âttûr,[36]

[33] See *Mad. Journ.* VI, the article on the *Architectural Remains of the Madras Presidency.*

[34] For the history of the province before and during the Vijayanagar supremacy see the *Kongudesa Râjâkkal* in Taylor's *Rest. Mack. MSS.*, Vol. II and *Salem Manual*, Vol. I.

[35] Salem fort is now no longer existing. The western side of the city comprised the fort. "Though never a place of any military strength, its position in a much-contested district has made it the scene of frequent fighting." For details see *Mad. Manu*, III, p. 780; Sewell's *Antiquities* II, p. 200.

[36] Âttûr on the *Vasishṭanadi* and 3 miles from the Kalvâyan hills, is Taluk headquarters. As it commanded the pass from Salem to Tyâgadurg, it was of great military importance. The fort was built by a Gheṭṭi Mudaliâr, who was Viśvanâtha's feudatory, though tradition attributes it to a later chief of the line. The story goes that, while once a hunting, Gheṭṭi Mudaliâr saw a hare start from a bush, and on examining the spot, discovered seven pots full of gold pieces with which he built the fort. For an elaborate description of the fort, see *Salem Manu*, II, p. 84 and *Mad. Manu* III, 13-14. In the former of these Le Fanu gives very interesting information about the buildings in the fort, the gold pieces that Gheṭṭi Mudaliâr found, etc.

Omalûr,[37] Sêndamaṅgalam,[38] Ânandagiri,[39] Paramatti,[40] Moganûr,[41] Nâmakkal,[42] Tiruchchengôḍu, and Sankaridurg[44]. Many of these forts, now in ruins, were built on striking, isolated and picturesque rocks, which had a commanding view of the surrounding plains and a religious sanctity in the eyes of the people by being the site of some god or goddess. The great fortress of Nâmakkal, for instance, crowned a great, white, rounded mass of gneiss about 200 feet high, at the foot of which was situated the celebrated shrine of Nâmagiri Amman, the tutelary goddess of the place. The Sankaridurg hill again had similar religious associations and over all its granaries and storehouses, its suffocation-halls and subterranean cells, the temples of Vishṇu shone in full pride and glory.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

WHO WROTE THE DASAKUMARACHARITA ?

It is certainly very late in the day to raise the question of the authorship of the *Daśakumâra-charita,* when no less than twelve editions of the work, (in England, 3 in Calcutta and 8 in Bombay), have passed through the Press under the editorship of distinguished Orientalists like H. H. Wilson, Bühler and Peterson, and Sanskrit scholars such as Bysack and Taranath in Bengal and Parab, Godbole and Kale in Bombay. Having had an occasion to examine the work somewhat closely in the light of the precepts laid down by the author of the *Kâvyâdarśa* who is also known as Daṇḍin, I have come to doubt the soundness of the hypothesis ascribing both the *Daśâkumâra-charita* and the *Kâvyâdarśa* to one and the same author. Without venturing to express an opinion one way or the other, I will proceed to state the results of my investigation of the question, leaving the issue to the maturer judgment of riper scholars.

(1) Among the merits of a good poem the author of the *Kâvyâdarśa* mentions the absence of vulgarity or indecency (वाक्यस्याग्राम्यता योनिर्माधुर्ये दर्शितो रसः) (*K. D.* II. 292.)

(2) Among the demerits of a poetic composition he lays particular stress on indecency (इति ग्राम्योऽयमर्थात्मा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते (*K. D.* I. 63). How severe the author's sense of propriety was is best seen in the illustrations, which he has given in the work itself. For instance, he will not tolerate even a comparatively harmless sentence like this: "कन्ये कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम्" (*K. D.* I. 63). In his denunciation of indecency, he proceeds to say that even a single word may have a taint of vulgarity by suggesting what is not proper "शब्देऽपि ग्राम्यतास्त्येव सा सभ्येतरकीर्तनात्" (*K. D.* I. 65). Not satisfied with strictly prohibiting the use of indecent words, the author has gone the length of proscribing whatever is suggestive of impropriety even by the trick

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[37] Ômalûr is 10 miles N. W. of Salem, on the Sarabhaṅganadi. The fort here, according to one version, dates "from a time anterior to the establishment of the Maisûr dynasty about A. D. 1399" Sewell's *Antiquities* I, p. 200.

[38] This is seven miles N.E. of Nâmakkal, the Taluk headquarters. It is the seat of a Zamindari. The only things of antiquity there are two old Saiva and Vaishṇava temples.

[39] This is the name given by one MS. Another MS. gives it as Anantagiri. The latter seems to be the correct one, as there is no place of the name of Ânandagiri. But Anantagiri is only another name for Âttûr, and I don't know why the chronicles mention it, while mentioning Âttûr immediately after. For the identification of Âttûr with Anantagiri, see Sewell's *Antiquities,* I, p. 201 under the heading of Âttûr.

[40] This village is 9 miles W. S. W. of Nâmakkal. Sewell mentions only two Saiva and Vaishṇava temples as its antiquities. So also is the case with the *Mad. Manu.* III, 651-2.

[41] This is 12 miles south of Nâmakkal, on the Kâvêri. An old Saiva temple is the only ancient thing there. The Sanskrit name of the place is Bilvâdripura. See *Mad. Manu.* III, 560-1.

[42] See *Imp. Gaz. Madras* II, 61. According to some the fortress here was built by Râmachandra Nâik, the Polygar of Sêndamangalam and according to others by Lakshmi Narasayya, a Mysore officer. For other details see *Salem Manual* and Sewell's *Antiquities* I, 204.

[43] See Sewell's *Antiquities* I, 203. The place is very important both for its arts and its historical associations.

[44] Also called Śaṅkagiri-durgam. It is 8 miles N. by W. of Tiruchchengôḍu. There is a fine hill-fort here and this must have been constructed in the time of Viśvanâtha. Its ancient Siva temple is a very famous place of pilgrimage. See Sewell's *Antiquities,* I, 202 ; *Madras Journal of Lite,* 1878, p. 155 ff ; and J.A.S.B., XIV, 768-9 where there is reference to the numismatic finds in this place.

of joining two contiguous words or by their implied meaning: "पदसंधानवृत्त्या वा वाक्यार्थत्वेन वा पुनः। दुष्प्रतीतिकरं ग्राम्यम्" (*K. D.* I. 67). Even an innuendo conveying impropriety is sternly condemned. "एवमादि न शंसन्ति मार्गयोरुभयोरपि" (*K.D.* I. 67). With these dicta of the *Kávyádarśa* before us, let us glance a little into the contents of the *Daśakumáracharita*. Not to mention the tiresome description and reiteration of what in the author's time were considered feminine charms, we have explicit mention of sexual intercourse in no fewer than ten places in the *Daśakumáracharita*. One of these ten passages is so outrageously obscene that it cannot but bring a blush to the cheek of every cultured reader. Now, I venture to ask if it is conceivable that an author, who, as an authority on Rhetoric, wrote like an angel of righteousness, should or could, as a poet, have been a veritable devil rolling in the mire of obscenity? Is it possible that a teacher of Rhetoric should or could have so far forgot himself as to violate in practice what he taught in theory?

But this is not all. In the matter of refinement of diction, the author of the *Kávyádarśa* condemns the use of words which are hard to pronounce and cites "न्यक्षेण क्षयितः पक्षः क्षत्रियाणां क्षणादिति" as an illustration of his point. How many passages can be quoted from the *Daśakumára-charita* like घनदर्पकन्दर्पसौन्दर्य-सोदर्यहृद्यनिरवद्यरूपः In fact nearly the whole of the seventh *Ucchhvâsa*, deliberately composed without the use of a single labial, is a practical violation of the teaching of the *Kávyádarśa*, inasmuch as the unwieldy and jawbreaking compounds therein used are such as to tax the vocal powers of even a practised reader. I venture to repeat my question as to whether the Daṇḍin of the *Kávyâdarśa* could have been also the author of the *Daśa-kumâra-charita*.

But I have yet to finish my examination of the *Daśa-kumâra-charita*. The author of the *Kâvyâdarśa* in his exhaustive and comprehensive view of the whole domain of poetic composition, has not omitted to notice grammatical faults. "Any expression of thought which transgresses the rules of Grammar" says he, "is not elegant." "नहि प्रतीतिःसुभगाशब्दन्यायविलङ्घिनी" (*K. D.* I. 75). Such forms as चुम्बयितुम् (Part I-34-7) and आलिङ्गयितुम्, आवोचि and शासन् and such constructions as स चाहं सख्याधनमित्रेण तत्र संन्यावेशि, even if they do not show ignorance of grammar, are yet instances of slovenliness which might have been avoided. Such ambiguous and unfelicitous sentences as भगवन्तं मरीचिं वेशाकृष्टादुत्थाय प्रत्यापन्नदिव्यचक्षुषमुपसंगम्य ... ... तेनास्मित्वद्दर्शनमवगमितः (Pt. I. p. 64 l. 6) are to be found all through the work.

In some places such as मन्त्रिसूनवोयथा पूर्वमन्वतिष्ठन्, (Pt. I, p. 2, l. 2) or अभिलिख्यात्मनः प्रतिकृतिमस्मत्प्रतिकृतिरभुष्येनेया (Pt. I, p. 69 l. 11) or उपसर्पेयमिति प्राञ्जलिं परिष्वज्य गतासीत् either the object or the verb is omitted. There are lapses of minor importance such as दैवेन विरच्यार्चनार्हः (Pt I, 3, 17) कारुण्येन पुण्येन (च?) विसृष्टः (Pt. I, p. 7, l. 6); वियत्तल व्याकुले धूलिपटले (evidently for धूलिपटल व्याकुले वियत्तले); अभिहित नामधेयः (Pt. II, p. 24. l. 6) परिव्राज उज्जयिनीम् (Pt. II, p. 37, l. 9). May not one ask if he who wrote this was also the author of the *Kávyâdarśa*? Such unusual expressions as अत्र भवान्प्रविशतु (II, 22, 5) and पूनरवतरतु भवान् in calling on a Prince to recount his adventures are also evidences of carelessness.

Besides laying down rules enjoining good taste and grammatical accuracy, the author of the *Kávyâdarśa* has given a long catalogue of the demerits of a poetical composition in the following two verses:—

अपार्थं व्यर्थमेकार्थं ससंशयमपक्रमम् ।
शब्दहीनं यतिभ्रष्टं भिन्नवृत्तं विसन्धिकम् (III. 125)
देशकालकलालोकन्यायागमविरोधिच ।
इति दोषा दशैवैते वर्ज्याः काव्येषु सूरिभिः । (III. 126)

If we apply these ten tests in an examination of the *Daśâ-kumâra-charita*, it is possible that we may be able to collect much more material to confirm doubts as to the identity of the authorship of these works. For instance, if we begin culling out compounds containing words having the same meaning (एकार्थ), there is every likelihood of being able to point out many instances of the mere heaping of words such as शरदिन्दु+कुन्द+घनसार+नीहार+हारमृणाल+मराल+सुरगज+नीर+क्षीर+गिरिशाट्टहास+कैलास+काश &c.

To conclude, I am humbly of opinion that the quest after the three books referred to by Râjaśekhara has perhaps led to the mistaken identity of the authorship of these two works. May it not be that Daṇḍin the poet has been confounded with Daṇḍin the Rhetorician?

POONA,
4th June 1914.

G. J. AGASHE.

CHAPTER V.

THE WORSHIP OF THE MALEVOLENT DEAD.

At Ubhádánda in the Ratnágiri District the following dreams are believed to be lucky and propitious. To swim through the river or sea, to rise to the sky, to see the sun, the moon and the other planets, to eat meat, to bathe in blood, and to eat rice and curds. It is also believed that the sight of white objects in dreams foretells success in any work or undertaking that may be in view. A deity, a Bráhman, a king, a married woman decked with ornaments, a bullock, a mountain, trees full of fruits, climbing the *Umber* tree, a looking-glass, meat and flowers, if seen in dreams, are good omens. Climbing the *Palas* tree, *Warul*, i. e., an ant heap, the bitter lime tree, to marry, to use red clothes or red flower garlands, to eat cooked meat, to see the sun and the moon without lustre, and to see shooting stars during dreams, are said to be bad omens. [1]

At Mitbáv in the Devgad taluka of the Ratnágiri District dreams are believed to be caused by indigestion and restlessness. To embrace a dead body in a dream, to see troubled waters, to dine heartily, are said to be bad omens. Feasting friends and receiving gifts from them are said to be good omens.[2]

At Fonde in the Ratnágiri District dreams are said to indicate things that have happened, or are about to happen in the near future. All white substances other than cotton, salt, and bones, are considered auspicious, and all black substances excepting a lotus, a horse, an elephant, and a deity are considered inauspicious.[3]

At Ibhrampur in the Chiplun taluka, horrible dreams are good omens, while pleasing dreams indicate approaching calamities.[4]

At Pendur in the Ratnágiri District it is believed that dreams foretell future events. It is believed that the dream will prove correct and effective if the person dreaming has asked three questions and received three answers in his dream. Those dreams which are caused through cold are called *Jalap*. They are generally false dreams, and no good omens are derived therefrom.[5]

At Basani in the Ratnágiri District it is believed that the ancestors who take interest in the welfare of their descendants appear in dreams and foretell future events, so that the dreaming person may take the needful precautions for the prevention of future calamities.[6]

At Kálse in the Málwan taluka of the Ratnágiri District it is believed that dreams in the last part of the night, *i. e.*, just before daybreak, and in which great men are seen, generally prove effective. If anybody sees himself married in a dream it is supposed that he will hear of the death of some relative.[7]

At Chauk in the Kolába District it is believed that, when calamities are threatened, the guardian deity of the family as well as the dead ancestors appear in dreams and give warnings of the coming calamities.[8]

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1 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnagiri.
2 School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Ibhrampur, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
7 School Master, Kálse, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.

The people of Poladpur in the Kolába District believe in dreams; and when some of their deities appear in dreams and give them advice or directions, they are careful to follow them. Sometimes even evil spirits appear in dreams, and advise the people to do certain things to avert calamities. People who have faith in such spirits act according to their wishes, and if they fail to do so, trouble is sure to follow.[1]

The people of Khopoli in the Kolába District believe that if a person sees in a dream the dead body of a near relative, it indicates that the person whose corpse was seen in the dream will live long.[2]

At Birwadi in the Kolába District it is believed that if a person sees a snake in a dream, a son will be born to him; if he sees a hell, he is sure to get wealth. If he sees gold, it is a sure sign of losing wealth. Again, if a person sees himself taking his meals in a dream, it indicates that his death is nigh at hand.[3]

At Málád in the Thána District, omens are derived from dreams. In case of bad dreams the god Vishnu is remembered, and the gods Shankar and Máruti are also worshipped.[4]

At Belápur, wood, cow dung cakes and turbid water, if seen in dreams, foretell calamities. White clothes, beautiful flowers, and food containing sweetmeat are considered auspicious.[5]

At Murbád in the Thána District it is believed that all black things, and white things such as ashes, are inauspicious when seen in dreams, but a black cow, white flowers, and pearls are auspicious. Considering the four parts of the night, the dreams that occur in the first part prove effective within one year, that of the second part within six months, that of the third within three months, and of the fourth within one month, and those caused at daybreak are realized immediately.[6]

At Kolhápur, dreams are believed to be caused through some mental derangement or bodily disorder. It is customary to derive omens from dreams, but their nature greatly depends upon the different times at which these dreams occur. The dreams caused in the latter part of the night, *i. e.*, just before daybreak, are believed to come true.[7]

At Ubhádánda in the Vengurla taluka it is believed that the soul of a person leaves the body temporarily during his sleep; hence it is said that no changes or marks of colour, etc., should be made on the body of a person during sleep, because it is believed that, while returning, the soul identifies the body, and if it is satisfied with the marks of the body it enters it; otherwise it might not return.[8]

At Adivare it is believed that only Hindu saints and ascetics, after deep and devout meditation, are capable of removing the soul from the body. It is believed that their souls go to heaven during that period and return at pleasure. At present there are no such *sádhus* in the district.[9]

Many Hindus in the Ratnágiri District believe that the soul goes to drink water at night, and therefore keep a pot filled with water at their sleeping place.[10]

The people of Chaul in the Kolába District do not consider it possible ordinarily for the soul to leave the body, but they state that the Swámi of Alandi, who died in or about the year 1886, used to remove his soul from the body by means of *Yoga*.[11]

At Kolhápur, it is believed that the soul leaves the body temporarily at night when a person is asleep.[12]

1 School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.
2 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
3 School Master, Birwadi, Kolúba.
4 School Master, Málád, Thána.
5 School Master, Belápur, Thána.
6 School Master, Bhuwan, Murbád, Thána.
7 Rao Sâheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
8 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
10 School Master, Kalshe, Ratnágiri.
11 School Master, Chaul, Kolába.
12 Ráo Sáheb Shelke.

At Bankavali in the Dápoli taluka, it is believed that ghosts or evil spirits have the form of a human being, but their feet are turned backwards. They can assume any form they choose. Their character is ordinarily to trouble the people, but when satisfied they are said to prove friendly. The following story is narrated of a person who went to reside in one of the villages of the Konkan. His wife was first attacked by a ghost called Girha. The Girha troubled him much by playing mischief in his house, *viz*: by taking away eatables or by mixing dirt in his food. At night he used to divest the couple of their clothes, and on one occasion an ornament was removed by the spirit from the person of the wife. Tired of these annoyances, the man left the village and went to reside at a distance, when, to the astonishment of the public, it happened that the ornament which was lost at the old village was restored to the man's wife while she was asleep in the new village, and nobody knew who brought it there. All this was believed to be the work of the Girha.[1]

At Ubhádánda in the Vengurla taluka people believe that a *Bhut* is fierce in aspect and very troublesome, but when its wishes are complied with, it becomes harmless. The *Bhuts* reside in jungles, burial or cremation grounds, old trees, sacred groves and deserted houses. They assume all sorts of shapes and forms. Sometimes they appear very tall, and they can instantly assume the shape of a dog, a cat, a tiger, or any other animal. Some ghosts are even seen fishing on the banks of rivers.[2]

At Mitbáv in the Devgad taluka it is believed that the souls of those who die with their wishes unfulfilled take the form of a *Bhut*. They enter the bodies of people. Any woman who is attacked by the *Bhut* of a Pir becomes able to speak in the Hindi language although it may not be her mother tongue. When a child or a person is suffering from the attacks of a spirit, incense is burnt, and it at once begins to tell the whereabouts of the spirit and the reason why the person has been attacked. He is then asked to state what he wants, and when the things which the spirit wants are offered, it goes away.[3] Spirits are generally invisible.

The spirits that belong to the class of malignant *Bhuts* are of a ferocious appearance; but those that belong to the class of friendly *Bhuts* possess bodies like human beings.[4]

At Náringre in the Devgad taluka, it is believed that spirits are cruel by nature and have no shadow, that they are capable of taking any form they like, and can perform miracles.[5] At Pendur it is believed that *Bhuts* eat chillies, and that they do not speak with human beings. Spirits are said to remove and conceal their victims for a certain period of time.[6] At Vijayadurg, a *Bhut* is considered to be of mean character. People perform certain rites to bring it under subjection. Their actions are always contrary to nature. When a person begins to cry, dance, to eat forbidden things, etc., he is said to be attacked by a *Bhut*. When there is enmity between two persons, the one who dies first becomes a *sambandh* and troubles his living enemy.[7] At Basani, there is a belief that there are two kinds of spirits. Some aim at the welfare of the people, and others are always troublesome. As they have no regular form they cannot easily be recognised. They can change their forms at any time.[8]

The character of a *Bhut* is to trouble people and to take revenge on an old enemy. A person attacked by a spirit speaks incoherently and acts like a mad man. In such cases the leaves of the herb *satáp* are used.

[1] School Master, Bankavali, Ratnágiri.
[2] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Ibhrampur, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Vijayadurg, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.

The leaves are pounded and put under the patient's nose. In a few minutes, the person who is possessed by the spirit begins to speak.[1]

The people of Chauk in the Kolába District believe that the main function of a *Bhut* is to frighten people, to beat them, and to make them perform unpleasant tasks and thereby to obtain food from them.[2] At Poládpur it is believed that if a person is able to bring a *Bhut* under his control he can make it do every kind of work for himself.[3] The people of Akshi believe that kindling fire without any reason and throwing stones at certain houses are the main functions of *Bhuts*.[4] At Vávashi in the Pen táluka, it is believed that *Bhuts*, while walking, never touch the earth but always move through the air, and that they have no shadow.[5] The old men of Shirgaum in the Máhim taluka advise young children not to respond to the call of anybody at night unless the person calling is an acquaintance. For such calls are sometimes those of an evil spirit.[6]

In the Kolhápur District, it is believed that the character of a *Bhut* is like that of a human being. When a person is attacked by a spirit, a great change is observed in his language and actions. He begins to speak in the language of the *Bhut* by which he is attacked. If the ghost is of the female sex, the person speaks the language of females. It is believed that the souls of those who have been murdered or tortured assume the form of a spirit known as *Sambandh*, and trouble the murderer or the torturer, by entering his body. It is said that in some cases the spirit does not leave the body of such a person till he dies, thus exacting revenge for his past misdeeds.[7] In Khopoli in Ratnágiri it is said that the cow which is given to a Bráhman while performing the funeral rites of a dead person helps him to reach heaven. He gets there by catching hold of her tail. There are three paths to the other world. They are *Bhaktimárga*, *Karmamárga*, and *Yogamárga*. The *Karmamárga* is believed to be superior to all.[8] At Málád, a belief prevails that the path to the other world is through the Himálayas. While going through the mountains of the Himálayas, souls find happiness or sorrow according to their actions in life-time. The people also believe that the soul returns every month on the date of the man's death to accept *Kágvás* i. e. cooked food given to the *manes*, and reaches heaven at the end of one year.[9] At Dahigaum in the Murbád taluka, it is customary among the Hindus to smear with cow dung the place from which a dead body has been removed to the burning ground. The place is then covered with rice flour, and is hidden under a basket, an oil-lamp being kept burning near by. The persons who accompany the corpse return home to look at the lamp, and it is believed that the soul of the deceased will pass to any creature or species of which footprints are seen on the rice flour.[10]

At Kolhápur it is believed that the soul of a person after death attains that state to which he aspires at the last moment before his death. Virtuous persons who die without any desire reach heaven and remain there in the form of the stars, where they are believed to enjoy the happiness of heaven. Some of them are sent to this world when they wish to return. Sinners are said to reach hell in consequence of their misdeeds, but some remain in this world in the form of *Bhuts*.[11]

1 School Master, Chawl, Kolába.
2 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
3 School Master, Poládpur, Kolába.
4 School Master, Akshi, Kolába.
5 School Master, Vávashi, Kolába.
6 School Master, Shirgaum, Thána.
7 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
8 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
9 School Master, Málád, Thána.
10 School Master, Dahigaon, Thána.
11 Râo Sâheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from p. 67.*)

IT will be now clear what trouble the Nâik monarch took to strengthen his northern frontier. From the wild Anaimalais to the picturesque Pachaimalais north of Turaiyûr, achain of mountains, pierced by occasional passes and river valleys, formed a formidable barrier, which the Mysore kings had to break through for a successful incursion into the Madura kingdom. The strength of the hills was seconded by the labours of man, and every inch of ground which was likely to afford scope for incursion was fortified and guarded. The cities of the chief rivers, doubly important on account of their situation and their holiness, were placed in defence, and strategic rocks were made into skilful defence-works. Nowhere else do we find such a remarkable series of fortifications constructed with such gigantic labour and enterprise. These were indeed not the personal works of Viśvanâtha. Many of them were the works of his deputies or of the local chiefs who paid him tribute and obeyed his mandates. In Satyamaṅgalam, in Bhavâni, in Salem, in almost every place there was some local chief or governor, on whom devolved the duty of looking after the defence of the land.

Other frontier forts.

The principle of fortification is strongly exemplified not only in the Madura-Mysore frontier, but also in the Tanjore and Travancore frontiers. Travancore formed, indeed, in theory, part of the Nâik kingdom, but for practical purposes it was independent ; and as the kings of Travancore were not unoften rebels, the Western Ghats, the dividing line between the two kingdoms proper, were carefully guarded, especially where there was room for ingress and egress. The Tôṭṭiya chieftains, who owned the Pâḷayams which lay scattered along these hills, were allotted that task, and even to-day the forts which they constructed, chiefly of mud, but sometimes of stone, can be seen either in entirety or ruins.

The forts within the kingdom, Madura, etc.

But it was not the frontiers alone that were thus kept in vigilant defence. All the important seats of local government throughout the kingdom as well as temples of celebrity[45] were fortified. Every Polygar or Nâik, every Viceroy or Governor, lived in a fortified city. The fort was sometimes of mud, and sometimes of stone,—that depending on the importance of the locality, the status of the ruler, and the value of the services he rendered to the State. A distinguished service in the field under the suzerain's standard, or some notable exploit on behalf of the State, was very often rewarded with the privilege of erecting a stone fort. As a rule, the Polygar forts were of mud, and the royal ones of stone. It is scarcely necessary to describe in detail the situation and architecture of these. It is sufficient to state that, as in the Koṅgu Province, stray and isolated rocks were used for martial works—as at Dindigul[46] and Aḷagar Malai—and that the central government took care to see that the forts

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[45] *E. g.* Aḷagar Malai. The fort was repaired by the archaeological department in 1907-08. There are, besides the fort, Tirumal Nâik's palace and a temple with two tanks, in this place.

[46] The Dindigul rock is 280 feet high, and is inaccessible. It was therefore the key of Madura on the northern side, and naturally strengthened by fortification. Alagarmalai is 12 miles north of Madura and has a height of 1,000 feet. Five miles north of Madura is the famous elephant-rock, a solid block two miles long and one-fourth of a mile broad, on one side of which is a rock-cut temple. The other isolated rocks are Rangamalai, 20 miles north of Dindigul, (seven miles in circumference) Skandamalai and Pasumalai, four miles from Madura.

were not made centres of disaffection and disloyalty by turbulent chiefs or unscrupulous governors. The fortification of Madura, however, deserves to be treated in detail, as it was the capital city and as Viśvanâtha personally undertook its construction. He demolished the small Pâṇḍyan fort which surrounded the temple, and constructed a new, more spacious and double-walled fort, which encompassed the whole city and defended its people from raiders or invaders. The fort had 72 bastions. Each of these bastions was placed under the defence of a particular Polygar, who was to maintain in Madura for this purpose a certain number of troops. It seems that the maintenance of the bastion troops was insisted on even in times of peace. It is unnecessary to point out which bastions were defended by which Polygars. A glance at the Polygar memoirs in the appendices will enlighten the enquirer on the point. The important point to be noticed is that this system always kept the relations between the King and the Polygars intimate, and made the detection of disloyalty easy for the central government. The Polygar troops of the bastion were more or less hostages of their master's good conduct. The troops of the respective Polygars were, in all probability, commanded by officers of their own choice. The nature of the relations between these military officers and the *sthânapatis* or ambassadors, whom each Polygar stationed at the court, is not known. The *sthânapati* was primarily a civil officer who represented his master's interests in the Nâik court, and formed the official channel of communication between the central government and the *Pâlayam* ; but it is not improbable that he had some control over his military colleague's movements.

The acquisition of Trichinopoly.

It was perhaps the same military purpose that made Viśvanâtha endeavour, with success, for the acquisition of the city of Trichinopoly, then in the possession of the Tanjore Nâik.[47] He had, it is true, not a military policy alone in view. He saw that the crowds of pious pilgrims, who went to the shrine of Śrirangam, were subject to untold difficulties,— the danger of internecine wars, the ravages of robbers, the want of roads, the scarcity of rest houses, and the discomforts of practically a forest journey. Viśvanâtha obtained, in return for the cession of the fortress of Vallam, the town of Trichinopoly from the king of Tanjore. It was an exchange of immense advantage to both the parties. The possession of Vallam so near Tanjore by a foreign power had naturally been a source of anxiety and alarm to Sevappa Nâik. It had given rise to constant disputes and petty controversies between the two powers. The Nâik of Madura used to trouble his brother chief with frequent claims of compensation for alleged losses, which his own subjects sustained from the more turbulent or greedy of the Tanjore subjects. Viśvanâtha maintained that many evil men of Tanjore committed theft in his town of Vallam, that this was due to the defective police arrangements at Tanjore and so demanded from the latter the repair of the damages. The court of Tanjore was not backward in its grumblings and its demands. It did not only refuse compensation but denied the need for it, and positively put forward counter-demands on similar grounds. This fertile source of ill-feeling was removed by the exchange of Trichinopoly for Vallam. Tanjore was rid of a thorn by its side, and Madura gained an important centre of commerce and pilgrimage. Viśvanâtha promptly replaced the old and ruined fort of Trichinopoly by a strong and double-walled one as in Madura. He introduced the copious waters of the

[47] Some MSS. attribute the transfer of Trichinopoly to the reign of Virappa, the predecessor of Tirumal Nâik and some to that of Tirumal himself. Both the versions to which Wilson refers are wrong. See *J. R. A. S.* IV p. 230.

Kâvêri into the ditches that encompassed the walls, constructed streets, excavated the Teppakuḷam, cleared the thick and dangerous forests which covered the banks of the Kâvêri and had made travel extremely unsafe; established villages and temples in the region thus cleared, and stationed a vigilant police on the road to Śrîraṅgam in order to secure the safety of the person and property of the pilgrims. The result of these salutary measures was seen in the colossal growth of the wealth and prosperity of Trichinopoly, which, from this time onward, became one of the most important cities of South India. So prosperous did it become that the Madura Nâiks gave up Madura and chose the city on the Kâvêri for their residence. Situated in a highly fertile, well-watered and picturesque region every inch of which was associated by the people with some historic or legendary event, Trichinopoly had the further merit of being nearer the northern confines of the kingdom, and in consequence a convenient centre from which the movements of the rival princes of Tanjore and Mysore could be easily watched. Strategically it was, with its rock citadel and the double-walled fortifications of Viśvanâtha Nâik, what nature and art could combine to strengthen, while commercially, its situation was an almost ideal one.

It becomes the capital.

Madura, on the other hand, possessed few of these advantages. Situated in a level, sandy, saline tract, the monotony of which is not relieved by any fertile fields or fine rivers, easy of attack and difficult of defence, Madura had not one good feature, except the halo of ancient tradition and historic greatness, that commended it as the agreeable residence of a monarch. A barren country, a hot withering climate, a desolate and uninteresting neighbourhood, made it not only weak, but disagreeably hot and unhealthy. True, Viśvanâtha instituted the feudal aristocracy of the Polygars and entrusted the defence of Madura to them in case of invasions from outside, but the arrangement had the dangers of a double-edged sword, in as much as the Polygars themselves were notorious for their lack of loyalty and fidelity. It was for these reasons that the Nâik kings, though invariably crowned at Madura in the shrine of Mînâkshi, always honoured the city of Trichinopoly with their presence. With the accession of Tirumal Nâik in 1623 Madura became, as we shall see later on, once again the seat of government, but it was only for a short time. Chokkanâtha once again removed it to Trichinopoly, and it was there that the last Nâik monarch, the illfated Mînâkshi, succumbed in the 18th century to Mussalman greed and domination.

SECTION V.

THE POLYGAR SYSTEM.

Having considered the details of the conquest of the peninsula and the measures taken for the maintenance of its military security, I shall now proceed to describe the manner in which Viśvanâtha and his great minister tackled the political and racial problems with which they were, as I have mentioned, confronted at the beginning of their administrative career. Their plan for the distribution of rewards to those who shared the risks, the hardships and the glory of their expedition was to set up a class of military aristocracy, a landownership based on military tenure and administrative service known as the Polygar system,—a system which, except in regard to the gradations of tenantry and sub-tenantry, had a great resemblance to the mediaeval feudalism of Europe. A number of *pâḷayams* or estates were created throughout the kingdom, and each of these was bestowed on a distinguished follower, Telugu or Tamilian. Traditionally there were 72 such estates, but

actually there were, as a reference to the appendices will shew, even more[15]. The head of each estate, the 'Polygar' as he was called, was more or less a petty king. In the interna affairs of his estate, he was practically a despot. In theory, indeed, the suzerain could inter fere, regulate or control; but in practice he seldom interfered in purely domestic concerns.

The Polygar's political duties.

The Polygar had, in the first place, to pay tribute, generally a third of his income, to the king, or *karta* as he was generally termed. He had secondly to maintain, in proportion to the income of his *pâḷayam*, a certain number of troops for the central government and present himself, at their head, before the king whenever summoned on a military undertaking. The number of troops he had to maintain depended, as we have already said, on the size of his estate and the amount of his revenues. It also perhaps depended on the status or rank of the holder. The polygar had, in his military capacity, to defend one of the bastions of the new Madura fort and keep a certain number of men there even in times of peace for that purpose. He was also to station permanently an agent of his, Sthânapati as he was called, to represent his interests in the court. Within his *pâḷayam*, the Polygar had onerous duties and responsibilities. On him devolved the entire task of looking after the welfare of the people living in his fief. He had to administer justice, to clear forests, to found villages, to settle people in unpeopled regions, to extend cultivation, to erect temples, to construct irrigation works, to keep a vigilant police,—in short to rule his people as king. He was thus an extremely powerful individual, but it ought not to be supposed that the multifarious nature of his duties made his position too burdensome. The *pâḷayam* was, after all, a very small division. Normally it consisted of a dozen villages, and extended from north to south and east to west hardly more than a dozen miles. There was never in all probability more than 10,000 people in a single fief, and in most fiefs, especially of the wild and mountainous parts, the population did not perhaps rise above a few hundreds.

The Polygar as a Policeman or Kâvalgâr.

The Polygar was not only the absolute master of his *pâḷayam*, but the policeman of the king's territory in his neighbourhood. He was in other words, not only responsible for the good government of his estate, but for the security of person and property of the people who lived in the king's villages in the vicinity of his estate. The Polygar was thus invariably the Kâvalgâr of the neighbouring region, but he was not necessarily be a Kâvalgâr. His duties might be confined solely to his *pâḷayam* and people; but as between every two *pâḷa-yams* there were invariably some villages of the king, he was in most cases a Kâvalgâr. It was an arrangement at once ingenious and advantageous. It did not only curb the Polyg from an unscrupulous raid into the king's lands, but made him positively responsible for their security. The Polygar was not without remuneration for his *kâval* duties. He was given either a right to collect certain dues from the people in all the villages which w subject to his *kâval*, or a piece of land in one or more villages to be enjoyed hereditar The Kâval lands thus bestowed on the Polygar were of course in the government villa and for these he was exempted from taxation. The Polygar in the capacity of Kâva had to make his own arrangement for the efficient discharge of his duties. Generally appointed *talayâris* or policemen in every village in his jurisdiction and detectives to gu the roads from one village to another. These *talayâris* were, as a rule, Maravas, or Kall but there was no rule as to the castes from which they were recruited. The jurisdic

[15] The number was subject to perpetual fluctuation and "increased or diminished with absence or existence of any one preponderating power." (Wilson, *J. R. A. S.* III).

VATSYAYANA, AUTHOR OF THE NYAYABHASYA.

BY Mahamahopadhyaya SATIS CHANDRA VIDYABHUSANA, M. A., PH.D., M.R.A.S., F.A.S.B.

Vâtsyâyana preceded Dignâga.

10 Vâtsyâyana, author of the Nyâyabhâṣya, must have flourished before Dignâga as the latter criticises him. Vâtsyâyana observes :—

Manasaśca indriyabhâvân-na vâcyaṃ lakṣaṇântaramiti. Tantrântarasamâcâràccaitat pratyetavyamiti paramatamapratiṣiddham anumatamiti hi tantrayuktiḥ. (*Nyâyabhâṣya* 1-1-4).

"A different definition (of perception) is not given since the mind is a sense-organ. This is to be deduced from the declaration of another system (the Vaiśeṣika which acknowledges the mind to be a sense-organ); and it is an axiom of philosophy that 'if I do not oppose a theory of my opponent, it is to be understood that I accept it'".

Dignâga criticises the above observation in a verse of the *Pramâṇasamuccaya*, the Tibetan version of which is quoted below :—

*B*de-sog*s* *g*shal-bya min-pa-*h*am
*D*waṅ-po *g*shan yo*d* yid-*d*waṅ-po
*B*kag-pa-me*d*-phyir thob-ce-na
*D*waṅ-po *g*shan-gyi *s*gra-don-me*d*

(The Tibetan version of *Pramâṇasamuccaya* called Tsha*d*-ma-kun-la*s*-*b*tu*s*-pa, Chap. 1, contained in Tangyur, Mdo, volume Ce).

The original Sanskrit text of the verse is quoted by Vâcaspati Miśra thus :—

Na sukhâdi prameyaṃ vâ
Mano vâstîndriyântaram |
Aniṣedhâdupâttaṃ cet
Anyendriya-rutaṃ vṛthâ. ||

(*Pramâṇasamuccaya*, Vâcaspati Miśra in his *Nyâyavârtika-tâtparyaṭikâ* 1-1-4).

"Pleasure etc. are not a distinct object of Knowledge; nor is the mind a separate sense-organ; if non-opposition signified acceptance it was useless to enumerate other sense-organs".

Vâtsyâyana preceded perhaps Vasubandhu too.

Vasubandhu, a Buddhist logician, controverts the theory of syllogism as expounded in the *Nyâyasûtra* by maintaining that a syllogism consists of two parts (*avayava*), viz. a proposition (*pratijñâ*) and a reason (*hetu*) and that the example (*udâharaṇa*) does not form a necessary part of it. Udyotakara, author of the *Nyâyavârtika*, while defending the *Nyâyasûtra* from this attack of Vasubandhu refers to the Buddhist logician by the term "anye" (others) thus :—

Siddho dṛṣṭânta ityanye (*Nyâyavârtika* 1-1-37)

"Others say that the example is superfluous".

Vâcaspati Miśra in his *Nyâyavârtika Tâtparyaṭikâ* says that the term "anye" refers to Vasubandhu whose view he quotes as follows :—

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p.* 81.)

For the simple future the present indicative is sometimes substituted, as in the example:

hū nahi marū "I shall not die" (Bh. 41).

§ 122. The **present participle** ends in ° *a-taü* (masc.), ° *a-tî* (fem.), ° *a-taū* (neut.),[37] from Ap. ° *a-ntaü,* ° *a-ntî,* ° *a-ntaū* < Skt. ° *a-ntakaḥ,* ° *a-ntakî,* ° *a-ntakam.* The elision of the nasal in this case is common to all Neo-Indian vernaculars, with a few exceptions chiefly formed by Sindhî and Pañjâbî, which also differ in having *d* instead of *t*. Possibly the dental nasal had already been weakened into anunâsika in some case in the Apabhraṃça, as it may be guessed from the examples *karātu,* quoted by Hemacandra *Siddhahem.*, iv, 388, and *jâta* occurring *Prâkṛtapaiṅgala*, i, 132. In Old Western Râjasthânî poetry, however, (as well as in Old Hindî), instances are not wanting of present participles in ° *antaü* as: *câlantu* (Vi. 9), *dharantu* (Vi. 84), *bîhantiī* (instrum., Vi. 8), *phirantâ* (Vi. 12), *karantî* (Ṛṣ. 55), *mahamahanti* (Ṛṣ. 56), etc. In the case of *hūtaü*, the present participle of the substantive verb (§ 113), the nasal has been retained probably under the influence of *û*, but here also it was regularly lost in the cognate form *hataü*, used for the imperfect tense. In the MS. *Up.* we meet with a few instances of present participles in ° *itaü,* as: *vâda karitaü* (Up. 131).

The present participle is inflected according to number, gender and case, like any other adjective. Ex.: *jâṇatu* (masc. sing., Yog. ii, 23), *aṇachatî* (fem. sing., Çâl. 18), *thākataū* (neut. sing., Ṣaṣṭ. 92, 104, 105), *chāḍatâ* (masc. plur., Bh. 78), *ûgataï* (loc. sing., Âdi C.), etc.

Very often, chiefly after present participles used adjectively or absolutely, *hūtaü* is added pleonastically. Ex.: *jotaü hūtaü* (Bh. 9), *çocataü hūtaü* (Bh. 81), *jâgataü hūtaü* (Daç. iv), *bhamataï hūtaï* (Âdi. 46), *paḍhiī hūtaī* (Daç. iv), etc. More rarely, after present participles used adjectively, *thakaü* is added instead of *hūtaü* as in: *bhamataü thikaü* (P. 665). In the following passage from *Up.*, *karataü* is used in the same pleonastic function of ordinary *hūtaü*:

isiṅ dekhataü karataü kā na bûjhaï "Seing this, why doest thou not wake?" (Up. 208).

Absolute locatives are very frequent.

§ 123. Like in most of the cognate vernaculars, in Old Western Râjasthânî too the present participle is capable of being used as a finite form to give the meaning of the **imperfect** and **past conditional** tense. The latter was already the case with the Prakrit, as is testified by Hemacandra, *sûtra* iii, 180 of his Prakrit grammar. In Old Western Râjasthânî the participial form doing function for the imperfect is distinguished from that doing function for the past conditional in that the former is inflected and the latter uninflected. I explain this difference as being due to a different position of the accent in each case. From the fact that participial imperfects always end in a strong termination, and in the particular case of *hataü* > *thaü, taü* (§ 113) contract or drop the initial

[37] Of course, vocal roots do not take thematic *a* before the terminations. Ex.: *jo-taü* (Çrâ.), *le-taü* (Daç. v, 94), etc.

syllable, we are entitled to conclude that they are accented on their last syllable; whereas participial conditionals, which have come to loose every termination distinctive of gender and number, must obviously be accented on their radical syllable. As for the development of the imperfect meaning from the present participle, this is but a natural consequence of the continuative idea, which the latter involves. A verbal construction, which certainly contributed to the coming into use of the participial imperfect, is the absolute locative construction of the present participle, which is very common in Old Western Râjasthânî. In rendering such absolute locatives into English, we are obliged to use the imperfect tense. Take the example following:

bhagavantaï râjya-lîlâ bhogavataï "While the Reverend One was enjoying [his] king-play" (Âdi C).

In the example above, we need but change the locative forms *bhagavantaï* and *bhogavataï* into the nominative *bhagavantaü* and *bhogavataü*, and introduce some relative temporal adverb like *ji-vâraï*, to transform the absolute phrase into a finite sentence with the verb in the imperfect.

Illustrations of the use of the participial imperfect in Old Western Râjasthânî are:

ji-vâraï Ṛṣabha kulaga[ra]paṇaï varttatâ, tadâ jugaliâ sagalâ-hî kandâhâra, mûlâhâra, pat[t]râhâra, puṣpâhâra, phalâhâra karatâ "When [Lord] Ṛṣabha was living in the state of a *kulakara*, then the *yugalins* were all eating bulbs, roots, leaves, flowers and fruits" (Âdi C).

[Marudevî] Bharatha-naï dinaṃ-prati olambhaü detî "[Marudevî] every day kept reproaching Bharatha" (*Ibid*).

râjya levâ vãchataü "[He] wanted to take possession of the kingdom" (Dd. 3).

âpaṇaï mukhi ghâtataü "[He] used to put [it] in his mouth" (Up. 149).

The Old Western Râjasthânî participial conditional is used not only for the past, but also for the present, when the condition expressed by the *protasis* is such as cannot come into existence. Examples are:

jaü evaḍu tapa karata, taü mokṣi-i-ji pâmata "Had [he] performed such a penance, [he] would have reached emancipation" (Up. 81).

jaï tetalaũ pûraũ âûkhũ hûata, taü mokṣi-ji jâata "If such a period of life were completed, [they] would reach emancipation" (Up. 29).

jaï râga-dveṣa na huta, taü kaüṇa jîva duḥkha pâmata "If there were not [the two passions of] attachment and hatred, which living being would undergo suffering?" (Up. 129).

In the following instance the participial conditional is exceptionally inflected:

jaü te Pradeçî-râya-naï Keçî-nu saṃyoga na hutaü, taü naragi-ĩ-ji jâtaü "If that king Pradeçin had not met Keçin, he would have gone just to the hell" (Up. 103).

§ 124. The so-called **adverbial present participle** is formed by inflecting into ° *ã* the present participle. Thus from *karataü*, we have *karatã*, from *hũtaü*, *hũtã*. In the same way as present participles (§ 122), adverbial participles too may optionally retain the dental nasal, when used in poetry. Ex.: *karantã* (Vi. 87), *bhaṇantã* (F 535, vii, 1), *jhûrantã* (Ṛṣ. 12).

This adverbial participle has survived in both Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî, and is also found in Marâṭhî. I explain it as an absolute plural genitive contracted from Apabhraṃça ° *antâhã*, or ° *antahã*. Instances of absolute genitives are comparatively not scanty in the Apabhraṃça. Cf. *cintantâhã*, which is quoted by Hemacandra (*Siddh.*, iv, 362) and is used

absolutely much in the same way as the Old Western Râjasthânî adverbial participle. A positive testimony to the correctness of my derivation, is in the following Old Western Râjasthânî adverbial phrase, in which the adverbial participle is made to agree with a plural genitive:

tumha jamâi chatā "You being [my] son-in-law" (P. 357).

Cf. also:

majha-rahaī bolatā hūtā tamhe sābhalaü "mama vadataḥ yûyaṃ çṛṇuta" (Daç. v).

Another testimony is in the very form *bolatā hūtā* occurring in the example above, where we notice the same pleonastic use of *hūtaü*, that has been shown to be common after the present participle (§ 122). Cf. also *joṭā hūtā* occurring in *Âdi C.*

The adverbial participle is frequently used idiomatically in connection with adjectives having the general meaning of "difficult". Ex.:

manuṣyapaṇaü pāmatā dohilaü "The human condition is difficult to be attained" (Dd. 1).

teha-naī virati âvatā dohilî chaï "To him disgust is difficult to come" (Ṣaṣṭ. 8).

§ **125**. With the present participle **compound tenses** are formed, as in most of the cognate vernaculars. I have noticed the following:

PRESENT: *nâsatâ chaī* "[They] are flying away" (Kal. 9).

savihū-siū vâda karitaü chaï "Keeps quarrelling with everybody" (Up. 131).

ûdega pâmatu nathî "[He] does not get anxious" (Daç. v, 90).

râti divasa rahī jhuratî "[She] is keeping grieving day and night" (F 783, 59).

nirantara rudana karatî rahaï "[She] is keeping crying incessantly" (Âdi C.).

With the two last examples cf. the so-called continuatives of Hindî (Kellogg's *Hindî Gr.*, §§ 442, 754 *d*.

FUTURE: *mâharā saṃsâriyā âvatā husiī* "My relatives will be coming [here]" (Up. 167).

PAST: *nākhataü gayaü* "[He] threw away" (Dd. 5).

saṃgrahataü gayaü "[He] picked up" (*Ibid.*).

joto havo (for *jotaü havaü*) "[He] took to consider" (*Kûrmâputrakathâ*,[38] 25)."

pûchatî havî "[She] asked" (Ditto, 16).

bolatâ havâ "[They] said" (Ditto, 43).

The tense evidenced by the three last examples exactly corresponds to the so-called "inceptive imperfect" of Braja and Old Baiswâṛî, for which see Kellogg, *Op. cit.*, §§ 491, 550.

IMPERFECT: *jâtaü thaü* "He was going" (P. 70).

kihā jâtî hūtî "Where wast thou going?" (P. 301).

je ûpârjiū hūtaū karma (Up. 167), see § 113.

§ **126**. I shall group Old Western Râjasthânî **past participles** under four heads according to their terminations and origin.

(1) Past participles ending in °*iu*, (°*yu*); (°*iaü*), °*yaü*. This is by far the widest class in Old Western Râjasthânî. The ° *iu* termination is from Apabhraṃça ° *iu* < Skt. ° *itaḥ*, and in the early period of the language this is the ruling termination. Its strong form ° *iaü* (< Skt. ° *itakaḥ*) is of very rare occurrence, except under the form ° *yaü*, which seems at first to have been used only after vocal roots, though subsequently

[38] This refers to a MS. in the Kgl. Bibliothek of Berlin (Weber 1977), containing a comparatively recent commentary on the *Kummâputtakahâ*, written in a slightly antiquated form of Gujarâtî.

its usage went spreading on to such an extent as to completely supersede the former. Nowadays °*yo* (< ° *yaü*) is the common past participle termination in all the dialects of Gujarât and Râjputânâ.

Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

From consonantal roots.
- *kar-iu* (P., F 715) from *kar-a-ï*.
- *kah-iu* (Yog., Çîl., Âdi, etc.) from *kah-a-ï*.
- *ûḍ-iu* (P. 341) from *ûḍ-a-ï*.
- *âp-iu* (P. 264) from *âp-a-ï*.

From vocal roots.
- *dhyâ-yaü* (Kal. 17) from *dhyâ-ya-ï*.
- *jo-yaü* (P. 212) from *jo-i*.
- *thă-yaü* (P., Âdi. 37, Indr. 30, Âdi C., etc.,) from *thâ-i*.
- *hu-yaü* (P. 633) from *hu-i*.

Practically the same ° *yaü* termination also occurs in past participles derived from the passive voice in ° *î-ya-ï* (§ 137), as : *dî-yaü* (P.) from *dî-ya-ï* passive of *di-i*, *âpî-yaü* (P. 324) from *âpî-ya-ï* passive of *âp-a-ï*, *âvî-yaü* (P. 323) from *âvî-ya-ï* passive-reflexive of *âv-a-ï*, etc. The ° *iu* termination anomalously occurs in the following two forms of past participles from vocal roots, to wit: *diu* (Çrâ.) from *di-i*, and *liu* (Ṛṣ. 35) from *li-i*, which possibly are built after the analogy of *kiu* (Ṛṣ 35, Kânh. 87) from Ap. *kaü* or **kiu* < Skt. *kṛtáḥ*, *giu* (Kal. 44, Çâl. 9, P. 252, Up. 62, Daç.) from Ap. *gaü* < Skt. *gatáḥ*, *thiu* (Vi., Çâl. 5, P. 478, 542) from Ap. *ṭhiu* < Skt. *sthitáḥ* (§ 2 (1). In poetry ° *îu* is occasionally written for ° *iu*, as in : *ḍar-îu* (F 715, i, 34), *âv-îu* (F 783, 26), *dîu* (*ibid.*), *âtham-îu* (P. 52). The same peculiarity is also found in the Apabhraṃça of the *Prâkṛtapaiṅgala*.

The only instances of the use of the ° *iaü* termination I have noticed are in the two forms *jaṇ-iaü* and *pûj-iaü*, whereof the former is found *Dd.* 7 and the latter in *Âdi C.* Examples of the ° *yaü* termination being affixed to consonantal roots are: *phûl-yaü*, *phal-yaü* (F 535, ii, 2), *avatar-yaü* (F 783, 35), *vyatikram-yaü* (Âdi C.), all of which are from denominative verbs.

Noticeable are the past participles following :

gaïu (Çâl. 10, 86, 87) < Ap. *gaïu* < Skt. *gatikaḥ*.
cûu (Bh. 48) < Ap. *cuaü* (§ 18) < Skt. *cyutakaḥ*.
mûu (Yog. ii, 97, Âdi. 35, Up. 33) < Ap. *muaü* (§ 18) < Skt. *mṛtakaḥ*.
hûu (§ 113) < Ap. *hûaü* (§ 19) < Skt. *bhûtakaḥ*.

(2) Past participles ending in °*âṇaü*. These being chiefly used in the passive meaning, it would appear that they are derived from the potential passive in *â* (§ 140), and are connected with Sindhî past participles like *ubhâṇo*, *ujhâṇo*, *khâṇo*, *vikâṇo*, etc., which are from the passive verb in ° *âmaṇu* (Cf. Trumpp, *Sindhî Grammar*, § 45). Instances of past participles in ° *âṇa*, however, are not wanting in the Jainamâhârâṣṭrî — cf. *palâṇa*, which occurs four times in Jacobi's *Mâhârâṣṭrî Erzählungen* —; and in the Ardhamâgadhî ° *âṇa* is sometimes substituted for ° *mâṇa* (See Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.* § 562).[39] Again, past participles in ° *âno*, ° *âna* are not rare in the Old Baiswâṛî of Tulasî Dâsa, as: *phirâno risâna*, *haraṣâne*, etc. (See Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, § 560, *b*). Old Western Râjasthânî examples are :

ulhâṇaü " Extinguished " Up. 118.
kriyâṇaü " Bought " P. 47.

[39] *Cf.* the two parallel forms *kaṭâṇũ* and *haṭâmaṇũ* in Gujarâtî (Belsare's, *Etymological Gujarâti-English Dictionary*, p. 198).

kṣobhâṇaü "Frightened" P. 197.
cãpâṇaü "Crushed" P. 75.
chetarâṇaü "Deceived" Âdi. 76.
mûkâṇaü "Set free, discharged" Bh. 13, F 633
mûrchâṇî (fem.) "Fainted away" F 783, 69.
raṅgâṇaü "Dyed" P. 444.
rîsâṇaü "Incensed" Vi. 7.
vañcâṇî (fem.) "Bereft" F 783, 69.
vilakhâṇî (fem.) "Disconcerted" F 783, 65.
sadhâṇaü "Completed" Dd. 7.

This form of past participles has survived in Gujarâtî and is still in use in the colloquial of north Gujarât (Grierson's *L S I.*, vol. ix, Pt. ii, p. 343).

(3) Past participles ending in ° *dhaü*. These are confined to the six instances following:
kîdhaü "Done" connected with *karaï*, (Kal. 26, P., Ṛṣ. 30, Âdi., Bh., Âdi C. etc.).
khâdhaü "Eaten" connected with *khâi*, (P. 255, Yog. iii, 32, 39).
dîdhaü "Given" connected with *dii* (Yog. ii, 41, Indr. 3, Pr. 17, P., Âdi., Âdi C., etc.).
pîdhaü "Drunk" connected with *pîi* (Kal. 11, P. 428, F 706).
* *bîdhaü* "Frightened" connected with *bîhaï* (Cf. Modern Gujarâtî *bîdho*).
lîdhaü "Taken" connected with *lii* (Çâl. 34, Up., etc.).

These forms are still surviving in Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî and have already attracted the attention of students of comparated Neo-Indian vernaculars, but have never been satisfactorily explained. After a long consideration of the question, I have finally persuaded myself that ° *dhaü* has derived from ° *nhaü*, through insertion of an euphonic *d*. The process is somewhat akin to the well known case of Apabhraṃça *paṇṇaraha* (< Skt. *pañcadaçan*), which in Old Western Râjasthânî gives *panara* (§ 80), but in Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî *pandara*, Pañjâbî *pandarã*, Sindhî *pandarahã* and *pandhrã*, Marâṭhî *pandharâ*. Professor Pischel has shown that the Prakrit past participle *diṇṇa* is from * *did-na* (*Prakrit Gramm.*, § 566), and, on the other hand, evidence is not wanting that in Prakrit the past participle suffix *-na* is much more largely used than in Sanskrit. It is to hypothetical forms in *-na*, like * *kṛṇ-na* > * *kṛṇṇa*, * *khâd-na* > * *khânna*, * *did-na* > * *dinna*, * *pip-na*, * *bibh-na*, * *lin-na*, that these Old Western Râjasthânî past participles in ° *dha*(*ü*) are to be traced. The intermediate steps (with *kaḥ svârthe*) are Apabhraṃça * *kiṇṇaü*, * *khaṇṇaü*, *diṇṇaü* (*diṇhaü*), * *piṇṇaü*, * *biṇhaü* (?), * *liṇṇaü* (*liṇhaü*), from which, according to § 41, Old Western Râjasthânî makes: *kînhaü*, * *khânhaü*, *dînhaü*, * *pînhaü*, * *bînhaü*, *lînhaü* and subsequently, euphonic *d* being inserted in the place of *n*: *kîdhaü*, *khâdhaü*, *dîdhaü*, * *bîdhaü*, *lîdhaü*. A case perfectly analogous with this is Prakrit *cindha*, which is from * *cinha* < Skt. *cihna* (Cf. Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.*, § 267). The set *kînhaü*, *dînhaü*, *lînhaü* occurs in Eastern Râjasthânî and further on in Braja, and is also found in the Old Baiswâṛî of Tulasî Dâsa. Of *bîdhaü* I have found no instances in my Old Western Râjasthânî materials, but it is safe to postulate it from the evidence of Modern Gujarâtî. Old Western Râjâsthânî has in its stead *bîhanaü* (P. 227, 451), which is the parent of Modern Gujarâtî *bîno* and is probably derived from the * *bînhaü* of the *nha-* set above. Quite exceptional is the occurrence of the *dhaü-* termination in *vajâdhyã*, a past participle neuter plural from *vajâvaï* (Kânh. 78). The case of *lâdhaü* "Obtained" (Âdi. 29, Bh. 53, Âdi C.) has nothing to do with the past participles in ° *dhaü*, it being regularly derived from

Apabhraṃça *laddhaü* < Skt. *labdhakaḥ*. The same remark applies to *sîdhaü*, *pratibûdhaü* and others which will be found recorded in the following paragraph.

(4) Past participles derived from original Sanskrit participles in *-ta* or *-na* from consonantal roots. The two elements of the conjunct formed by the union of the final consonant of the root with the affix in Sanskrit, were assimilated in Apabhraṃça and subsequently simplified, according to § 40, in Old Western Râjasthânî. Examples are :

GUTTURALS : *bhâgaü* (P. 299, 517) < Ap. *bhaggaü* < Skt. *bhagnakaḥ*.

lâgaü (Dd. 8) < Ap. *laggaü* < Skt. *lagnakaḥ*.

CEREBRALS : *chûṭaü* (P. 324) < Ap. *khuṭṭaü* (? Cf. Hemacandra's *Deçînâmamâlâ*, ii, 74) < Skt. * *kṣuṭṭakaḥ* (√ *kṣuḍ*).

trûṭaü (Âdi C.) < Ap. *tuṭṭaü* (§ 31) < Skt. **truṭṭakaḥ*(√ *truṭ*).

· *dîṭhaü* (P., Yog., Bh. 4, Dd. etc.) < Ap. *diṭṭhaü* < Skt. *dṛṣṭakaḥ*.

nâṭhaü (P. 195,582, Dd. 1) < Ap. *naṭṭhaü* < Skt. *naṣṭakaḥ*.

paîṭhaü, *païṭhaü* (Ṛṣ. 55, Âdi. 17) < Ap. *païṭṭhaü* < Skt. *praviṣṭakaḥ*.

baïṭhaü (F 535, iii, 2) < Ap. *uvaïṭṭhaü* (§ 5, (3)) < Skt. *upaviṣṭakaḥ*.

rûṭhaü (P. 349) < Ap. *ruṭṭhaü* < Skt. *ruṣṭakaḥ*.

bûḍaü (F 616, 21) < Ap. *buḍḍaü* < Skt. *bruḍṇakaḥ*.

DENTALS : *khûtaü* (P. 53, Daç., Indr. 61, Ṣaṣṭ. 80) < Ap. *khuttaü* < Skt. *kṣuptakaḥ*.

jîtaü (Indr. 4) < Ap. * *jittaü* (Cf. Jainamâhârâṣṭrî *jitta*, in Jacobi's *Mâh. Erz.*, 13, 6, and Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.*, § 194) < Skt. *jitâkaḥ*.

pahutaü, *puhutaü* (P. 165, 168, Up. 105, Âdi C., etc.) < Ap. **pahuttaü*<Skt. *prabhûtakaḥ*.

mâtaü (Indr. 11) < Ap. *mattaü* < Skt. *mattakaḥ*.

sûtaü (P.) < Ap. *suttaü* < Skt. *suptakaḥ*.

pratibûdhaü (Âdi C.) < Ap. *-buddhaü* < Skt. *pratibuddhakaḥ*.

bâdhaü (Bh. 76, 78) < Ap. *baddhaü* < Skt. *baddhakaḥ*.

lâdhaü (Up. 81, Âdi. 29, Bh. 53, Âdi C.) < Ap. *laddhaü* < Skt. *labdhakaḥ*.

sîdhaü (F 535, iv, 12) < Ap. *siddhaü* < Skt. *siddhakaḥ*.

DENTAL NASALS : *ûpanaü* (Bh. 18) < Ap. *uppaṇṇaü* < Skt. *utpannakaḥ*.

. *nîpanaü* (F 535, Daç.) < Ap. *ṇippaṇṇaü* < Skt. *niṣpannakaḥ*.

(5) Past participles in ° *alaü*, ° *ilaü*. The only instances of past participles with the element *l* I have come across in the Old Western Râjasthânî MSS. I have seen, are : *suṇillâ* "Heard" from *suṇaï*, and *dhuṇillâ* "Shaken" from *dhuṇaï*, two poetical forms both occurring *F 715*, ii, 60, a MS. dated in the year *Saṃvat* 1641, and *kîdhalü* "Done" occurring Ṛṣ. 148. Modern Gujarâtî, as is well known, may optionally form past participles by the suffix ° *elo* or ° *ela* (indeclinable), thereby agreeing with Marâṭhî, Oṛiyâ, Bengali and Bihârî, to all of which languages the same practice is likewise common.

The origin of these past participles in *l* had long remained unrecognized by students of Neo-Indian vernaculars. According to the customary derivation, *l* was traced to Sanskrit ° *ita*, through Prakrit ° *ida*, by *d* being first changed into *ḍ* > *r* and then into *l*. Such an explanation met with two difficulties : first that in Prakrit the change of *d* to *ḍ* is a very doubtful one except in a few cases registered by Hemacandra under *sûtras* i, 217-8 of his *Siddha* °, in most of which *d* is initial, and anyhow it is not probable that a Prakrit dental consonant first passed into a cerebral and then back again into a dental; and secondly that in Gujarâtî original *ḍ* does not give *l*, but *ḷ*, as in the example *soḷa* from Ap. *soḷaha* < Skt. *ṣoḍaça*. Dr. Hoernle (*Compar. Grammar*, § 306) had tried to obviate the former difficulty by deriving *l* directly from *d*, but here again the change *d* > *l* is very

rare in Prakrit and in some of the cases, where it apparently occurs, it is doubtful whether *l* represents the pure dental, or the cerebral *ḷ*, derived from *d* through *ḍ*. The above derivation appeared therefore to be strongly improbable, a fact which had already occurred, indeed, to the Rev. Kellogg in the first edition of his *Hindî Grammar* (1875), and a few years after to Mr. Beames, who, in the third volume (1879) of his *Comparative Grammar*, advanced the opinion that the Neo-Indian participle in *l* might be somehow connected with the Slavonic preterites in *l*, and possibly represent the survival of an ancient form not preserved in classical Sanskrit nor in the written Prakrits, which was in existence before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family.

The right explanation, however, was much more simple. The first who came near to the truth was Sir Charles Lyall, who in his *Sketch of the Hindustani Language* (1880) suggested that the *l* was a diminutive suffix. Next to him Mr. R. G. Bhandarkar, in his Wilson Lectures, pointed out the Prakrit suffix *illa* as the prototype of modern *l*, but it was not till 1902 that Professor Sten Konow, in his *Note on the Past Tense in Marâṭhî* (*J.R.A.S.*, xxxiv, p. 417 ff.), clearly showed the above derivation to be the correct one. Sir George Grierson had previously come to the same opinion. That modern *l* must have derived from Prakrit *ll* is clearly evidenced not only by the Old Western Râjasthânî forms in *-illâ* quoted above, but also by the corresponding suffixes *-elo*, *-ela* of Modern Gujarâtî, where *l* being dental, is necessarily referable to original *ll*.

W emust think of the Prakrit *taddhita* suffix *-illa* (*-ella*), which in the Jainamâhârâṣṭrî is capable of being appended not only to nouns and adjectives, but also to past participles. Examples are very common in the *Âvaçyaka* tales: *âgaelliyâ* "Come" fem. (Leumann's edition, p. 27), *varelliyâ* "Betrothed" fem. (*ibid.*, p. 29), *chaḍḍiellayaṃ* "Spilt" (*ibid.*, p. 44, *n.*), etc., and sporadic traces are not wanting in other texts, *e. g. laddhilliyaṃ* "Obtained" fem. accus., occurring in the Jainamâhârâṣṭrî of Dharmadâsa's *Uvaesamâlâ*, 292, and *âṇilliya-* "Brought" occurring in the Ardhamâgadhî of the *Vivâhapannatti*, 961. The scantity of such participial forms in literary Jainamâhârâṣṭrî texts, and their being comparatively very common in the language of the *Âvaçyakas*, which represents for us the most uncultivated and ancient form of Jainamâhârâṣṭrî we have documents of, is a good testimony to the employment of Prakrit past participles in *-illa* being confined to the vulgar speech, and consequently to their being widely spread in the ordinary use. Now the Prakrit *taddhita* suffix *-illa*, *-illaa*, *-illia* passes into Old Western Râjasthânî as *-ila*, *-ilaa*, *-ilia* or *-ala*, *-alaa*, *-alia* (see §§ 144, 145) — the very suffixes contained in the Old Western Râjasthânî past participle *suṇillâ* (poetical form for *suṇilâ*) and *kîdhalũ* quoted above. The Modern Gujarâtî form in °*elo* can be easily explained as having originated from an amplification of *a* or *i* to *aï*, whence *ê*. Cf. §§ 2, (3), and 4, (2).

The Old Western Râjasthânî past participles, to whichever of the five classes they may belong, are inflected according to gender, number and case, like any regular adjective. In poetry an uninflected form in ° (*i*)*a* is sometimes used for all genders and numbers. Thus: Rṣ. 3, 14, we find *karia* for *kariũ*, Rṣ. 30 *lobhia* for *lobhiu* and *âvia* for *âviu*, Rṣ. 55 *paîṭha* for *paîṭhî*, P. 448 *dîdha*, *kîdha* for *dîdhî*, *kîdhaü*, etc.

§ 127. The Old Western Râjasthânî past participle is used *a*) as a verb, *b*) as a neuter verbal noun, and *c*) as an adjective or substantive. When used as a **verb**, it admits of all the three constructions, namely:

(1) The ACTIVE (*kartari prayoga*), as in the examples:

haũ boliu "I said" (P. 230).

karahaü bhaṇiu "The camel spoke" (P. 496),

Vrahmadatta râjya pā̃myaü "Brahmadatta obtained the kingdom" (Dd. 1),

kuṇa mujha-nẽ lâvyo chẽ "Who did carry me [here] ?" (*Kûrmâputrakathâ* 28 [40]);

(2) The PERSONAL PASSIVE (*karmaṇi prayoga*), as in the examples :

râjakanyâ maī̃ dîṭhî "I saw the princess" (P. 337)

maī̃ dîdhaū̃ dā̃na "I have granted [him] the gift [of life]" (P. 232)

tī̃ . . . janamyâ çrî Jinarâja "Thou hast given birth to the Venerable king of the Jinas" (Ṛṣ. 65).

Mûladevaï Devadattâ teḍâvî, paṭarā̃ṇî kidhî "Mûladeva had Devadattâ summoned, [and] made her head-queen" (Dd. 6).

devatâe devadundubhî vajâvî "The deities sounded the divine drums" (Âdi C.) ;

(3) The IMPERSONAL PASSIVE (*bhâvi prayoga*), as in the examples following, which are all taken from *Âdi C.* :

loke harṣita thake Çreyâṃsa-naï pûchyaü "The people, being delighted, asked Çreyâṃsa . . ."

vanapâlake jâî Bâhûbali-naï vînavyaü "The wood men went [and] told Bâhûbali . . ."

Sundarî-naï Bharathaï râkhî "Bharatha detained Sundarî."

It will be seen that in all these three examples the verb is attracted into the gender of the object, as in Modern Gujarâtî. In the example quoted by Sir George A. Grierson from the *Mu.* (*L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 360), however, the participle is in the neuter, and so it is also in the following passage from *P.* 314 :

te puṃsalî bandhâviũ valî "[She] tied that unchaste one again."

Of the three verbal constructions of the past participle, the second is by far the commonest in Old Western Râjasthânî.

§ 128. When used as a **verbal noun**, the past participle is inflected in the neuter (-masculine) form. No instances occur of the nominative. It admits of two constructions to wit :

(1) The oblique construction governed by a postposition. Examples :

puṇya karyâ vinâ "Without having performed meritorious acts" (F 722, 63).

Settuṃja-gira sevyâ vyanā̃ "Without having worshipped the Çatruṃjaya mountain" (*ibid.*, 64).

nîsaryâ pachî "After having gone out" (Âdi. 16).

Ujeṇî-thî Mûladeva câlyâ pachî "After Mûladeva's having started from Ujjain" (Dd. 6).

civyâ pûṭhaï "After having decayed" (Âdi C.).

(2) The absolute construction, in which the past participle is put in the locative, instrumental or plural genitive case. The first one seems to have been the most frequent case and it is from it that the conjunctive participle in °*î* has originated as will be shown subsequently (§ 131). Examples :

madya pîdhaï gahilâî karaü "Having drunk wine, you behave like a mad" (P. 302).

e janamyaī̃ desyũ nâma Vardhamâna-kumâra "Once he will be born, I will give [him] the name of Vardhamâna-kumâra" (F 535, iv, 2).

vivâdi ûpanaï hū̃taï "Altercation having arisen" (Ṣaṣṭ. 52).

jâî pâpa jasa lîdhaï nâmi "Sins are destroyed at uttering the name whereof" (Çâl. 34).

[40] See note 38, to § 125.

sosa karyaī syũ thâya " By grieving what profit is made ? " (F 535, iv, 7).

In the last of the examples above, one would be at a loss to decide whether *karyaī* is a form in the locative or rather in the instrumental. Of the plural genitive form I have noticed the instances following :

rahijyo baïṭhā ghari " Remain sitting in the house! " (P. 296).

hũ āviu hũtaü rotā suṇî " I have come, from having heard [you] crying " (P. 535)

nâṭhā jâya " [They] are flying away " (Kânh. 49)

âgi samîpi rahyā " Fire being near " (Indr. 42)

yauvana-naï viṣaï rahyā " While in the young age " (Indr. 98).

It is unnecessary to remark that here also—like in the case of the so-called adverbial present participle (§ 124) — °ā is contracted from Apabhraṃça °*âhã* (° *ahã*), the plural genitive termination. From the analogy with the adverbial present participles, we might call these absolute genitive forms **adverbial past participles.** These also have survived in both Modern Gujarâtî and Mârwâṛî.

§ 129. When used as an **adjective**, the past participle is very frequently followed by *hũtaü*, the present participle of the auxiliary verb. (Cf. the analogous case of the present participle, § 122).

Take the two examples following, both from *Daç.* :

giu hũtaü " Gone " (v, 2).

rûṭhaü hũtaü " Incensed."

Instead of *hũtaü, thakaü* (*thikaü*) is also found, as in :

baïṭhî thakî " Being seated " fem. (Âdi C.)

harṣiu thikaü " Glad " (Up. 6).

For an analogous employment of *thakkiu* in Apabhraṃça, see *Prâkṛtapaiṅgala*, i, 190.

In the two following passages from *P.*, the past participle is used with *rahaï* in much the same way as the so-called continuatives of Hindî (Cf. Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, §§ 442, 754, *d*) :

âja svâmi sahu bhûkhyâ rahaï " To-day, O Sir, all are hungry " (P. 483)

aṇaboliu rahiu " [He] remained silent " (P. 484).

Examples of past participles used as **substantives** are :

kahiũ navi kariũ " [You] have not done what [I] had told [you] " (P. 551).

jaü kahiũ karaü " If [you will] do what I am going to tell [you] " (P. 552).

§ 130. From the past participle the following **compound tenses** are evidenced :

PERFECT : *âviu chũ ihâ* " I have come here " (P. 417).

nidrâ-vasi hûî chaï bâla, " The girl has been overcome by sleep " (P. 341).

âvyâ chũ amhe " We have come " (Ratn. 175).

mũkyâ chi " [They] have been abandoned " (Yog. iv, 119).

âgaī vakhâṇiũ chaï " It is described further on " (Çrâ.)

loka bhelâ thayâ chaï " People have assembled " (Âdi C.)

PLUPERFECT : *kahiũ taũ* " It had been said " (P. 681)

kahyâ hatâ tehavâ te karyâ " He made them such as they had been told " (P. 37)

je vrâhmaṇa saṃghâtaï aṭavî lāghî hatî " The brahmaṇ in whose company [he] had crossed the forest " (Dd. 6).

gayâ hatâ " [They] had gone " (Âdi C.).

PAST CONDITIONAL : *âja-lagaī hũ âcârya hûu hoyata, jaï kimha-i hũ sâdhu-yogya dikṣâ-naī viṣaī ramiu hoyata* " By this time I would have become a preceptor, if I had taken any pleasure in the initiation which is fit for the holy men " (Daç. xi, 8).

§ 131. The **conjunctive participle** is formed in two ways in Old Western Râjasthânî, to wit:

(1) By adding to the root the termination *-evi*, which is identical with Apabhraṃça *-evi* (Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.*, § 588) from Sanskrit *-tvî*, an old locative. This form of the conjunctive participle is very rarely used in Old Western Râjasthânî and chiefly confined to poetry. It is clearly but an Apabhraṃça survival that is fast dying out. Examples are:

bhaṇevi, dharevi Vi. 27. *joḍevi* Ṛṣ. 77.
paṇamevi Çâl. 1. *paṇamevîa* Ṛṣ. 1.
vandevî F 715, i, 2. *joḍevi kari* F 646, 1.

(2) By adding to the root the termination *-î*. This is the general form for the conjunctive participle in Old Western Râjasthânî, and it has survived unchanged in Modern Gujarâtî and in some dialects of Modern Râjasthânî like Mâlvî (Grierson's *L.S.I.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 57). I shall first give some illustrations, and then enter into the discussion of its origin:

namî Çîl. 1. *leî* P., Yog. iv, 25, Âdi C., etc.
vistârî Kal. 5. *jâî* P., Çâl. 12, 16, F 535, ii, 5.
vaülâvî P. 678.

In poetry *-î* is often followed by pleonastic *a* (§ 2, (6)). Examples:

pâlîa Ṛṣ. 15. *mârîya* Vi. 7.
chãḍîa Ṛṣ. 59. *paṇamîya* Vi. 1, F 715, i, 20.
varîya Ja. 4.

In both poetry and prose, the conjunctive participle in *-î* is very frequently enforced by appending to it pleonastically the postposition *naï*, as in:

karî-naï Ṛṣ. 8, P. 276. *mehalî-naï* Kânh. 97, Bh. 70.
vãcî-naï Vi. 20. *jâṇî-naï* Bh. 92.
thaî-naï P. 275. *chãḍî-naï* Âdi. 7.
milîa-naï Ṛṣ. 63. *bhogavî-naï* Indr. 23.

or the postposition *karî*, as in:

teḍâvî-karî P. 172. *dekhî-karî* Âdi C.
bhogavî-karî Çîl. 4.

It is evident that the last but one form of the Old Western Râjasthânî conjunctive participle is the parent of Gujarâtî ° *î-ne*, whereas the last one is but the strong form of Mârwâṛî ° *a-kara* (from ° *i-kari*), Pañjâbî ° *i-kara*, Braja ° *i-kari*, etc.

Students of Neo-Indian vernaculars have hitherto been maintaining that the ° *î* termination of the Gujarâtî conjunctive participle has derived from Apabhraṃça ° *i* < Skt. ° *ya*. Now, this is strongly improbable as there are no possible reasons to account for an Apabhraṃça final *i* being turned into *î* in any vernacular in a similar case. Nor on the other hand are we entitled to assume the Prakrit termination ° *ia* to have been occurring in the Apabhraṃça, when there is no safe evidence to rely upon and such a termination is ignored by Prakrit Grammarians. Again, had the vernacular conjunctive participle come down from Sanskrit ° *ya*, namely from an old instrumental which since the Vedic age has lost its original case meaning, it would be most extraordinary on the part of the modern vernaculars to have recovered the notion that that form originally was a declensional case, and have consequently combined it with case postpositions.

(*To be continued.*)

A NOTE ON SOME SPECIAL FEATURES OF PRONUNCIATION, ETC., IN THE GUJARATI LANGUAGE.

BY. N. B. DIVATIA, B. A.; BANDRA.

(*Continued from p.* 19.)

To come to item (*b*) again;—the presence of the *h*-sound in certain words. A few instances will put the matter in a clear light. Take the words व्हेन, म्होटुं, न्हानुं, व्हेलूं, हमे, हमारुं. It will be seen that an *h*-sound is heard in all these words, and its presence is traceable etymologically to an existing *h* in the intermediate Prâkṛit or Apabhraṁça stage; thus:—

Sanskṛit.	Prâkṛit or Apabhraṁça.	Gujarâtî.
भगिनी	बहिणी	व्हेन
बधिरः	बहिरो	व्हेरो
महान्	महन्तो	
	(intermediate stages:—	म्होटो
	महत्तो, महट्टो.)	
श्लक्ष्णम्	लह्णं (नह्नं)	न्हानुं
कफोणिः	कहोणी	कहोणी, कहूणी
अस्मद् (base)	अह्मे	हमे
अस्माकम्	अह्मारं	हमारुं
(Deśya)	वहिल्लं	व्हेलुं

Instances can be multiplied in great variety. But these will suffice as types. Now the following features as regards this *h*-sound deserve special notice:—

(1) The *h*-sound is weak (लघुप्रयत्न) in Gujarâtî;
and (2) The tendency of this *h*-sound is to move towards and mingle with the initial syllable in a word.

The truth about (1) will be perceived if we remember

(*a*) that this sound is weak in certain Gujarâtî words where the *h* is written even by those who advocate the dropping of *h* in words of the type named above, *e. g.* हुं (= I). हवे (=now); हजी (= still); हजाम (= a barber); हलकुं (= light); etc.;
and

(*b*) that even in Prâkṛit and Apabhraṁça this *h* is very often weakly sounded as is decidedly indicated by metrical values; *e. g.* दिक्खि अह्मारा कन्तु (सि. हे. ८-४-४३४) The *h* in अह्मारा here is obviously weak: otherwise the preceding अ would possess two *mâtrâs* and spoil the metre.

The advocates against *h* forget this essential fact and distort the sound in हमे etc. by sounding it strongly.

As regards (2), an accurate observation of the sound is the best test. However, a clear indication of the tendency pointed out by me is furnished by certain words where

the ह mingles so thoroughly with the initial consonant as to give a class aspirate as a resultant sound[5]; *e. g.*—

Sanskrit	Prâkṛit or Apabhramça	Gujarâti
गभीरम्	गहीरं	घेरुं
गृहीतः	गहेलो	घंलो
गोधा	गोहा	घो
गोधूमः	गोहूमो	घउं
ग्रहणम्	ग्रहणं	घरण
संग्रहः	संग्रहो	संघरो
ग्रीष्मः	गिह्मो	घीम

(Note:—This result is due to the fact that the स्थान and प्रयत्नs of ग and ह are almost identical, with a few exceptions, whereas in the case of व्हेन, व्हेलुं, प्हेलुं etc. they are so different as to prevent the formation into भ, फ &ca).

A further independent indication is furnished by the fact that in Hindî we always write हम, हमे, हमारा, though it must be noted that the *h*-sound is strong in Hindî,—an effect of the strong lung power of the sturdy races of Upper India.

This brief analysis will be enough to justify the spelling of words of this class with an *h* rather than without it. Dr. Tessitori refers to the list of words quoted by Sir George Grierson at pp. 347 ff. of his volume on Gujarâtî in the *Linguistic Survey of India.* The list is necessarily faulty occasionally; *e. g. dâhyâ* (wise, prudent) is given as a word in which the *h*-sound is not written; but in fact, nobody even amongst the advocates of dropping the *h* writes *dâyâ;* similarly *jehr* or *jher* (= poison) given in the list is always written with an aspirate, most commonly *jher* (with the class aspirate); on the other hand, *tehtris* (= thirty-three) is wrongly given as possessing an *h*-sound. This by the way; what I wish to accentuate is the fact that this *h*-sound must be, and *is now being,* shown in writing in our Gujarâtî language. To substantiate this statement I am reluctantly compelled to briefly go into the history of the agitation for phonetic spelling which I hinted at in my opening paras in this Note, and in which I took the main share.

Those who know this history will remember that until the Educational Department introduced an arbitrary and artificial[6] system of spelling over 40 years ago, this *h*-sound was represented in actual writing in some manner or other, as is evidenced by books published before that period and private letters and other writings. The inconsistencies and errors of the Departmental books attracted the attention of the late Mr. Navalram Lakshmiram, a sound Gujarâtî scholar, who, wrote an able discussion in his *Gujarât-Śâlâ-*

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[5] This process has a beginning even in the Prâkṛit stage in some cases; *e. g.*, Sanskrit ग्रहम् Prâkṛit घरं. The Prâkṛit grammarians give घर as the ready-made *âdeśa* of ग्रह, for the sake of brevity and convenience; but the word really passes silently through the following phonetic stages:— ग्रहं, गरहं, गहरं, घरं.

[6] True, this system was adopted under the advice of a Committee of "experts" of the day. But the Committee laboured under certain disadvantages. It is not possible to go into the whole history. But it may be pointed out that while some of the errors of the Committee were disapproved of by such men as the late Śâstri Vrajalal Kâlidas, the sound elements in its recommendations, on the other hand, were not correctly understood, or were not properly followed, in the editing of the school books of the day.

Patra in 1872 A. D. He pointed out, amongst other things, that the *h*- sound could not be left unrepresented in writing, though the position he assigned to it in the body of a word was not quite correct. His efforts proved futile. Then after a lull of sixteen years, the subject was revived by me in a small treatise on Gujarâtî Spelling in which I pleaded for the adoption of a phonetic system of writing Gujarâtî words, on the two-fold ground that our vernacular languages, being evolved out of Sanskrit (an essentially phonetic language) possessed a special phonetic aptitude and their genius was suited, unlike English, to such a system, and that the philological history of the words in our language justified and facilitated the adoption of that system. I wrote to the Director of Public Instruction forwarding a copy of my treatise, and suggesting an inquiry into this question with a view to reform the existing system (or want of system) of spelling. Nothing came out of it. Later on about the year 1904 A. D. when a committee was appointed by the Educational Department to revise the Vernacular Text Books, I made a fresh effort and brought the subject to the notice of the President of the Committee, but with an equal want of success.[7] It may be noted in passing that between the year 1888 (when my first treatise appeared) and 1904 A. D. the agitation for phonetic spelling was kept up by me by articles in Gujarâti magazines and by putting into practice my system in all my writings. It succeeded to some extent in influencing the method of spelling in the case of several books written by private persons unconnected with the Educational Department.

Before the First *Gujarâtî Sâhitya Parishad* in 1905. A. D. I read a paper on Gujarâti spelling wherein I reviewed the whole history of the question, and discussed all the moot points and offered my views and suggestions. The result of all this agitation is that my efforts have borne fruit through their very failure. For it must be remembered that outside the limits of the Departmental Literature there exists a wide field, and, while the Educational Department and some of its devotees have stuck to the orthodox system of unscientific and historically untrue spelling, a number of present day writers and others have accepted the rational system and are freely using this *h* in the words in which it is really sounded, as a glance at any recent book or monthly magazine will show; thus pointing to the signs of the times and leaving no doubt that this *h* has come to stay, as has been admitted to me even by the adherents of the orthodox school.[8]

I must not omit to mention the name of the late Mr. Madhavlal H. Desai, Principal of the Ahmedabad Training College, who, as Editor of the *Gujarat-Śâlâ Patra* and in other

[7] I must frankly state here that the composition of this Committee was far from representative, as it mainly consisted of gentlemen wedded to the existing system, and the results of their labours practically showed that they adhered to the policy of clinging to the existing departmental practice, and where any changes were introduced they made matters worse, instead of improving them.

[8] I have in view especially the admission of some of the members of the Spelling Committee appointed at my instance by the First *Gujarati Sâhitya Parishad*, who finished their deliberations and submitted their report to the Fourth *Parishad*. I was one of the members. Our report was necessarily inconclusive, in the face of certain strong views held by several members, and our recommendations were therefore on the lines of a non-committal policy. As regards the *h* sound we all admitted its existence, but in view of the divergence of opinions held by the members, we refrained from stating *how* it was to be represented. This was but an official statement. But as a matter of fact the *h*-sound is now freely used in writing in our every day literature by a number of writers.

capacities, advocated and adopted to some extent the phonetic system of spelling. This brief review of the history of this agitation and its result in the practical writing of the day, will show that it is incorrect to say that the *h-* sound is dropped in writing; it does not accord with the exact state of things in Gujarâtî literature. Sir G. Grierson's statement to this effect was naturally influenced by the authorities to which alone he had access; these obviously ignored the existing phase in the history of Gujarâtî spelling, and perhaps minimized its value and significance.

I must now touch two out of the several important linguistic features dealt with by Dr. Tessitori. The first is the postposition *rahaî* (रहइं) which he notices as one of the characteristics of the Mârwaṛî tendency in later Old Western Râjasthânî. The use of this dative postposition to express the sense of the genitive is regarded by the learned doctor as a Mârwâṛî tendency. I am not in a position to call into question the correctness of this view. But I shall place one particular fact regarding this postposition and its genitive use, which is likely to influence him in coming to a definite conclusion. The *Mugdhâvabodha-Auktika*[9], no doubt, is free in its use of this *rahaî* in a genitive as well as dative sense. But there is another set of works which I have come across and in which this postposition is used in the genitive sense with equal liberality. I allude to certain Parsi religious and other works translated into Sanskrit by Mobed Neriosang Dhaval, who is believed to have flourished in the 12th or 13th century of the Christian Era. These Sanskrit translations have been further rendered into Gujarâtî (*i. e.* the language of the period prevailing in Gujarât) by other Mobeds later on some time about the 14th or the first half of the 15th century A. D., as I conclude from the nature of the language. It is in these old Gujarâtî translations that the postposition is found used with great frequency.[10] A few instances will be not without interest :—

(1) घातक दुराचारी रहिं घात कर। उत्तमरहिं उत्तम विभूति

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[9] I may be permitted to point out incidentally that the name of the work is *Auktika* and not *Mauktika*. Sir George Grierson has repeatedly called it *Mauktika*. (*Vide* pp. 353 and 359 of his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part II). Dr. Fleet in an editorial foot-note at the opening page of my review of that work, (*vide Ante*. February 1892, p. 52), has deliberately come to the conclusion that the name is *Mauktika* and not *Auktika*, on the basis of the evidence given by him which, as a matter of fact, leads to an opposite conclusion. This mistake seems to have arisen out of the fact that the whole name मुग्धावबोधमौक्तिकम् can be separated in two ways मुग्धावबोधम् + औक्तिकम् and मुग्धवबोध + मौक्तिकम्, and also out of the fact that H. H. Dhruva called this edition of the work प्रथमं मौक्तिकं, of a series contemplated by him. But it is clear that the true name is औक्तिकम्, 1st because मौक्तिकं as appended in this name makes no proper sense, 2ndly because औक्तिकं has a reference to the expression उक्तीनां—(आम्नाय) संग्रहः in the opening verse of the work, and 3rdly and mainly because in the concluding colophon the author himself distinctly calls it औक्तिकम् :—

औक्तिकं व्यधित मुग्धकृते श्री-
देवसुन्दरगुरुक्रमरेणुः ॥

Auktika was evidently a common designation for treatises of this kind. There is one such, called *Vâkyaprakâśa Auktika* written in V. S. 1507 ; its opening verse says :—

देवदेवं नमस्कृत्य जिनं त्रिजगदीश्वरम् ।
संक्षेपादौक्तिकं वक्ष्ये बालानां हितबुद्धये ॥

(This work is listed in Prof. Bühler's *Catalogue* at No. iii 18, also in Dr. Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*).

[10] These works have been published under the patronage of the *Parsi Panchâyat* of Bombay under the able and learned editorship of Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha.

(*Ijiśni*, Notes, p. 15, col. 1).

(2) पुण्यमर्त्यां गाथाउ तह्मोराहिं न्मस्कार इ

(3) सुंदर ते भलो यिहराहिं केतलाइं मनुष्यनु शुभ कल्याण वर्तइ

(*Ibid*, Notes, P. 14, col. 1).

(4) અનેરા પુરૂષ તણી સ્ત્રી અથવા ભર્તારહિત નારી રહઈ કામાર્થ તણઈ વિષઈ મુ હઉ.

(*Khurd-Avastarthah*, Notes, P. 15)

Another work called *Ardâ Gvîrâ* (or Ardâ Vîrâf) is translated into Sanskrit and then into Gujarâtî. A manuscript copy of this written in v. s. 1507 (=A. D. 1451) was shown to me by Mr. Behramgor Anklesaria. I find therein the following :—

जीणइ पाप करी आत्माराहिं इसउ दोहिलउ निग्रहः कीजइ अछि ।

Now, what I may place for Dr. Tessitori's consideration is the fact that these Parsis in the 14th and 15th centuries A. D. could hardly have themselves come under a Mârwâḍî influence, as they had not travelled then beyond Cambay, Div and parts of Central Gujarat. I do not forget that the Old Western Râjasthânî was the prevalent language, and it did not split up into Gujarâtî and Mârwâḍî till after the 15th century, and that all that is intended by Dr. Tessitori is the silent Mârwâḍî tendency, indicated by features peculiar to Mârwâḍî and dropped by Gujarâtî. Still I submit these data for such use as he may wish to make of them.

The second point is that touched at p. 24 of the February (1914 A. D.) number of this Journal under item 6. It refers to the existence in Mârwâḍî and Gujarâtî of separate words to express the plural of the first personal pronoun, when the addressee is included, and when he is excluded. Gujarâtî has *hame* (हमे) when the person addressed is excluded and âpaṇe (आपणे) when he is included. I wish to point out that this peculiarity is not general amongst the vernaculars of India. Gujarâtî is one of the few exceptions, which also include the Dravidian (and also the Muṇḍâ) dialects. (*Vide* Extract from the *Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, taken by Sir George Grierson in his article on Languages in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (new Edition), Vol. I, (A. D. 1907) p. 380).

I cannot go into the voluminous details of phonetics so studiously collected by Dr. Tessitori. It is neither necessary nor within the purpose and scope of the present Note to do so. But I may take this occasion and make a suggestion with due deference. It is about the advisability of classifying the several heads under this chapter on phonetics so as to bring several diverse features under a possible common principle. I would cite the instances under § 2 (4), § 5 (3) and § 7 (3). These refer to the dropping of the initial *a*, initial *u*, and initial *e*. If the several instances falling under these heads are studied together, it will be seen that they fall under the common principle which governs the rule that an unaccented initial syllable is generally dropped. This phonetic rule has been indicated by Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in one of his Wilson Philological Lectures. (Vide *Journal Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII, Part II A. D. 1889, P. 145). However, it is perhaps necessary for Dr. Tessitori to deal with each head separately under the system of analysis adopted by him.

MISCELLANEA.

KAYATHA.

Ante, p. 20 K. P. T., in his attempt to find out the ethnic origin of the writer-caste *Kâyastha*, states that the original form of the word seems to be *Kâyatha*, and that if *Kâyatha* or *Kâyathan*, which he is told means 'papers,' 'records,' in Telugu, is a native Dravidian word, the question of the ethnic origin of Kâyatha will be set at rest. He also desires some one from the Madras Presidency to enlighten him on the philology of *Kâyathan*.

The word for paper in Telugu is *kâgita* or *kâkita* or *kâgida*, and not *kâyatha* or *kâyathan*. The other Dravidian languages also use the same word in a slightly altered form :—Tamil *kâgidam*; Malayalam *kâyitam*; and Kannada *kâgada*. In Urdu it is *kâgaz* and in Hindi *kâgad*. All these forms are evidently modifications of the Arabic word for paper, *kâgadh*. According to Bühler[1] the use of paper in India was introduced by the Muhammadans after the 12th century A. D. It is true that paper was an invention of the Chinese, who are said to have first made a properly felted paper of vegetable fibre in A. D. 105. But it does not seem to have been largely used in India until the Mughal period. It is said that the Arabs began to manufacture paper in A. D. 751, and that they learned the art from the Chinese and communicated it to Europe.[2]

It will thus be seen that the word for paper in the Dravidian languages is clearly a loan-word and consequently it is not likely to afford much help to K. P. T. in setting the question of the ethnic origin of *Kâyastha* at rest.

As several *Purâṇas* contain accounts of the origin of the Kâyasthas, the caste is certainly much older than the 12th century, after which, it is said, the use of paper was introduced into India by the Muhammadans.

BANGALORE,

19*th October* 1914.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

SHAHJAHAN AND JAHANARA.

IN vol. xliii, p.223, and *ante*, p.16, references are made to a scandalous tale told by De Laët about Shâhjahân and his daughter Jahânârâ, which was repeated by Peter Mundy. Mundy had a similar tale to tell about Nûrmahal:—

"The King [Jahângîr] being incensed against him [Prince Khurram, afterwards Shâhjahân] on some occasions (and as they say, for haveinge too secrett familiaritie with Nooremoholl), hee fledd and stood out in Rebellion to the day of the Kings death" [vol. II. p. 106, ed. Temple]. Mundy was writing in 1632 and was evidently repeating a story told by Finch in 1610 (*Purchas*, vol. IV. p.57, Maclehose ed.), when describing Lahor. Finch's story runs thus:—" Past the Sugar Gong [*gâon*, village, market] is a faire Meskite [*masjid*, mosque] built by Shecke Fereed [Shekh Farid]; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the [Shâlamâr] Gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha [Sultân Dâniyâl][1] his mother, one of Acabar [Akbar] his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim [Shâh Salîm, afterwards Jahângîr] had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle [Anârkalî], or Pomgranate kernell), upon notice of which the King caused her to be inclosed quicke [alive] within a wall in her

[1] *Indian Palæography*, § 37 ff. [2] *Antiquities of India* by L. D. Barnett, pp. 229 and 230.

[1] His mother was, however, the daughter of Râjâ Bihârî Mal Kachhwâhâ and certainly not Anârkalî.

Moholl [*mahal*, palace], where shee dyed: and the King in token of his love commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and divers roomes over it: the convexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire Jounter [*chauntrâ, chabûtrâ*, garden-pavilion, summer-house] with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention, are of such largenesse, that if they were otherwise contrived, would have roome to entertain a very good man, with his whole household."

The tomb of the unfortunate Anârkalî has become famous in modern times as the pro-Cathedral of the Christians at Lahor after the British occupation. The note in the *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, 1883-4, p. 187, runs thus:—

"Anarkulli's tomb, now the station church and pro-Cathedral derives its name from Anârkalî, the title given to Nâdira Begam or Sharîfu'n-nissâ, a favourite slave girl of the Emperor Akbar, who, being suspected of the offence of returning a smile from Jahângîr, his son, was buried alive. The edifice was erected by Jahângîr [?Akbar] in A.D. 1600, and the marble tomb, which once stood beneath the central dome, but is now in a side chamber, bears the following Persian inscription:—

Ah! gar man bâz bînam rûe yâr-e-khesh râ,
Ta qayâmat shukr gayam Kirdigâr khesh râ.

Ah! could I behold the face of my beloved once more,

I would give thanks unto my God unto the day of resurrection."

Jahângîr died at Râjaurî in Kashmir in 1627, expressing a wish to be buried at Lahor, which was religiously carried out by Nûrmahal. She erected a mausoleum to him at Shâhdara, near Lahor, in 1637, close to which she was herself buried in 1645. Her name was therefore intimately connected with the neighbourhood.

We can now see what happened. Finch writing from Lahor in 1610, when Anârkalî's story was fresh, got it more or less right, but by Mundy's time, in Agra, 1632, the story had been embellished until it became truly scandalous and attributed to a lady of still greater fame in the next generation and closely connected with Lahor. It is quite possible that the scandal told of Shâhjahân and his daughters, usually of Jahânârâ, the most famous, but also, as Mundy's statement proves (vol. II. p.203), of Chamanî Begam, is a mere passing on of a well known tale to a third generation.

I may add that when I was in the Panjab about thirty years ago the story of Anârkalî was referred to the days of Ranjît Singh in the early years of the 19th century, and as ordinarily told was to the effect that during a procession she was seen to smile at a man in the crowd. This was reported to the great Sikh ruler, who had her immured alive then and there. A search for the male culprit revealed him as her brother, whereon Ranjît Singh in great remorse built the magnificent tomb to her memory which is now the pro-Cathedral at Lahor. And this in spite of the tomb being obviously Muhammadan and about three centuries old.

The *Lahore Gazetteer* version of the story of Anârkalî identifying her with Nâdira Begam and the vague title Sharîfu'n-nissâ (Chief among women) seems to drag in yet another imperial lady of the time, closely connected with Lahor. She was the daughter of Sultân Parvîz, a son of Jahângîr, and was married to her first cousin, Dârâ Shikoh, the eldest son of Shâhjahân, also a son of Jahângîr. She was buried by the tomb of Mîân Mîr, near Lahor, in 1659.

All these considerations seem to point to extreme caution being necessary in accepting scandalous tales about the great ones of Indian history.[2]

R. C. TEMPLE.

[2] I am inclined to believe with Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, that Anârkalî was some slave of one of the Emperors, who came to a tragical end in a fashion not uncommon in Mughal days.

At Poladpur in the Kolába District, there lived a sorcerer who used to give such amulets and charmed threads. He placed about ten or twelve copper rings or amulets in a copper plate kept in the sun. While thus exposed to the sun, these amulets were continuously watched by the sorcerer for some two hours, repeating certain *mantras*.[1]

At Málád in the Thána District, copper amulets and charmed black cotton threads in the name of Kál Bhairav, an incarnation of the god Shiva, are used as protective against evil spirits. They are tied to the arms or the neck of the diseased on an eclipse day, on the last day of the Hindu calendar month, or on a Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday.[2]

At Kolhápur, the use of amulets is generally resorted to by people suffering from the attacks of evil spirits or from malarial fevers. The sorcerer who exorcises the evil spirits writes certain *mantras* on a paper, or draws certain symbols and repeats the *mantras* over them. The paper is then wrapped in an amulet made of copper or silver, and fastened to a cotton thread. This amulet is tied round the arm or the neck of the diseased. Before tying it to the arm or the neck, it is once held over burning incense.[3]

A sacred circle is frequently used as a protection from spirits. The sorcerer draws a circle on the ground, with his stick, and the following articles are put inside it. Cocoanuts, lemons, red lead, and a *Kohala* gourd. Fowls are also sacrificed to this circle. The filling in of this circle is called *mándabharane* by the exorcists.[4]

Rice or *Udid* grain, and ashes charmed by *mantras*, are scattered round a certain area of land, or are given to a person supposed to be affected by evil spirits. The spirits cannot enter a place charmed in this manner. They are also scattered round the place supposed to be haunted by evil spirits in the belief that neither evil spirits nor snakes can transgress the boundary thus marked by a sorcerer.[5]

Formerly sages and saints used to make such sacred circles round their residence, repeating certain *mantras*, for their protection from evil spirits. It is believed that the spirits cannot enter or leave these enchanted circles. They used to bury bottles containing such spirits at the boundaries of these circles. There are many such places in the Kolhápur District, such as Buránsáheb of Brahmapuri, the Sádhubuwa of Panhála, and Bábu Jámál at Kolhápur.[6]

It is a general belief among all classes of Hindus in the Bombay Presidency that Saturday is an unlucky day, and in some places Friday and Tuesday are also considered inauspicious.

Sunday is considered as an ordinary day. Monday, Wednesday and Thursday are believed to be auspicious or lucky days.

It is said that a thing suggested or thought of on Friday cannot be carried out successfully.[7]

Sowing seed and watering trees is strictly forbidden on Sunday. It is believed that trees do not bear well if watered on Sundays.[8]

Tuesday and Friday are considered unlucky days for beginning a new task. Wednesday and Saturday are said to be inauspicious for visiting another village.[9]

The numbers 2, 6, 11, and zero are believed to be lucky, 4, 5, 10 and 8 are unlucky, and 1, 3, 7 and 9 are considered as middling or moderate.

The figure zero is by some considered inauspicious.[10]

The numbers 5, 7, 9 are said by some to be auspicious, and 1, 3, 11 and 13 inauspicious.[11]

Odd numbers are auspicious, and even numbers are said to be inauspicious.[12]

1 School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.
2 School Master, Málád, Thána.
3 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
4 School Master, Bándivade, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
6 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
7 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
9 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
10 School Master, Rái, Thána.
11 School Master, Bándivade, Ratnágiri.
12 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.

The following are generally held to be auspicious omens :—

While going on any business, to come across an unwidowed woman, a cow, Bráhmans, a five-petaled flower, or a pot filled with water ;[1] the throbbing of the right eyelid and of the right arm of a man, and of the left eyelid of a woman; a Bráhman coming in front with a cup and a spoon in his hand after taking his bath;[2] the appearance of a peacock, the *Bhàradwáj* or the blue jay, and the mongoose, especially when they pass on the left side of the person going on business.[3]

The following are considered to be auspicious when seen within a hundred paces of a person starting on business :—

Bráhmans, unwidowed women, boiled food, meat, fishes, milk, any kind of corn, the bird *Cháśha* or the blue jay, passing by the left side, the appearance of the moon in front, a person coming across one's path with vessels filled with water, and a married couple, a cow with its calf, images of god, cocoanuts and other fruits, the mother, white clothes, the sound of a musical instrument, a horse, an elephant, curds, flowers, a lighted lamp, a jackal, a spiritual preceptor, a public woman, a Mahár, a washerman coming with a bundle of washed clothes, and a marriage procession.[4]

The following objects and persons are generally believed to be inauspicious :—

Oil, buttermilk, a couple of snakes, a monkey, pig, and an ass, firewood, ashes and cotton, a person with a disfigured nose, a man dressing his hair in the shape of a crown, red garlands, wet clothes, a woman wearing red cloth, an empty earthen vessel, a Bráhman widow, a *Brahmachári* and an unmarried Bráhman[5], a widow, a bare-headed Bráhman, a cat going across the path, a dog flapping his ears, meeting a barber with his bag, a beggar, sneezing, or the asking of a question, at the time of departure, waiting, meeting a person with an empty vessel,[6] howling of dogs and jackals, a pair of crows playing on the ground, and a lighted lamp extinguished by its fall on the ground.[7]

While plans or proposals are being made, it is considered inauspicious if any one sneezes or the sound of a lizard is heard.[8] Meeting a person of the depressed classes whose touch is pollution, or a Bráhman who accepts funeral gifts, is considered inauspicious.[9] Meeting a woman who is in her menses, a mourner, a buffalo, a snake and a *diwad* are considered inauspicious.[10] An iron vessel or an iron bar, cowdung cakes, salt, grass, a broom, a vulture, and a washerman bringing with him dirty clothes are also considered to be inauspicious omens.[11]

Among the Hindus in Western India, for the purpose of helping the spirit to go to heaven safely, and for securing its goodwill towards the survivors, after death ceremonies called the *Shráddhas* are generally performed. Some perform these ceremonies once a year in the month of *Bhádrapada*, and others perform them twice or thrice, i.e., on the anniversary day of the deceased as well as in the dark half of *Bhádrapada*, which is generally known as the *manes'* fortnight (*pitru paksha*).[12]

The funeral solemnities performed from the 1st to the 14th day from the death of the deceased are as described below :—

On the first day, at the time of burning the dead body, a plot of ground is purified by repeating certain *mantras*, and the corpse is then placed on it. Before setting the funeral pile on fire, balls of boiled rice or wheat flour are put on the face, the forehead, arms and the chest of the corpse. Such balls are placed

[1] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[2] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[3] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[8] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[9] School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
[10] School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
[11] Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
[12] School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.

on the body of the deceased only when death has taken place on an unlucky day, or when there is an unlucky conjunction of stars. The son, or some other near relative, of the deceased generally performs these rites with the help of a Bráhman priest. On the third day he goes to the burning place, collects the ashes of the deceased, and throws them into the sea. On this occasion he is accompanied by the relatives of the deceased. Rich persons who are able to go to Benares keep the bones of their deceased parents and throw them into the Ganges at Prayág near Benares after performing certain *Shráddhas* there. The giving of oblations continues daily till the tenth day. The oblations of the tenth day are called *Das Pinda*. The rites of the eleventh day are called *Ekotistha*. On the eleventh day the person performing the rites has to change his sacred thread, after sipping a little cow's urine. Cooked food is prepared at the place where the rites of the eleventh day are performed, and Bráhmans are fed there, or at least thirty-two mouthfuls of cooked food are offered to the sacred fire. A big ball of boiled rice is put before the sacred fire or near the Bráhmans taking their meals. This ball is then thrown into the sea. A male calf is branded, worshipped and let loose. This calf is called *Vasu*, and is considered sacred by the villagers. On the 11th day, special ceremonies for propitiating the eight *Vasus* and the eleven *Rudras* are performed, and gifts of a plot of ground, a cow, cooking vessels, various kinds of corn, golden images, silver and copper coins, clothes, shoes, umbrellas, bedding, etc., are given to the Bráhmans collected there. On the 13th day after death a feast is given to 13 or more Bráhmans and the other relatives. *Navakádán*, i.e., the gift of a ship and *Gopradán*, i.e., of a cow and a calf, are also given to the Bráhmans on the understanding that they will help the soul of the dead while crossing the river Vaitarna.[1]

Water mixed with *til* or sesamum seed, sandalpaste, and oblations of boiled rice are given daily to the *manes* to secure their goodwill towards the survivors.[2]

At Bankavli in the Dápoli táluka of the Ratnágiri District, in order to prevent the soul from assuming the form of a ghost, there is a custom of tying a piece of *Gulvel*, a species of moonseed, or the seed of a vegetable known as *Máthbháji*, round the neck of the corpse before burning it. It is also believed that, by doing this, the soul is prevented from troubling the survivors.[3]

At Poladpur in the Kolába District, some villagers drive an iron nail into the head of the corpse before it is taken to the funeral ground. They believe that, in consequence, the soul of the deceased will not turn into an evil spirit. Some people scatter grain on the road while the corpse is being carried to the cremation ground.[4]

Among the Hindus in the Konkan, as well as in the Deccan, dead bodies are generally burnt, but under the following circumstances they are buried.

Persons dying of small-pox, women dying in childbirth or during their menses, children dying within six months from their birth, and *Sanyásis* are buried. The bodies of persons suffering from leprosy are necessarily buried.[5] Among Lingáyats the bodies are always buried. Certain *mantras* are repeated while burying or burning the dead body. While burying, cocoanuts and certain kinds of grain are thrown into the grave, and after covering the dead body with salt, the grave is filled up with earth and stones.[6] While burning, the dead body is placed on the funeral pile with its head to the north and feet towards the south. *Tulsi* wood, sandal-wood, and *Bel* wood are kept on the pile before placing

[1] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

[2] School Master, Bándivade, Ratnágiri.

[3] School Master, Bankavli, Ratnágiri.

[4] School Master, Poladpur, Kolába.

[5] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

[6] School Master, Ibhrampur, Ratnágiri.

the dead body over it. Cocoanuts and camphor cakes are placed on the body, and it is set on fire. Among the Lingáyats and Gosávis the dead are buried. Before burying the Lingáyats have to take a written order from their priest, the Ayya or Jangam. The paper is then tied to the neck of the deceased, and the body is placed in a bag made of new cloth, the head being allowed to remain out of the bag. *Bhasma* or ashes, salt and camphor are also put into the bag along with the corpse, which is then buried. The Jangam repeats *mantras* when the body is in the grave. No such written order is necessary for the burial of Gosávis. A cocoanut is broken on the head of the corpse at the time of burying it. Among high class Hindus the corpse is carried to the funeral ground in a bier made of bamboos. Among the Lingáyats a gaily dressed frame called *Makhar* is prepared on the bier, and the body is dressed with clothes and head dress and seated in the *Makhar*. Some of them carry the dead body in a bag made of blanket. There is a custom of keeping foot-prints on the spot where a *Sanyási* is buried, and they are daily worshipped by the people.[1] Among the Káthawatis of Thána and Kolába districts the dead body is first buried, and after a few days the skeleton is taken out of the grave and then burnt as usual.[2] Among the high class Hindus the moustaches are shaved at the death of parents paternal uncle and elder brother. Among the Shudras it is not necessary to shave.[3] Persons who have lost their parents have to perform certain funeral rites or *Shrádhas* when they visit holy places such as Benares, Prayág, Ayodhya and Násik, and they have to shave their moustaches at all these places before performing the funeral rites.[4] Moustaches are also shaved as a penance for certain sins. The *Agnihotri*, i.e., one who preserves perpetual fire in his house for worship, has to get himself shaved every fortnight.[5]

Among high class Hindus boiled rice is daily offered to the dead after a portion has been thrown into the fire, the remainder being given to the crows. The portion thrown in the fire is called *Vaishvadev*, and that which is given to the crows is called *Kágwás*. Among other Hindus it is given on the last day of *Bhádrapada* and on the date of the father's death, annually.[6] Oblations of boiled rice are given to the dead every day, on the last day of the Hindu calendar month, on the date of a person's death every month, on the same date of the dark half of *Bhádrapada* every year. These oblations are put out of the house before taking the meals. It is believed that the ancestors come down in the form of crows to partake of these offerings.[7] Oblations of cooked food are also offered to a cow, and considered thus to be received by the dead. They are especially given to the crows annually in the dark half of *Bhádrapada* on the date of the deceased's death.[8] After the corpse has been carried to the funeral ground, an oil lamp containing one cotton wick is kept on the spot where the deceased expired. The flame of the lamp is directed towards the south as it is believed that the soul goes to heaven by the south. A ball of boiled rice and a little quantity of water or milk is kept daily for the first ten days near the lamp while repeating the name of the deceased and of the *gotra* to which it belonged. The lamp is taken out of the house on the 11th day.[9]

Hindus believe that impurity attaches to all the things in the house in consequence of the death of a person in that house. All those things which can be purified by washing are washed and taken back, while things like

[1] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[2] School Master, Mokhade, Thána.
[3] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[4] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[5] School Master, Khed, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Kelwá-Máhim, Thána.
[7] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.
[9] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

earthen pots, cooked food, etc., are thrown away, special care being taken to break these pots, so that they may not be used again. Even the walls of the house are white washed.[1] The earthen pots that are required for the funeral rites of the dead are all broken. One which is required for boiling water to bathe the corpse is broken when the body is carried to the funeral ground. Of the rest, one is broken at the funeral pile after the son has passed thrice round the pile with an earthen vessel filled with water. It is believed that birds and animals drinking water out of these vessels would be infected by disease, and this is the reason why these pots are broken. The mourners who use earthen vessels during the mourning break them at the end of the mourning period.[2] Among the Agris of Chaul in the Kolába District, all earthen vessels in the house are broken on the eleventh day after a death in the family, the chief reason assigned for this act being that the wishes and desires of the deceased might lurk in the earthen vessels and cause trouble to the inmates of the house.[3]

All the members of the family of the dead have to observe mourning for ten days. They are purified on the eleventh day after taking a bath and sipping *Panchgavya*, or the five products of the cow. The son of the dead person, or one who performs the funeral rites of the dead is purified on the twelfth day after completing the rites of *Sapindi*. A man in mourning does not touch those who are not in mourning. If anybody touches him, both of them have to take a bath. The son of the deceased or, in the absence of a son, any male member belonging to the family is entitled to perform the funeral rites of the dead. These rites are performed during the first twelve days, beginning from the first day or from the 3rd, 5th, 7th or the 9th. One who performs these rites has to sleep on the ground during these twelve days. A person hearing of the death of a member of his family within the first ten days from the date of the death, becomes free from that mourning on the eleventh day. If he happens to hear it within one month of the death, he has to observe it for three days, and after one month he has to observe it for one day only.[4] The son, or one who performs the funeral rites of the deceased has to sleep on the ground, and has to take his meals only once a day till the end of the 13th day. He takes his bath in cold water. Sweet things are not prepared in the house during the days of mourning. During the period of mourning, every morning, a Bráhman comes to the mourner's house and recites some passages from the *Garud Purána*, which relates to the state of the soul after death. On the eleventh day the house is besmeared with cowdung, and cow's urine is sprinkled in the house. All the clothes are washed. Mourning is not observed in the case of a death of a *Sanyási*, and the Lingáyats do not observe any kind of mourning[5].

The brother of the deceased, his son, grandson and all the members belonging to the family, have to observe the mourning for ten days. The married daughter of the deceased has to observe it for three days. From the fifth or sixth generation in the same family, it is observed for three or one day only.[6] In case of the death of a wife's parents, the husband has to observe mourning for three days. During the mourning days people do not worship the gods or go to the temples. Milk is also prohibited during the mourning period. The mourners are not to touch anybody except the members of their family.[7]

On the thirteenth day the sons and other members of the family are taken out to visit the temple of any deity by the people assembled

[1] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[2] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[3] School Master, Chowl, Kolába.
[4] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[5] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[6] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Vavanje, Kolába.

for the purpose. It is believed that after going to the temple on the 13th day, the sons and the other members of the family are at liberty to go out of the house.[1]

At Kolhápur it is believed that the deities Etalái and Kálkái of the Konkan districts keep with them evil spirits as their servants. These servant spirits obey the orders of these deities. Some people in this district go to the temples of these deities and request them to lend them the services of these spirit servants. It is considered very lucky to secure the help of these spirits. The temple ministrant then requests the deity to give a *Kaul* or omen. For this purpose, the temple ministrant calls on the deity to enter his body, and when he is possessed by the spirit of the deity, he allows the applicant to take with him one of the deity's servants for a fixed period. The Gurav, or the ministrant, then explains to the person the period for which the spirit servant is given, and the amount of the annual tribute required to be given to the deity for the use of her servant. He also gives him a cocoanut and sacred ashes. The applicant then returns home, believing that the spirit servant will follow him, and from that time he prospers. This spirit servant is called *Chetuk*, and it can be seen only by the person in whose charge it is given by the Gurav.[2]

At Achare in the Ratnágiri District, the spirit of a Bráhman well versed in the *Vedas* is called Mahápurusha and it is said to be benevolent. It haunts *Pipal* and *Umbar* trees.[3]

At Murbád in the Thána District, the spirit known as Vetál, the king of evil spirits, is considered to be benevolent.[4]

The spirits known as Mahápurush haunts the *Pipal* and *Umbar* trees. Avagat the ghost of a widow haunts the *Avali* (Phyllanthus emblica) tree. Alwant, the ghost of a woman dying at childbirth or during her menses, lives in the *Nágchámpa, Surang* and the *Kájra* trees. Devachár, Sambandh, Munja, Zoting, Khavis and Khápra reside in trees and plants.[5]

The people of Kolhápur believe that the spirits known as Bramhasambandh, Brahma Rákshasa, and Khavis reside in trees.[6]

The spirits known as Devchár and Chálegat are considered to be the special protectors of crops and cattle.[7]

The people of Ubhádánda in the Ratnágiri District believe that the village deities and the Devachárs are the special protectors of crops and cattle. Offerings of fowls and cocoanuts are made to them annually.[8]

At Kochare in the Ratnágiri District, the spirit known as Viswáti is believed to be the special protector of crops and cattle.[9]

The people of the Kolába District consider that the spirits known as Mhashya, Khavis, and Bándav are the protectors of crops and cattle.[10]

At Dahánu in the Thána District, the spirit Cheda is believed to be the guardian of crops and cattle.[11]

The people of Kolhápur believe that the deities of the fields protect the crops and cattle. Those who are in possession of the *Chetuk*, or the servant spirit, are sure to find their crops and cattle protected by this servant spirit.[12]

Evil spirits are not usually invoked to frighten children, but occasionally the names of goblins such as Bágulbáwa, Bowáji, Gosávi etc., are mentioned to scare them.[13]

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[1] School Master, Málád, Thána.
[2] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[3] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Murbád, Thána.
[5] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
[6] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[7] School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
[8] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[9] School Master, Kochare, Ratnágiri.
[10] School Master Varsai, Kolába.
[11] School Master, Dahánu, Thána.
[12] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[13] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.

CHAPTER VII.

TREE AND SERPENT WORSHIP.

Groves of mango trees are considered to be sacred as they have a pleasing appearance, and afford grateful shelter against the heat of the day. It is a general belief among Hindus that trees from which such pleasure and protection are derived must naturally be the abode of the gods. There are many such groves in Satára. During the spring season people go to these groves and worship the trees. The Hindus have a general prejudice against cutting living trees which yield fruits, and it is considered specially inauspicious to cut the following trees :—

Umbar, *Vad* or Banian tree, *Pipal*, *Saundad* or *Shami*, *Palus*, *Bel*, *Rui*, *Avali* and the *Tulsi* plant, for it is believed that these trees are the abode of deities, *e.g.*, the god Dattátraya resides under the *Umbar* tree, the goddess Párvati on the Banian tree, and the god Vishnu resides near the *Tulsi* plant. The god Brahma, the creator of the world, is found in the *Pipal* tree. The plantain tree is also considered to be sacred. While gathering a bunch of plantains, the tree is first cut before the bunch. It is considered inauspicious to gather the bunch without so doing.[1]

There are certain groves at Ubhádánda in the Vengurla taluka of the Ratnágiri District which are supposed to be haunted by *Devachárs*, and are therefore not cut by the people.[2]

The people of Ibhrámpur in the Chiplun taluka consider it inauspicious to cut the *Vad* and *Pipal* trees of which the thread ceremonies have been performed. After the thread ceremony of these trees is over, a stone platform is raised around them.[3]

At Fonde in the Devgad taluka, it is considered inauspicious to cut the trees and the groves that surround the temple of a village deity, for they are believed to belong to that deity.[4]

At Padghe in the Thána District, the trees which are supposed to have been haunted by evil spirits such as *Sambandh*, *Munja*, *Devachár*, etc., are not generally cut by the people through fear of these spirits. When any tree is cut down, the custom is to keep a stone at the root of the tree in order that the place may no longer be affected or haunted by the spirit in the tree.[5] There are certain families who do not burn *Pipal*, *Khair*, or *Shiwani* wood. They believe that the burning of these trees causes harm to their families. It is said that the burning of the *Apta* tree causes the breeding of the insect known as *Gochadi*, i. e., the cattle or dog louse.[6]

There is an *Awdumbar* tree of the god Dattátraya at Bhillawadi, and a big Banian tree near the *math* of the Lingáyat *swámi* named Kadappa near Kolhápur, which are worshipped by the people of the neighbouring villages. The *Saundad* tree, better known as *Shami*, is worshipped once a year on the *Dasara*, the 10th day of the bright half of *Ashwin* (October). It is said that Ráma, the seventh incarnation of Vishnu, kept his arms on the *Shami* tree during his fourteen years' exile, and took them back again when he marched upon Lanka or Ceylon to kill Ráwan, the demon king of Ceylon. While going to Lanka he bowed to the *Shami* tree, and as he was successful in his undertaking, the Maráthás used to start for a campaign on the

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1 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
2 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Ibhrámpur, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Padghe, Thána.
6 School Master, Dahigaon, Thána.

Dasara day after worshipping the *Shami* tree, and distributing its leaves among their friends calling it *Suwarn* or gold. This is said to be the origin of the festival of *Dasara*. A species of the tamarind tree called *Gorakh Chinch* is said to be connected with the Hindu saint Gorakhnáth. For this reason this tree is worshipped by the people. A great fair is held every year at Battis Shiréle in the Satára District, which is situated at a distance of about ten miles from Kolhápur.[1]

The *Pipal*, the *Umbar*, the *Vad* or Banian tree, and the *Tulsi* plant are worshipped by Hindus in general. The *Apta* tree is worshipped by Hindus on the *Dasara* day, and its leaves are distributed under the name of *sone*, or gold, among their friends and relatives.[2]

At Medhe in the Roha taluka of the Kolába District, there is a tree *Vehala* (Beleric myrobalan) which is believed to be connected with the local deity Mhasoba. It is considered to be a sacred tree, and nobody dares to cut it or to touch it with the feet.[3]

At Shirgáon in the Máhim taluka of the Thána District there is a *Ránjani* tree on the bank of a tank called Khambále, which is said to be connected with the deity Brahma; and therefore no branch of that tree is cut by the people. It is considered harmful to cut the tree.[4]

At Gánagápur in the Kolhápur District, there is a *Vad* tree connected with the saint Kabir. It is called *Kabirvad*. There is also an *Awdumbar* tree connected with the god Dattátraya, and known as *Dattátraya Awdumbar*.[5]

The *Umbar*, *Pipal*, *Vad*, and the *Tulsi* plant are considered to be sacred, and are respected by Hindus. The following are some of the legends about their sacredness.

Umbar—When the god Vishnu in his fourth incarnation, called Narsinh, i.e., half man and half lion, tore into pieces the body of the demon named Hiranyakashipu with his claws, he felt a burning sensation of the poison from the body of that demon, which was assuaged by thrusting his hands into the trunk of the *Umbar* or *Awadumbar* tree.[6]

In order that they may get the auspicious sight of a deity early in the morning, Hindus generally plant the *Umbar* and *Tulsi* trees in front of their houses, and worship them daily. The juice of the root of the *Umbar* has a cooling effect, and hence it is freely used in cases of measles or itch. Its sap is also used as medicine for swellings. It is very pleasant to sit under the shade of this tree, and as it is believed that the god Dattátraya resides beneath this tree, it is held very sacred by the Hindus.[7]

Pipal—The *Pipal* tree is considered very sacred because it is believed that the god Brahma resides in the roots, the god Vishnu in the trunk, and the god Shiva on the top of this tree. Persons who make a particular vow or have any objects to be fulfilled worship the *Pipal* tree, and walk round it several times every day.[8] The evil spirits *Sambandh*, *Devachar*, *Munja*, and *Vetál* haunt the *Pipal* tree. These spirits are considered to be the servants of the god Shiva. It is also believed that persons who worship and walk round this tree daily are not affected by those spirits. The *Pipal* tree is specially worshipped at dawn on Saturday as it is considered that the gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Mahesh or Shiva happen to be there at that time.[9]

1 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
2 School Master, Shiravade, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Medhe, Kolába.
4 School Master, Shirgaon, Thána.
5 School Master, Umele, Thána.
6 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
7 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
8 Ráo Sáheb, Shelke, Kolhápur.
9 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

THE HISTORY OF THE NAIK KINGDOM OF MADURA.

BY V. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T., MADRAS.

(*Continued from page* 73.)

CHAPTER III.

SECTION VI.

The Naik Administrative System.

WHILE Viśvanâtha and his minister placed the Polygar system on a definite basis, they were also statesmanlike enough to organize a system of strong and efficient central administrative machinery. In this work of organizing a central government, they were indeed not original. They did not interfere, for example, with the absolutism of the monarch, or rather of his representative, the Nâik; but they seem to have succeeded to a very large extent in establishing such a system as to impress on the ruler a certain amount of moral, if not legal, responsibility. He was, for instance, to place himself under the advice of able ministers and the influence of public opinion. He was to exercise his powers through six ministers or departmental heads, who held their offices for life, unless their conduct provoked the displeasure of their monarch with the loss of their office. These were the *Mantri* or Prime Minister, the *Dalavâi*[49] or Commander-in-Chief, the *Pradhâni* or Finance Minister, the *Râyasam* or Private Secretary of the King, the *Kaṇakkan* or Accountant-General, and the *Sthânapati* or Head of the Diplomatic Department. The Mantri, says the *Maṇavâḷa Nârâyaṇa Śatakam*,[50] was to advise the king on all affairs of State, on the proceedings to be issued and the proclamations to be made. As Mr. Nelson says, the two offices of Mantri and Daḷavâi remained originally distinct, but in the time of Viśvanâtha I. they were amalgamated[51] into one office. The great statesman Aryanâtha Mudali was, as has been already mentioned, invested with the seals and rings of both these offices. The Daḷavâi thereby became the supreme civil and military officer of the State. Next to the king he was the greatest man in the country; his voice in consequence had great weight with the king, and though the latter was not legally bound by his counsels, he rarely went against them. It seems that the office of Daḷavâi, the most coveted in the State, was generally, though not universally, held by Brahmans. At the beginning of the Nâik history, it was indeed held by the great statesman and soldier Aryanâtha Mudali, but the majority of his successors were Brahmans. We do not know who succeeded Aryanâtha Mudali in his exalted office, on his death in 1600. For thirty years there is a blank. Then emerges, in the reign of Tirumal Nâik, that great and dominant figure, the gallant Râmappaiya, the ideal soldier, the second builder of the Sêtu, the subjugator of the Sêtupati, the conqueror of Mysore, the friend of the Râya, the favourite of the Nâik, the hero of the Brahmans. On his death about 1655 his mantle fell on his unworthy son, Siva Râmaiya, who, not wanting in the capacity of his father, lacked his fidelity to the king, and was consequently deservedly disgraced and, we may be sure, dismissed. The next Daḷavâi, Liṅgaṇṇa Nâik, was, as his name shews, a Tôṭṭiya. A very troublesome and ambitious individual, he was the source of every domestic plot and the instigator of every foreign invasion in the early part of

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49 *Dal* (Canarese)=army. *Dalavâi* therefore means *General.* But the word, points out Wilks, is sometimes translated as Minister, Regent, etc. See Wilk's *Mysore*, I, p. XI foot-note.

50 See the O.H. MSS. Vol. II, appendix for some extracts from this work. There is a very cheap Tamil edition available in the bazaars for a penny. See also *Rais. Catal.*, Vol. III and *Madura Manual*.

51 See his *Madura Manual*.

Chokkanâtha's reign, and his fidelity had to be secured by his daughter's marriage with the king. His successor Veṅkaṭa Krishṇaiya, the hero of the Tanjore War and the destroyer of the Tanjore Nâik Dynasty, was a Brahman: so also was his successor, the acute Gôvindappaiya, whose diplomacy rescued Chokkanâtha from his Mussalman oppressor Rustam Khan, though his valour could not prevent the foreign dominance over the land and the consequent dismemberment of the kingdom. Proceeding to the regency of Maṅgammâḷ, we find that she had for her Daḷavâi, the Brahman Narasappaiya, whose strong administration and sound policy have extorted the reluctant admiration of the Jesuits themselves. His successor Achchaya, the alleged lover and ruiner of the queen, was also a Brahman. The Daḷavâis of Vijayaraṅga Chokkanâtha, a succession of dishonest and unscrupulous men, who took advantage of the king's religious tendency to deceive him and enrich themselves, were all members of the Brahmanical caste,—the unjust and cruel Kastûri Raṅga, the avaricious Naravappaiya who appropriated the pay of the army, and the greedy Veṅkaṭa Râghavâchârya, who acquired untold riches, and who, in the reign of Mînâkshi, upset the balance of parties by joining Baṅgâru Tirumala and thus precipitated the destruction of the Nâiks and the advent of the Musalmâns. After the expulsion of the Nâiks from Madura, the exiled Baṅgâru Tirumala and his son once again chose for the honourable, but now barren, post of Daḷavâi, from the descendants of the great Aryanâtha Mudaliars, the Daḷavâi Mudaliars of the later Carnatic history, whose opulence and influence in the Tinnevelly districts have not died out even to-day. It will be thus seen that the vast majority of the Daḷavâis were Brahmans. It was Brahmanical valour that mainly saved the kingdom from internal raids and external dangers. It was the Brahmanical statesmanship that ensured the efficiency of administration and the security of the people. It was unfortunately the want of Brahmanical support or loyalty, again, that led to the growth of factions and the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans. The Daḷavâi thus was the most responsible officer in the State. In many respects he was its pivot. On his vigilance depended the smooth administration of the kingdom, and on his bravery its security from invasion or rebellion. All the affairs of State, internal and external, were under his general control or direction. Questions of war and peace, of the issue of customary laws, of official honours and privileges, he discussed with the king. The author of the *Madura Manual* surmises that the Mantri or Daḷavâi was purely an advisory officer, and had no share in the actual administration of the realm. According to him, the Daḷavâi's power depended more on the wisdom of his counsels and the force of his personality than on the actual amount of executive power constitutionally or customarily attached to his office. He was a general supervising officer—the officer who laid down the general policy of the State, and had no charge of any definite department of administration. Nor is it difficult to explain this. The Daḷavâi was the supreme military officer of the realm and had to be frequently away from the capital. He could not, in consequence, take a direct part in the administration. Nevertheless, as the king's general adviser, he could exert his influence from anywhere in the kingdom, and his stay in the camp could not have resulted, in case he was a strong man, in the decline of his authority in the court.

The Pradhâni[52] was the head of the department of finance, looking after the incidence and collection of revenue. It is difficult to define the exact nature of his relation with the Kaṇakkan or Accountant. The latter was, most probably, only engaged in the

[52] I have in vain tried to frame a succession list of the Pradhânis in the Nâik period, or that of any other minister.

narrow and technical business of keeping the accounts of the incomings and outgoings of the royal treasury. On the Pradhâni devolved the difficult and important duties of determining the sources of revenue, securing the proper incidence of taxation, and organizing the machinery for its collection ; while the duties of the Kaṇakkan were confined to the narrow task of checking accounts and maintaining the balance-sheet. The one had necessarily to be a statesman, acquainted with the social and economic conditions of the country, the movement of prices, the nature of the season, the character of the harvest, and the enduring power of the people. The other was merely a mathematician, skilful in the manipulation of figures and the maintenance of statistics.

The Sthânapati was a highly important officer, and had the charge of foreign affairs. As a rule he stayed in the capital, but on emergencies he used to lead any embassy to foreign courts. The qualifications of the Sthânapati were indeed numerous. He had to be a careful observer, a fine speaker, a skilful diplomatist, a student of customs and etiquette, a man of polished behaviour and enticing personality. He had, under his control, an army of spies and agents, detective officers and confidential reporters, who communicated matters of political, military or other significance, transpiring in the courts or camps of foreign kings, of the viceroys and governors, and of the Polygars and vassal chiefs. It was through the spies that the king became acquainted with events of his kingdom, and the regular reports of the officers played a less important part than the communications of these secret agents. It was a system, of course, hardly conducive to that strict confidence which should exist between the king and his deputies or vassals. An atmosphere of distrust and suspicion thus pervaded the whole administration, and while it was successful in keeping the timid in the paths of honesty and duty, it rightly wounded the self-respect, and excited the displeasure, of many an honest servant of the king. But a despotism without an extensive system of espionage is, as the world's history shows, an impossible phenomenon.

The kingdom was divided, for administrative purposes, into provinces which were ruled by governors appointed by the Karta. It is difficult to say whether the governors held their offices for life or for a period. Evidently there was no rule on the subject and the duration of a governor's tenure of power depended on the Karta's will. At any rate no governor, even though he might have been governor for life, seems to have been able to legally transfer his authority to his descendants, though the hereditary principle was not without its influence. The Governor was also the commander-in-chief of the Province or Śîmai, thus combining in his hands both civil and military powers. The importance, area and resources of the provinces were not the same throughout the kingdom. Some had by their situation, their riches or their population, a special importance, and had rulers, in consequence, who were invested with special dignity and rank. The exact number of the Provinces or Śîmais into which the kingdom was divided is not known, but it is certain that there were at least seven of them. These were Satyamaṅgalam in the northern frontier, Côimbatore, Diṇḍigul, Trichinopoly or rather Maṇappârai, Madura, Śrîvilliputtûr or Naḍumaṇḍalam, and Tinnevelly. Of these, Madura and Trichinopoly were the nominal and real capitals of the kingdom and seem to have been under the direct administration of the king, guided by an officer named *Sarvâdhikâri*. Of the other provinces the governors of the turbulent district of Tinnevelly and the frontier district of Satyamaṅgalam seem to have occupied a comparatively high rank. Just as a modern province is divided, for the sake of efficient administration into districts, *taluks*

and villages, so the *Śîmai* or Province of the Nâik kingdom was divided into *Nâḍus*, and the Nâḍus into *grâmas* or villages. The villages were distinguished by the various terminations of *ûr, paṭṭi, kuḍi, kuruchchi, maṅgaḷam,* etc. An aggregate of villages formed a Nâḍu, and an aggregate of Nâḍus a Śîmai. At the head of each of these was a royal officer who looked after the collection of the revenue, watched perhaps the movements of the Polygars, and watched over the other local interests of the Karta. The revenue officer of the villages was under the control of the officer of the Nâḍu and the latter in his turn under the Provincial Governor. Most probably the Governor was under the direct control of the Pradhâni, the finance minister. The head of each political division was not only a revenue officer, but had perhaps to look after other things,—for example the muster of the local levies at the instance of the governor, the supervision of temple affairs, the supervision of the police arrangements in the villages and roads made by the *kâvalgârs* or royal servants, and so on. At the bottom of the political divisions was of course the village. It was the smallest administrative unit, and was an independent, miniature state, leading an isolated, self-sufficient existence. The Karta's officers rarely interfered in it, except in times of war and of harvest, when the Ambalahâran collected the tax through the Kaṇakkupiḷḷai or Village Accountant. The officers of a Grâma—the Mâṇiakâr or Patel, the Accountant, the Talayâri, and others were elected by the assembled people—the Mahâjana assembly of the village—which thus enjoyed a form of self-government as simple as it was effective.

Just as a modern Presidency has in its midst, native states, the Nâik Śîmai had, in the midst of government territory, indigenous kingdoms. The rulers of these paid their tribute either to the governor of the province or to the Karta direct. In the vast majority of cases they seem to have paid it to the Kaṇakkan, probably with Pradhâni's knowledge, at the time of the New-year, or the *Mahânavami*[53] festival, when they had necessarily to attend the Karta's *kolu*, in the capital. The indigenous kings seem to have been, in military matters, entirely subordinate to the Governor. For it was at his instance that they had to muster their troops. They had to accompany him as his lieutenants during distant campaigns. In regard to their correspondence with the central government I am unable to say whether they had to proceed through the Governor, or had the power to send their despatches direct. But all the chronicles clearly say that they had Sthânapatis to represent them in Madura or Trichinopoly, and it is not improbable that, in some matters at least, they dealt directly with the central government. Unfortunately we are unable to say, owing to want of materials, in what respects they had direct dealings with the government at Madura and in what respects with the provincial governors. As a whole, the relations between the Karta or his provincial representative and the vassal chiefs were cordial. The frequent mention of the Karta's grants in the territory of the latter, or of grants by the chief himself for the merit of the Karta, of hunting excursions in which both took part, and of similar events, proves that ordinarily there was a relation of harmony and mutual good-will.

Next in dignity to the indigenous kings were the Polygars, whose duties and responsibilities have been already described. It is sufficient to say that they, so far as they had to do

[53] This was at any rate the case in Vijayanagar. It is highly probable that the Naik kings of Madura adopted the same plan.

with the people who lived in their estates, did not differ in any respect from the Karta himself. They were called by their people *Râja*. Their residence was styled *palace*. Their court was also dignified by the name of *kolu*. They could, like the Karta at Madura convene a *kolu* on ceremonial occasions, and receive small gifts from the people. They lived, as a rule, in fortified villages. They had the dignities and paraphernalia of royalty. In short, in their estates they were all in all. It seems they had even the power of life-and-death. The chief judge, the supreme revenue manager, the commander, and the administrator of the Pâḷayam, the Polygar was truly a miniature king. As the policeman of the neighbouring royal territory he had an even greater influence. In relation to the Karta at Madura, he was a tributary chief. It seems he paid one-third of his revenue as tribute, besides contributing a quota of troops in accordance with his dignity and rank among the Polygars. For, different Polygars had different areas of land and so different degrees of power. Some could construct, as I have already pointed out, stone forts, while others could not. Some had more imposing paraphernalia. Some might be placed above their brother chiefs in recognition of their service to the State. The chief of Kaṇṇivâḍi, for example,[54] was the head of the 18 Polygars of Dindigul Śîmai; and as such he had the right of leading the van in the royal army. Real service was sometimes rewarded with the honour of being the bodyguard of the Karta. Manuscripts say that the Polygars had their own officers for the internal administration of their estates. They seem to have had a *Sarvâdhikâri* or *Dîwân*; a Kârwâr; etc. to help them in the collection of revenue, the maintenance of the police, and so on. In their estates also, as in royal territory, the village was self-sufficient and independent.

From all this it is evident that the Nâik kingdom was divided into Śîmais, petty kingdoms and Pâḷayams, Nâḍus, Mâgâṇas (a collection of a few villages) and villages. There was thus a certain plan or organization of the administrative system. But there was a fatal weakness in it. There was a lamentable lack of efficiency. As Wilks points out, the central authority was weak and provincial chieftains always tended to become independent kings. The strength of imperial unity (Madura, in fact, seemed to be an Empire rather than a kingdom,) depending more on the character of the monarch or Karta than on the system of government. If he was a strong man the vassals were willing, for their own sakes, to pay allegiance; if not, they flouted the royal viceroy or representative, withheld tribute, oppressed their subjects with impunity, and warred with their neighbours without check. And yet the central government was far more attracted by the barren laurels of foreign wars than by the safer and even more indispensable work of internal organization. Foolish and presumptuous, the Kartas cared more for a showy and enterprising armed engagement with a foreign power than for a strong, sound constitution based on popular welfare and imperial responsibility. Even Vijayanagar suffered under this defect. "The external appearance," says Wilks, "of the general government was brilliant and imposing; its internal organization feeble and irregular; foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance at the court of Vijayanagar."[55] The Nâik kingdom suffered from the same cause of weakness. Again and again the State was engaged in wars with Mysore, with Tanjore, with the Muhammadans and so on. The MS. histories are full of these wars, as we have already seen ; but they are completely silent in

[54] See the *Genealogical Account of the Kaṇṇivâḍi Chiefs.* [55] Wilks, Vol. I, p. 13.

regard to the governmental machinery or system of administration. Where they speak of internal politics, they speak only of Polygar risings, and these are eloquent testimony of the want of system in the then administration.

Another source of weakness was the doubtful system of inheritance which then prevailed. "The Hindoo system of policy, jurisprudence and religion, affects still more strongly than any European code, the rights of hereditary succession ; but the sons are all co-heirs ; and the faint distinction in favour of the eldest son is limited by the express condition, that he shall be worthy of the charge. But unhappily there is nothing so difficult to determine as the relative worth of opposing claimants ; and in the pretensions to royalty, the double question of divine favour and superior merit must, in spite of reason, be decided by the sword."[56] Hence the frequent disputes and wars of succession. In the Nâik kingdom the problem of fraternal jealousy and ambition was evidently as pressing as in the more ancient Hindu State ; but it seems that an earnest and sincere attempt to solve it was made, and with a fair degree of success, by the Nâik kings. They generally appointed their brothers or rivals to responsible offices in the empire, and reserved the dignified station of *Chinna Dorai*, or second in power, to the immediately younger brother. That is why we find some of the MSS. mentioning two rulers at once. It is also evident that sometimes both the rulers had the same status, that is, jointly inherited the throne. The position of the dual kings who immediately followed Kumâra Krishṇappa seems to have been of this nature. But as a rule, there was only one *Karta* ; the *Chinna Dorai* was his younger brother, not necessarily his heir ; and he could ascend the throne only in case his elder brother left no son to inherit his crown and title. This arrangement had a wholesome result. It gratified the ambition of a strong brother by enabling him to serve the State faithfully. It ensured the loyalty of a dangerous person, -a possible centre of intrigues and a source of succession plots. But the arrangement was not always a success, as it did not sometimes satisfy the ambition of a brother, and as it gave rise to two other difficulties. Was the Chinna Dorai the heir to the throne when the reigning king left an illegitimate son, or was he not ? Again, was his claim valid when the king's widow adopted a son and supported his candidature ? Both these questions arose in the Nâik history. On the death of Tirumal Nâik, for instance, there was a dispute between his younger brother, the Chinna Dorai Kumâra Muttu, and his illegitimate son Muttu Aḷakâdri. The courtiers were in favour of the latter and eventually secured the allegiance of the late Chinna Dorai by the gift of a large tract of land. The second question arose after Vijaya Raṅga Chokkanâtha's death in 1731. His queen Mînâkshi adopted a boy and crowned him, but he was opposed by Baṅgâru Tirumala, her husband's cousin and second in power. It was this dispute that led, as we shall see, to Muhammadan interference and the extinction of the Nâik dynasty itself. The indefinite nature of the law of inheritance thus caused civil wars or dangerous plots, and eventually ruined the dynasty itself.

(*To be continued.*)

[56] Wilks, Vol. I, p. 17, 23, etc The history of Mysore is full of disputed successions for the throne. The same was the case, though to a smaller extent, in Madura.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJARATI AND MARWARI.

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(*Continued from p.* 105.)

The clue to the right explanation is given by the absolute construction of the past participle, which has been dealt with under § 128, (2). Past participles used absolutely in the locative case are very frequent in Apabhramça. The same practice has been retained by the Old Western Râjasthânî and by most of the cognate vernaculars. It is from such locative absolute participles that the Old Western Râjasthânî conjunctive participle in ° *î* has derived, through ° *i-i* being contracted into ° *î*, much in the same way as in the case of instrumental forms in ° *î* (See §§ 10, (3), 53, 59). Thus from *kari-i* (the locative from *kariu*), the conjunctive participle *karî* was originated.[41]

By comparing the examples of absolute locative past participles given under § 128, (2), with the examples of conjunctive participles given under the present head, one cannot fail to notice that the latter are formed from past participles in ° *iu*, whereas the former are formed either from past participles in ° *yaü* or from past participles in ° *aü* that are not derived from the stem of the present. This possibly explains why the ones were contracted into ° *î* and the others were not, ° *ii* possessing a stronger tendency towards contraction than ° *aï*. Thus, in the following examples from *Âdi C.*, ° *ii*, to avoid contraction, was turned into ° *aï :*

pacaï âhâra karaü "Having cooked, eat!" (p. 8*b*).

varasa pûraï thayaï "An year having been completed" (p. 10*b*).

(Cf. the case of singular feminine locatives and instrumentals in ° *aï* (from ° *ii*), like *mugataï* from *mugati*, *vidhaï* from *vidhi*, etc.).

The correctness of my view is further corroborated :

(1) By the locative postpositions *naï*, *karî* (from *kari-i*) being added to the conjunctive participle, a fact which cannot be explained unless by admitting that the latter is also a locative form. It is noteworthy that in some modern vernaculars the entire form *kanaï* (from which, according to my derivation (§ 71, (2), *naï* is a curtailment) has survived as an appendage to the conjunctive participle. Cf. Mewâṛî *-kne* (Kellogg, *Hindî Grammar*, § 498), Baghelkhaṇḍî *kanâî* and Naipâlî *kana* ;

(2) By the analogy of the cognate vernaculars, which also use the past participle absolutely to give the meaning of the conjunctive participle. To confine myself to a single but very comprehensive case, I may cite the example of Hindî, where absolute participles inflected in ° *e* (< ° *a-i* < ° *a-hi*, possibly a locative) are common enough. A number of illustrations will be found in Kellogg's *Hindî Grammar*, § 754 (2). In the Old Baiswâṛî of Tulasî Dâsa, such absolute participles are very frequent and they are used exactly in the same function of the conjunctive participle of Modern Hindî. Take the following examples :

kachuka kâla bîte saba bhâî | baḍe bhaye "A short time having elapsed, all the brothers grew big" (*Râmacaritamânasa*, i, 203).

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[41] In some few cases, the Old Western Râjasthânî conjunctive participle might be traced back to an original instrumental as well, and all the more so as the instrumental is on the whole identical in form with the locative. Cf. the following passage from *Daç.* v :

kisaï karamî -karî majha -rahaï e phala hûyã "kiṃ kṛtvâ mame' daṃ phalaṃ jâtam ?"

samaya cuke puni kâ pachitâne "Once the proper time is over, what is the use of regretting ?" (*Ibid.*, i, 261);

(3) By the evidence of such Naipâlî conjunctive participles as *gai* (-*kana*) from *jânu* "To go," and *bhai* (-*kana*) from *hunu* "To be" (Kellogg, *Op. cit.*, § 521), which afford the most positive proof, if possible, that the conjunctive participle is originally formed from the past participle and not from the verbal root.

§ 132. The conjunctive participle is used in combination with verbs like *sakavaũ* "To be able," *jâvaũ* "To go," *nā̃khavaũ* "To throw away," *rahavaũ* "To remain," etc., to form **potentials** and **intensives**. Such a construction of the conjunctive participle is common to most of the Neo-Indian vernaculars and, in the case of potentials, it can be traced as back as the Prakrit, sundry instances of potentials with the conjunctive participle in °*ûṇa* occurring in the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî of Dharmadâsa's *Uvaesamâlâ*. To account for the Old Western Râjasthânî employing the conjunctive participle in °*î* (an original locative) in this connection, we need but refer to the Sanskrit, where the verb √*çak* is very frequently construed with verbal nouns in the locative.

Examples of potentials are:

navi nîsarî sakaï "Cannot come out" (P. 53)

haũ kima jaî sakaũ "How could I go" (P. 501)

bolî na sakaï "Cannot speak" (Yog. iii, 70)

sakii âgi nivârî "Fire can be averted" (Indr. 9), in which last example *sakavaũ* is used passively exactly like *çakyate* in Sanskrit.

Examples of intensives are:

trûṭî jâi "Goes to pieces" (Bh. 74)

aneka varasa vahî gayā̃ "Many years passed away" (Dd. 5)

te chidra milî gayaü "The hole close up" (Dd. 8)

diso-disaĩ ûḍâḍi nā̃khyaü "Was blown up into all directions" (Dd. 9)

joî rahiu "Remained looking on" (P. 289)

ekendrî saghalā̃ loka-mā̃hi vyâpî rahyâ chaï "*Ekendriyas* are spread over all the worlds" (F 602, 1)

§ 133. The **gerundive** is formed by adding to the verbal root the termination -*ivaü* > -*avaü*. Apabhraṃça has -*evvaü*, -*ievvaü* and possibly also *-*evaü* (cf. -*evâ*), from Sanskrit *-*eyyakaḥ* (See Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.*, §§ 254, 570). It is a real *participium necessitatis* and is used like an adjective in agreement with the subject. Examples are:

eka karivaü upâya "A means must be adopted" (P. 18)

mâharaü aparâdha khamivaü "Let my offence be forgiven" (Âdi C.)

hiṃsâ na karavî "Injury should not be done" (Yog. ii, 21)

anerî kalatra varjavî "Another's wife should be avoided (*Ibid.*, ii, 76)

asatyapaṇũ chā̃ḍivũ "Falsehood is to be abandoned" (*Ibid.*, ii, 56)

yatna karivũ "One must strive" (Indr. 4)

te dhîra subhaṭa jâṇivâ "They are to be regarded as strong warriors" (*Ibid.*, 44).

In poetry -*êvaü* is often written for -*ivaü*, as in:

kâja karêv[*a*]*ũ* "One should act" (P. 96)

ṭhā̃mi dharêvâ bê-u "Both should be kept at their [proper] place" (*Ibid.*, 105).

§ 134. The **infinitive** is formed in two different ways in Old Western Râjasthânî, **viz.**: (1) by the termination -*ivaũ* > -*avaũ*; (2) by the termination -*aṇa*.

I need spend no words to show that the infinitive in *-ivaū̃* is but the neuter of the gerundive, used substantively. It is inflected into *-ivaī̃* in the instrumental, *-ivâ* in the oblique-genitive, and *-ivaï* in the locative case, and instances are also found of its being inflected in the plural accusative and instrumental.

Examples of the various cases are :

NOM. SING. : *pâchaū̃ valivaū̃* "To turn back" (Daç. iv)

dā̃ta-nā̃ dhoivū̃ "The cleaning of the teeth" (*Ibid.*, iii, 3).

INSTR. SING. : *avarṇavâda bolavaī̃* "By speaking ill of" (Âdi. 65),

sâcaī̃ jâṇivaī̃ karî "çuddha-jñânena" (Ṣaṣṭ. 68).

GEN.-OBL. SING. (governed by postpositions) :

gaṇivâ-taṇaī̃ kāraṇi nahī̃ samartha huī "Is not able to number" (Kal. 3)

râtri jimavâ-tu "In consequence of eating by night" (Yog. iii, 67)

teha-mâhi âvivâ-nî anujñā̃ "Permission to enter therein" (Çrâ.)

dekhavâ-nimattaī̃ "In order to see" (Dd. 7)

khâivâ-nî vā̃châ "Desire of eating" (Âdi C.)

LOC. SING. : *kriyâ karivaï* "In doing an action" (Mu.)

artha-naï dharivaï tapa nirarthaka thâi "When property is kept, penance becomes unfruitful" (Up. 51)

ACC. PLUR. : *çikhyâ -nā̃ devā̃ sahaī̃* "They bear instruction-impartings [by others]" (*Ibid.* 154).

INSTR. PLUR. : *ehve kareve tapa jâi* "By such doings, penance is destroyed" (*Ibid.*, 115),

aneka vikathâ'dika-ne bolave "By several ways of talking, such as improper speech, etc." (*Ibid.*, 224).

Besides being used in connection with postpositions, as shown above, the genitive oblique form in *-ivâ* is also commonly employed as an object to verbs like *lâgavaū̃, devaū̃, pâmavaū̃, vā̃chavaū̃* to form inchoatives, permissives, acquisitives and desideratives. Examples :

INCHOATIVE : *ghara pâḍevâ lâgâ* "[They] began to demolish the building" (Kânh. 95),

cī̃tavivâ lâgaü "[He] began to reflect" (Âdi C.)

PERMISSIVE : *svâmî bhavya-jîva-naï dharma-thakî cûkavâ na diī̃* "The Lord does not allow the pious to deviate from religion" (Çrâ.)

ACQUISITIVE : *païsivâ na pā̃maī̃* "[He] cannot obtain entrance" (Dd. 1)

câlavâ ko navi lahi "No one can succeed in walking" (Ṛṣ. 2)

DESIDERATIVE : *olhavavâ vā̃chaï* "Wishes to extinguish" (Yog. ii, 82)

jîpavâ vā̃chaï "Wishes to conquer" (Yog. iii, 134)[42]

In the following passage from *Çil.* 107, the genitive-oblique form in *-ivâ* is also used to form the potential :

bhā̃jivâ na sakaï "Cannot break."

According to the statement in the *Mu.* (Grierson's *L. S. I.*, Vol. ix, Pt. ii, p. 362)—which in the same is not evidenced by any example, however—, the genitive-oblique form in *-ivâ* may be used as an infinitive of purpose. Instances thereof are frequent enough in Old Western Râjasthânî texts. Let me quote but a few ones, chiefly from *P.* :

[42] *Daç.* v an instance occurs of the accusative in °*aū̃* being substituted for the genitive-oblique form in °*ivâ*, to wit:

marivaū̃ na vā̃chaī̃ "[They] do not wish to die".

haũ tujha[43] *milavâ âviu* "I have come to meet thee" (P. 343)

rāṇī âvyâ joivâ "The queen went to see" (P. 350)

jaṇa jovâ dhâyâ "The people ran to see" (P. 397)

jimavâ baïṭhaü "[He] sat down to eat" (Çâl. 26).

In the following, the genitive-oblique of purpose is actually governed by the postposition for the dative :

savi kahivâ-naï gayaü "[He] went to tell every one" (P. 544)

The infinitive in *-aṇa* seems to have been very rare in the Old Western Râjasthânî. The only instances thereof I have met with are :

rakṣaṇa kâji "To take care of [him]" (P. 57)

teḍaṇa gayâ "[They] went to summon" (F 535, iii, 6)

moha jîpaṇa[44] *hetaĩ* "For the purpose of conquering delusion" (F 535, iv, 3)

dukhii phâṭaṇa lâg[i]ũ hĩũ "From distress [their] heart began to break" (Çâl. 209).

In the two examples following, instead of the weak form in *-aṇa*, a strong form in *-aṇaũ* is used :

çarîra-naï ugaṭaṇũ (for *-ṇaũ*) "gâtrasyo' dvarttanam" (Daç., iii, 5)

siṃghâsaṇa melhiũ baïsaṇaï "A seat was given for sitting" (Çâl. 109).

The Old Western Râjasthânî infinitive in *-aṇa* is identical with Apabhraṃça *-aṇa* < Skt. *-ana*, namely a substantive by origin. As it has not survived in Modern Gujarâtî, it may practically be considered as a Râjasthânî peculiarity.

§ **135**. The **noun of agency** is obtained by adding *-hâra* to the infinitive in *-aṇa*, or—what is practically the same—by adding *-aṇahâra* to the root. Thus from *karaṇa* (inf.) *karaṇahâra* (Indr. 13), from *deṇa* (inf.) *deṇahâra* (Yog. ii, 20). It is generally used uninflected, especially when in the masculine. Example :

cihu gati-nâ anta-naü karaṇahâra (Sing. masc.) "Causer of the end of the four conditions of life" (Çrâ.)

mokṣa-padavî-nâ deṇahâra (Plur. masc.) "Granters of the station of final emancipation" (F 580).

When in the feminine, however, it is as a rule inflected into *-î* (*-i*). Ex.:

jovaṇahârî "Looker" (Indr. 99)

kalesa-nî karaṇahârî "Causer of trouble" (*Ibid.* 38).

The noun of agency is generally construed as a substantive, *viz.*, with the genitive. In the following example from *Yog.*, it seems to be exceptionally used as a verb, *viz.*, governing the accusative case :

hita-naĩ karaṇahârî "hitakâriṇî" (Yog. ii, 50).

In the same MS. *Yog.*, beside *-aṇahâra*, we meet also with the terminations : (*-anâhâra*), *anahâra*, *anhâra*, which are the intermediate forms between the former and Modern Gujarâtî *-anâra*. In *Up.*, after vocalic roots, we have also : *-ṇhâra*, *-ṇâhra*, *-ṇâra*, as in :

deṇhâra Up. 268, from the verbal root *de*,

huṇâhru, *huṇâru* Up. 101, from the verbal root *hu*.

I explain the termination *-aṇahâra* as having arisen from a contraction of the genitive form of the infinitive in *-aṇa* with the noun *kâra*, meaning "Doer". Thus from Apabhraṃça * *pâlaṇaha kâra* "Causer of protection", we have *pâlaṇahâra* "Protector" (Çrâ.), by elision of *k*, quite in the same way as from Apabhraṃça * *maha kâraü* (see § 83,

[43] Here *tujha* is sufficient to show that *milavâ* is practically considered as a substantive.

[44] MS. *jîpana*.

and cf. Pischel's *Prakr. Gramm.*, § 434) we have *mahâraü* "My". The same may be shown to be the case with the cognate vernaculars. Thus the termination *-anehārau*, *-anehâra*, which is common to Braja and High Hindi, is from **-aṇahi kâra*, namely from the oblique-genitive in *-ahi*, which is peculiar of the above-mentioned dialects. Ex.:

Ap. ** dharaṇahi kâraü* > ** dharaṇahi(k)âraü* > ** dharaṇaïhâraü* > Braja *dharanehârau*.

To the same oblique-genitive in *-ahi* is to be traced the termination *-anevâlau*, *-anevâla*, which also occurs in both Braja and High Hindi, the only difference being in *h* being elided, instead of transposed, and *v* being inserted to avoid hiatus. Ex.:

Ap. ** chaḍḍaṇahi kâraü* > ** châḍaneâraü* > Braja *châḍanevârau* > *châḍanevâlau*.

Insertion of euphonic *v* likewise took place in Mârwâṛî, which possesses two forms of the noun of agency, to wit: *-aṇâvâḷo* and *-avâvâḷo*, the former from the infinitive in *-aṇaũ*, and the latter from the infinitive in *-avaũ*.

§ 136. The **passive voice** is formed by adding *îj*, *î(y)* to the root. The former of the two affixes is by far the less common in use, it being chiefly confined to the three verbs *karavaũ*, *devaũ* and *levaũ* and to a few other cases; but it seems to be the older, and it is possibly from it that the latter has derived. In the materials hitherto available for the Apabhraṃça, the passive affix *ijj* is the only occurring, and even in the *Prâkṛta-Paiṅgala*, where *ijj* is turned into *îj* (see Introduction), no traces are found of the affix *î*. The only exception I know of, would be made by *pâviaï* (=Skt. *prâpyate*, *Siddhahem.*, iv, 366), provided it is from ** pâvîaï*. The absence of passives in *-îaï* in the Apabhraṃça is the best argument in favour of my viewing the *î(y)* affix of the Old Western Râjasthânî as having arisen from *ijj* > *îj*, and therefore having no connection with the *î* affix of Çaurasenî and Mâgadhî. We have seen that in Old Western Râjasthânî *j* is not unfrequently changed to *y* (§ 22), and in the terminations of the precative: *aje* > *aye*; *ajo* > *ayo* (§ 120), we have an illustration which is very analogous to the *îjaï* > *îyaï* of the passive. Possibly, at the time of *y* being substituted for *j* in the writing, there was not a great difference in the pronunciation of the two sounds, and afterwards *y* came to loose its force as a consonant and to be employed much in the same function of the *yaçruti* of Jaina Prakrit. This explains how the 3rd sing. present passive termination *-îyaï* was curtailed into *-îi*, *y* having lost its force and *a* being absorbed by the preceding *î* (Cf. § 17). No doubt MSS. often write *-îy*, when they mean *-îj*, and so it is not always possible safely to distinguish one termination from the other. *Âdi C.* optionally shortens *î* to *i*.

Modern Gujarâtî has *î* only in *-îe*, a 3rd sing. present passive form which is used in a reflexive sense as a substitute for the 1st plur. active (see §§ 117, 137), and in all other cases substitutes the potential passive in *â* (§ 140). Modern Mârwâṛî has *îj*.

§ 137. From the passive root in *îj*, *î(y)*, various tenses are formed by the same terminations as in the regular active voice. Three tenses are evidenced, *viz.*, present, future, and present participle.

Examples of the **present passive** are:

1 in *-îjaï*:

kîjaï Mu., P., ÂdiC. < Ap. *kijjaï* < Skt. *kriyate*
dîjaï Mu., P. 488 < Ap. *dijjaï* < Skt. *dîyate*
lîjaï Mu., Kal. 18, Âdi. 11, Pr. 3 < Ap. *lijjaï* < Skt. **lîyate*
pîjaï Up. 96 < Ap. *pijjaï* < Skt. *pîyate*
kahîjaï Âdi. C. < Ap. *kahijjaï* < Skt. *kathyate*
pâmîjaï Çâl. 80 < Ap. *pâvijjaï* < Skt. *prâpyate*

bhogavijaï Yog., iv, 69.
mûkijaï P. 525.
In the two following, we have *-âj, -aj* from Ap. *-ajj* :
khâjaï Bh. 7 (Cf. *khâjatî,* § 139) < Ap. *khajjaï* < Skt. *khâdyate*
nipajaï F 535 < Ap. *ṇippajjaï* < Skt. *niṣpadyate*
2 in *-iyaï (-îaï)* :
dîyaï, lîyaï P. < *dijaï, lîjaï* (See the foregoing paragraph)
karîyaï P. 590, Çrâ., Dd. 5 < *karîjaï* < Ap. *karijjaï* < Skt. *kriyate*
kahîyaï Çrâ., F 627 < *kahîjaï* (See the foregoing paragraph)
jaîyaï P. 590, 617 < *jaîjaï* < Ap. *jâijjaï* < Skt. **yâyate* "Itur"
joîaï Âdi C. < *joîjaï* <Ap. *joijjaï* < Skt. **dyotyate* "Videtur"[45]
gaṇîyaï Âdi. 32
bhaṇîyaï F 663, 55
ramîyaï P. 244.
3 in *-ii* :
karii Bh. 32, Indr. 4 < *karî(y)aï* (§ 17) < *karîjaï*
dharîi Bh. 7 < *dharî(y)aï* < *dharîjaï*
kahîi F 715, i, 10
jâṇîi Bh. 93
vâvîi Daç. iv
karâvîi F 722.

As already stated § 136, *Âdi C.* often has *-iaï*. Ex. : *mâriaï, joiaï, kahiaï, pûjiaï,* for *mârî(y)aï, joî(y)aï* etc. A passive, in which the original *y* element is no longer visible, is *dîsaï* (P. 185, 479), from Apabhraṃça *dîsaï* < Skt. *dṛçyate.*

The **passive compound present** is formed by the addition of *chaï* in the same way as the active (§ 118). Ex.: *kahîaï chaï* (Âdi C.)

In the MSS. I have seen, I have found evidence only of the 3rd person singular and plural of the present passive. The former is of course much more common, and it is employed in a variety of meanings, and quite often construed impersonally in substitution for all persons. It is used in the potential meaning in :

jîpîi sukhî karî "Can be easily subdued" (Indr. 71)
e kâca -nî syũ karîyaï "What can be done with this glass ?" (Dd. 5) ;
in the imperative meaning in :
havaï chaḍîjaï gãma "Let us now leave [this] village" (Çâl. 12)
kîjaï para-ghari kâma "Let us serve in a stranger's house". (*Ibid.*) ;
in the conditional meaning in :
jima samudra-naĩ pûrva-naĩ paryantaĩ jhûsiro (for°*raü*) ***mũkîyaï anaï teha-nî samila pachima-disĩ mũkiyaï*** "As, if one were to throw a yoke into the Eastern end of the Ocean, and the peg thereof into the Western quarter . . . . ." (Dd. 8) ;
in the gerundive meaning in :
syũ chĩḍîi "What should be abandoned ?" (Pr. 2).
syũ dhyâîi "What should be meditated upon ?" (*Ibid.* 19).

In the two examples quoted above to illustrate the imperative meaning, we have a clear instance of how the impersonal passive may be used in substitution for the 1st person plural. Take two other examples from *P.* :

eka jiva âpîyaï prabhâti "[We] shall deliver [to you] a [living] being [every] morning" (P. 405)

[45] Whence Modern Gujarâtî *joîe.*

câlaü jaîyaï "Come, let us go!" (P. 617)

Now, this employment of the impersonal passive to give the meaning of the 1st plural of the active, is particularly important inasmuch as it is therefrom that the hitherto unexplained Gujarâtî termination for the 1st plural present indicative (see § 117) has originated. Only contract *âpîyaï* into *âpîe* in the last-but-one quotation above, and you will practically see how easily Gujarâtî could substitute the impersonal passive for the 1st plural of the present active. Probably, the chief reason that lead to the substitution is the necessity of establishing a visible distinction between the terminations of the 1st and 2nd persons plural, which in Old Western Râjasthânî differ only in that the former is nasalized and the latter not, and which in Modern Gujarâtî, if they were both regularly contracted into *-o*, could no more be distinguished from one another. It is out of the same reason, I think, that Mârwâṛî contracts *-aũ* into *-ã* (§§ 11 (5), 117), and Gujarâtî for the 1st person plural of the future employs the weak form *-ũ* instead of the strong **-o*.

Examples of the Old Western Râjasthânî impersonal passive, used in substitution for other persons than the 1st plural, are:

ramîyaï dûti divasa naï râti "I indulge in game day and night" (P. 244)

siũ karîyaï kihã jaîyaï havaï "What am I to do [and] where am I to go now"? (P. 590)

te dhûrata-naï dîyaï dîkha "To that rascal [he] gives the initiation" (P. 280)

dekhî sasaü dîyaï bahu gâli "Having seen the hare, [the lion] reviles [him] much" (P. 407)

teḍî ũṭa dîyaï chaï mãna "Having summoned the camel, [they] honour [him]" (P. 479).

§ 138. Examples of the **future passive** are:

1 in *îj*:

kîjasî "It will be done" (Âdi C.)

jâijasî "Ibitur" (*Ibid.*)

lîjisyaï "It will be taken" (*Ibid.*)

2 in *î*:

kahîsyaï, kahîsii "It will be said" (F 555, Çrâ.)

bolîsiĩ "It will be told" (Daç. V, 100)

vakhâṇîsyaï "It will be described" (Çrâ)

parâbhavîsiu "You will be overcome" (Up. 18)

pâmîsyaĩ "They will be obtained" (Ṣaṣṭ. 96).

In the two examples following the 3rd singular form is used in the impersonal construction, quite in the same way as the 3rd singular present passive:

marîsii "[Every one] shall have to die" (Up. 205)

mãmâ kima jîvîsii kahaü "O uncle! tell [us] how we shall live!" (P. 383)

§ 139. Examples of the **present participle passive** are:

1 in *îj*:

lîjataü "Being taken" (Ṣaṣṭ. 55)

sevîjataü "Being attended upon" (Âdi C.)

pîjataü hũtaũ "Being drunk" (Up. 96)

The following is in *âj*, from Apabhraṃça *ajj* :

khâjatî "Being eaten up" < Ap. **khajjantî* (= Skt. *khâdyamânâ*)

2 in *î* :

avalokîtu "Being gazed upon" (Indr. 36)

jâṇîtaü hũtaü "Being known" (Ṣaṣṭ. 81)

nākhîtu hũtu "Being fully surrounded by . . ." (Daç. X)

pîḍîtu "Being tormented" (Yog. ii, 79)

mârîtu hũtu "Being beaten" (Yog. ii, 26)

musîtaü "Being stolen" (Ṣaṣṭ. 5)

A survival of the present participle passive in Gujarâtî is *joîtu*, from *joie* < OWR. *joîyaï* < *joîjaï* (See § 137)

§ **140.** The **potential passive** has since long been recognized as a causative that has assumed a reflexive or passive meaning. See the arguments and illustrations produced by Dr. Hoernle, § 484 of his *Gauḍian Grammar.* In Old Western Râjasthâni, the potential passive root is obtained by adding *â* to the root of the active verb, and it is conjugated in exactly the same way as the latter. An important feature of this passive is that it generally implies a potential sense, though in the course of time it has gone gradually loosing its original peculiar meaning, and nowadays Gujarâtî employs it simply in the ordinary passive sense. The development of the potential meaning from the causative may be explained easily, and is well illustrated by the example following:

chetarâi nahî parîkṣâ-naü jâṇa (Âdi C.) "He, who is skilled in the art of testing [gold], does not allow himself to be deceived [by brass] > . . cannot be deceived [by brass]."

Other illustrations of the use of the potential passive in Old Western Râjasthânî are:

PRESENT : *samudra pâṇîî dohilu pûrâî* "The sea can difficultly be filled with water" (Indr. 62)

sarva pâpa-mala-thakî mukâî "[They] can be (or are) released from all impurity of sin" (F 576, 67)

tumhô abhakṣ[y]a -māhi kahivâya "You are reckoned amongst [those animals, whose flesh] is not to be eaten" (P. 493)

thiu garaḍhaü na[vi] haṇâi mîna "[He] has grown old and can no [longer] kill fishes" (P. 379), in which last example *haṇâi* is used impersonally, much after the way of the passive proper.

FUTURE : *naraka-rûpîy[â] vaiçvânara-māhi pacâisi* "[Thou] wilt be roasted in the fire of hell" (Indr. 76)

PRESENT PARTICIPLE : *viṣaya-sukha âja-ï lagaï mūkâtâ nathî* "Sensual enjoyments cannot yet be discarded" (Indr. 10).

§ **141. Causals** may be divided into four classes, to wit :

1. Causals formed by lengthening the radical vowel. Looking at their general meaning, these would be better called "transitives", but, since they have originated from the Sanskrit habit of lengthening the radical vowel to form the causal, terming them as causals is more correct from the point of view of historical grammar.

They are formed from intransitives. Ex. :

ûtâraï "Lays down" (Âdi C.), from *ûtaraï* "Alights"

pâḍaï "Throws down" (Up. 180, Dd. 2), from *paḍaï* "Falls."

(*To be continued.*)

BAUDDHA VESTIGES IN KANCHIPURA

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A.; TRIVANDRUM.

Kâñchîpura (Conjeevaram) is one of the seven most ancient and famous cities of India; it is mentioned in the *Mahâbhâshya* of Patañjali, whose age is placed by scholars somewhere about the middle of the 4th century before the Christian era. Besides being remarkable as a beautiful city, Kâñchîpura was always a great seat of learning. In it dwelt men of various religious persuasions and schools of different systems of philosophies. The Vêdic professors lived side by side with the professors of non-Vêdic philosophies, such as the Jaina and the Bauddha. That all these religions were equally treated by the ancient kings may be inferred from the fact that the early Pallava rulers of the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam assumed such names as Buddhavarman, Skandavarman and Paramêśvaravarman—names which perhaps indicated the sects to which they individually belonged. We are at present concerned with the period of Bauddha dominancy at Kâñchîpura, and therefore let us confine our attention to Buddhism and the Bauddha vestiges found in and around Kâñchîpura.

Yuan Chwang states that, when he visited Kan-chi-pu-lo (Kâñchîpura), it was about thirty *li* in circuit. "The region had a rich fertile soil; it abounded in fruits and flowers and yielded precious substances. The people were courageous, thoroughly trustworthy, and public-spirited, and they esteemed great learning; in their written and spoken language they differed from 'Mid-India.' There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with above 10,000 Brethren all of the Sthavira School. The Dêva Temples were 80, and the majority belonged to the Digambaras. This country had been frequently visited by the Buddha, and king Aśôka had erected topes at the various spots where the Buddha had preached and admitted members into his order. The capital [Kâñchîpura, of the Ta-lo-pi-tu or Drâviḍa country] was the birth-place of Dharmapâla Pûsa[1], who was the eldest son of the high official of the city . . . . . Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Aśôka tope above 100 feet high, where the Buddha had once defeated Tîrthakas by preaching, and had received many into his communion. Near it were traces of a sitting-place and exercise-walk of the four Past Buddhas."[2] Thus we gather from the testimony of this eye-witness that Kâñchîpura not only had a large Buddha population but many places of public worship in the 7th century A. D.

The statements of the Chinese pilgrim are borne out by the descriptions we meet with in the *Maṇimêkhalai*, one of the five famous epic poems of the Tamil Classic Period. We are here told that the heroine Maṇimêkhalai was advised by her grandfather to assume the form of a young monk and to seek instruction in their respective philosophies from the learned in the Vaidîka, Śaiva, Vaishṇava, Âjîvaka, Nirgrantha, Sâṅkhya, Vaiśêshika and Lôkâyatika religions at Kâñchîpura, and to embrace that one which satisfied her best. While there, she visited the Buddhist Chaitya erected by Kiḷḷi, a Chôḷa prince. On her arrival being made known to the then reigning king of Kâñchi, he paid a visit to her with all his ministers and showed her the grove and tank which he had caused to be made in imitation of those in the island of Maṇipallavam; and at her request the king erected a seat for Buddha and temples for the goddesses Dîpa-tilakai and Maṇimêkhalai.

[1] He was a Hînayânist monk, who appears to have been converted to Mahâyânism when he went to N. India. He was a professor in the famous University of Nâlanda at the time Yuan Chwang visited that place.

[2] Watter's *Translation*, Vol. II., p. 226.

That the Bauddhas were in existence at Kâñchi in the days of the Śaiva saint Tirujñâna-sambandha, that is, in the middle of the seventh century A. D. appears to be certain; for he refers to them by the names *Bôdhiyâr* (the worshippers of the *bôdhi* tree) *Thèras*, as also by the description of their monks as the wearers of mats for their garments.

Then again there is the tradition that Śaṅkarâchârya, the great Vêdântic teacher, vanquished the Bauddhas in a religious wrangle and drove them out of Kâñchi. A similar tradition exists in connection with the Jaina priest Akaḷaṅka, who is said to have challenged before king Himasîtala of Kâñchi the Bauddhas residing in that city to a religious dispute, and to have won a complete victory over them. Thus a large number of accounts, both historical and legendary, exists in proof of the predominance of the Bauddha influence and the existence of Bauddha places and objects of worship in Kâñchipura, even so late as the 9th century A. D.

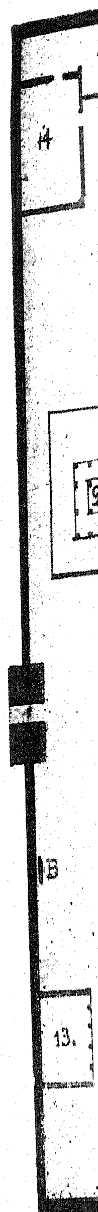
The question thus naturally arises, that while the Jaina temples are still in existence, what became of the places and objects of worship of the Bauddhas ? Modern scholars, who have written on the antiquities of Kâñchîpura, the Pallava supremacy in Kâñchi, and on other similar subjects, have all uniformly deplored the paucity of sculptural and architectural materials to corroborate the truth of the statements made by Yuan Chwang and others concerning the Bauddha occupation of Conjeevaram. It may be stated without fear of contradiction that most of these authors have done little or nothing in the direction of tracing vestiges of Buddhism in Kâñchîpura. Unfortunately the official archæologists do not also appear to have paid that amount of attention which this most interesting place deserves. In the course of a twelve hours active search, I came upon no less than five images of Buddha within a radius of half a mile from the famous temple of Kâmâkshidêvi. I was also told that two other megalithic images of Buddha lie buried in a garden adjoining the same temple. I give below a short description of the images and the places where they are found.

The first and the most remarkable of these five figures is a standing image of Buddha Fig. I. It is found in the first *prâkâra* of the Kâmâkshidêvî's temple, at the place marked A on the ground plan of that temple, a sketch of which is separately given. The total height of the image, including the pedestal, is 7 feet 10 inches, and the detailed measurements are as follows :—

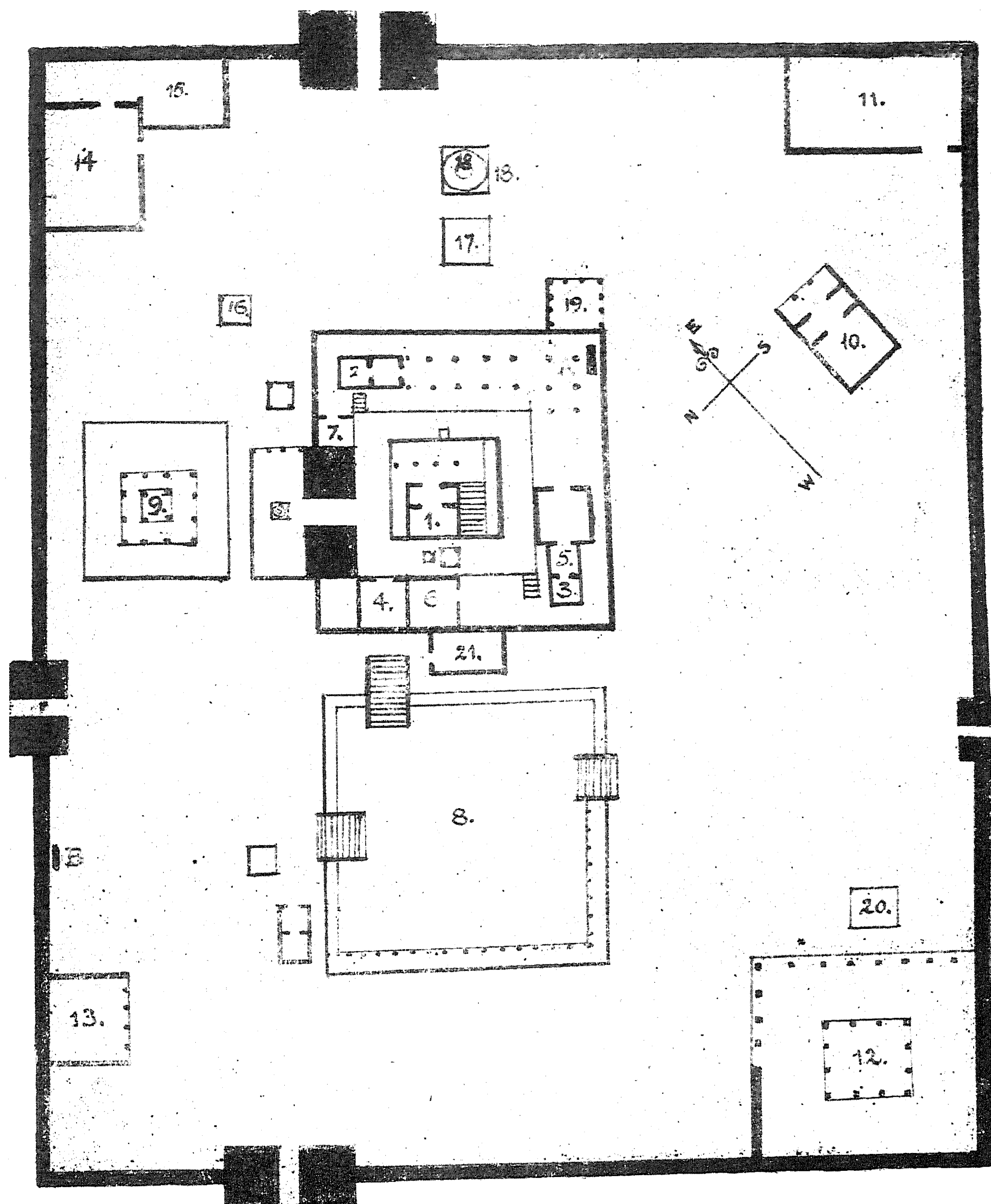
Height of the image without the pedestal, ...	7 feet.
Height of the pedestal alone, ...	10 inches.
Width across the shoulders, ...	2 feet.
Length of the face, ...	9 inches.[3]
Breadth of the face, ...	8 inches.
Height of the neck, ...	2½ inches.

Its two hands are broken; wherefore it is not possible to state definitely what they carried; presumably the right hand was held in the *abhaya* pose and the left carried an alms-bowl. The nose of the image is much worn; otherwise the image is in an excellent state of preservation. The long flowing robes descending from the left hand and the folds of the same over the right thigh are exquisitely worked out. The present position of the image with respect to the temple of Kâmâkshî can be explained by two plausible hypotheses, namely, (1) that the image did certainly occupy some important place in the very temple itself; or (2) that it was brought in there by some one for safe custody. Let us consider the second hypothesis first, for, if its untenability is proved the possibility of the first becomes patent. If it is to be believed that the huge stone image was

[3] Hence it is evident that the image is made according to the *uttama-daśa-tâla* measure. See Appendix B, in my "Elements of Hindu Iconography," Vol. I.



SKETCH PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF KÂMÂKSHÎDÊVÎ AT CONJEEVERAM. [*Indian Antiquary.*



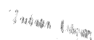
1. Central Shrine of the Kâmâkshî Temple.
2. Shrine of the Utsava-Vigraha.
3. Bhaṅgâru-Kâmâkshî Shrine.
4. Śaṅkarâchârya Shrine.
5. Sarasvatî Shrine.
6. Storè-room.
7. Palliyarai (Bed-room).
8. Tank.
9. Sculptured Maṇḍapa.
10. Śiva Shrine.
11. Kitchen.
12. Navarâtri-maṇḍapa.
13. Koṭṭây-maṇḍapa.
14. Temple Office.
15. Garden.
16. Well.
17. Flag-Staff.
18. Bali-pîtha.
19. Dhvajârôhaṇamaṇḍapa.
20. Kûttu-maṇḍapa.
21. Vishṇu Shrine in three storeys.



Fig. 1. Found in the innermost *prâkâra* of the Kâmâkshidêvî Temple. Height 7′ 10″.



Fig. 2. Found in the second *prâkâra* of the Kâmâkshîdêvî Temple. Height about 3′ 6″.





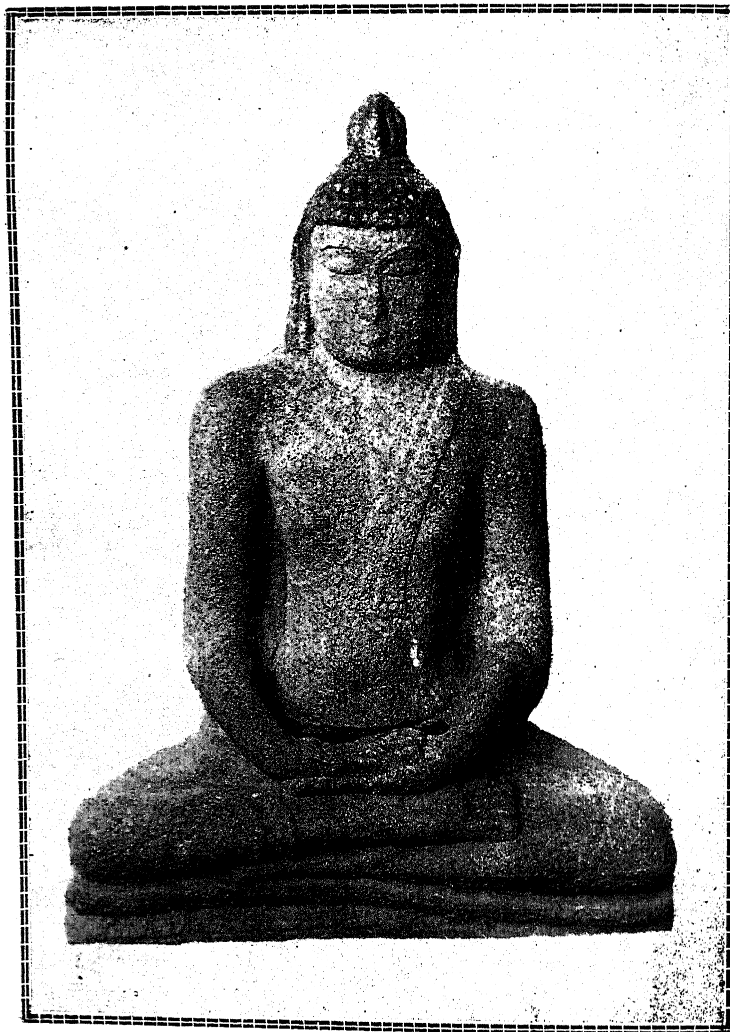
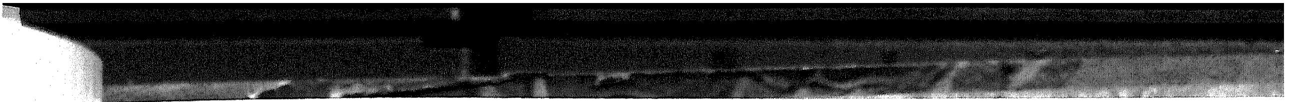


Fig. 3. Found in a garden adjoining the Kâmâkshîdêvî Temple. Height about 5′ 6″.



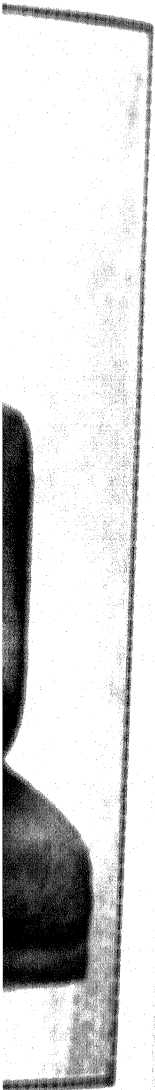
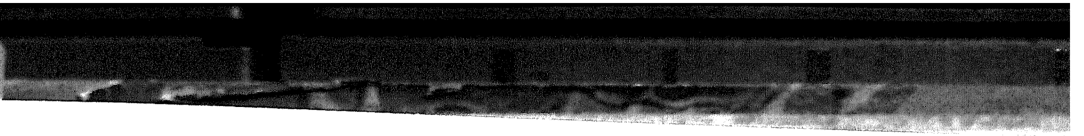




Fig. 4. Found in the Karukkil-amarnda-amman Temple.
Height about 2′ 6″.





...man Temple.



Fig. 5. Found in the Karukkil-amarnda-amman Temple.
Height about 3′ 9″.

deposited in its present position by some well-intentioned man, the questions which remain to be answered are (1) where could it have lain before it was brought into the temple ? and (2) a man of what religious persuasion could have brought it in ? It may have been lying at some distance from the temple, or near it, or within its compound. In the first two cases, it must indeed have been a herculean task to have carried the image, weighing some tons, over a long distance and lifted it to a height of about seven feet in order to deposit it in its present position. In its transit into the temple no less than two or three gateways have to be crossed. And why, after all, should it have been taken in ? If it was for preservation, it could have been set up in a well-illuminated place in, say, the outermost *prâkâra,* which would not have involved so much trouble and labour as carrying it to the innermost place of the temple. On the other hand, it is easier to believe that the image was in some place very near its present position and was removed from its original seat and just set down where it is at present.

Again, who was the person who took the trouble to put the image into the innermost *prâkâra* of the temple, a Hindu or a Buddhist ? If it was a Hindu who removed it into the temple and was so considerate towards this image, why did he not extend his sympathy also towards the other images lying near the temple? It is quite unlikely that a Hindu would have taken all the trouble to have brought the image for safe custody in a Hindu temple. On the other hand, he could have easily removed it from some important place occupied by it in the same temple and placed it in its present position. If, on the other hand, it is to be said that a Buddhist brought it from outside and deposited it in the Hindu temple, that would be a patent absurdity, for no Hindu would allow a Buddhist to place a Bauddha image in safe custody in his temple. Thus then it is impossible that the image was lying outside the Hindu temple of Kâmâkshî and brought into it for safe custody; rather, the probability is that the temple itself or at least a portion of it was a Buddhistic one. The temple of Kâmâkshî was, in all probability, originally a temple of Târâdêvî and, as with many other temples of alien faith, converted into a Hindu temple in later times.

The second image, whose head is broken and lost, is found in the second *prâkâra.* It was covered with debris and with some trouble the image was unearthed for photographing. Its position is marked B on the ground plan of the temple. Both the hands of the image lie on its lap in the *yôga-mudrâ* pose. See Fig. 2.

The third image is to be found in a garden situated near the temple of Kâmâkshîdêvî. It is also seated in the *yôga* attitude, with the hands in the *yôga-mudrâ* pose. The *jvâlâ* on the head, the upper cloth and other minor features declare it to be an image of Buddha. I heard that in the same garden there are lying buried two more very large seated images of Buddha. It would be interesting if these could be excavated and exposed by the Archæological Department. See Fig. 3.

The fourth and the fifth images are kept in safe custody in the Karukkil-amarnda-amman temple on the way to Vishṇu-Kâñchi. I was told that a pious man collected all stone images lying round this goddess's temple and set them up in their present position. It is worshipped now by the Hindus who visit the temple. One of these has its right hand in the *bhûsparśa-mudrâ,* while the two hands of the other are in the *yôga-mudrâ* attitude. See Figs. 4 and 5.

I am inclined to believe that if a vigourous and earnest search for more Bauddha vestiges is made, many more pieces of sculpture and architecture are likely to be discovered. It is to be hoped that the enthusiastic and energetic Archæologist with the Government of Madras will turn his attention to this interesting field of investigation.

SOME REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE UPANISHADS.

BY ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, S. J., BOMBAY.

IT has become almost a common place with scholars that it is next to, if not wholly, impossible to arrive at a satisfactory chronology of the Upanishads. Even F. Max Müller, whose genius seldom felt baffled at a question, says: "Though it is easy to see that these Upanishads belong to very different periods of Indian thought, any attempt to fix their relative age seems to me for the present almost hopeless."[1] A. Barth[2] and A. E. Gough[3] speak nearly in the same strain. And yet as early as 1852 Albrecht Weber had, with reference to the whole Sanskrit literature, expressed the hope of establishing an internal, relative chronology—"the only chronology that is possible,"—though the inquiry into the same might be completely checked for a lengthened period.[4] This was only too true at a time when a great many of the Upanishads were known to European scholars merely by their titles, and every year added not a few new names to the "canon" of this section of sacred literature. Acting upon the principle of internal chronology, L. von Schroeder[5] classed the Atharvaveda Upanishads in three roughly outlined categories.

Any attempt, indeed, at constructing an *absolute* historical chronology would in most cases be doomed to fail from the very outset for want of external historical data. Nor are we, in general, to expect *external* data even for a *relative* chronology. We are thus thrown back upon internal criteria, such as grammar, style, metre, ideas religious and philosophical, quotations from one another, *a. s. f.* Keeping then within the limits of possibility,—that is to say, aiming for the time only at *internal relative* chronology,—the question is not whether we *can*, but *how* we are to arrive at the result desired. In other words, the problem reduces itself to a question of the proper critical method. And, indeed, it would seem extremely strange, if in the whole compass of Upanishad literature, we were not to find a footing from which to get on to some historical ground, in order to determine the absolute age of a good many, if not all, Upanishads with satisfactory certainty and accuracy. Some of these principles have been hinted at by E. W. Hopkins[6] with reference to the different classes of sacred literature, and have been applied, in a few cases, by P. Deussen[7]. True, it must be frankly admitted that one or other internal criterion applied by itself alone may lead to no, or even contradictory, results; thus, M. Müller[8] and P. Deussen[9] have come to different conclusions about the age of the *Maitrâyaṇa Upanishad.*[10] But if we take them collectively and, in case of diverging results, balance their respective weight against one another, these criteria ought to be the proper means of ascertaining what has been, and, in all likelihood, will ever be denied to a more direct way of research.

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[1] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. I, p. LXIX.

[2] *The Religions of India* by A. Barth. Authorised Translation by Rev. F. Wood, London 1906, p. 187-188.

[3] *The Philosophy of the Upanishads and Ancient Indian Metaphysics.* By Archibald Edward Gough, M.A. Third Ed., London 1903, p. VII ff.

[4] *Akademische Vorlesungen über indische Literaturgeschichte.* Berlin 1852, pp. iii and 6.

[5] *Indiens Litteratur und Cultur in historischer Entwicklung*, Von Dr. Leopold von Schroeder, Leipzig 1889, p. 191.

[6] *The Religions of India* by Edward Washburn Hopkins. Boston (1894), pp. 3-4.

[7] *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda, aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt.* . . . von Dr. Paul Deussen, Professor an der Universität Kiel. 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1905.

[8] *S. B. E.* Vol. XV, p. xlvii.

[9] *Sechzig Upanishad's* p. 312.

[10] In a good many, especially the older, Upanishads we are to distinguish between the original teaching of the Upanishad handed down from one generation to another and the final wording of the tenet deposited in the version of the manuscripts we happen to have. In such cases the result will, as a matter of course, be a seemingly contradictory one, the contents being older than the form in which it has come down to us.

Chronological data of the Mahânârâyaṇa-Upanishad.

The method propounded above has already to some extent been applied to the *Mahânârâyaṇa-Upanishad*, the results of the inquiry into the quotations from other texts, and into the thoughts which make up its contents, being published elsewhere.[11]

In the following we proceed to examine the condition of metre in the same text. A further instalment may contain some remarks upon the grammar of the Upanishad and draw the final conclusion concerning its absolute and relative position in literary history.

The lines of the *Mahânârâyaṇa-Upanishad*[12] (MNU) belong either to the *trishṭubh-jagatî* or the *anushṭubh-gâyatri* family. The two types are to be examined separately.

1. The Lines of the Trishṭubh-Jagati Family.

There are to be considered about 50 *pâdas* in all: 1. 1 abc, 2 c d, 3—6; 2. 3 c; 10. 5, 7; 13. 2: विश्वम्°; all the *pâdas* of 16. 4 except d, 7; 17, 6: ये ब्राह्मणास°; 22. 1 तपसा°, शमेन°, धर्मो°; 23. 1: मानसेन.° Among this number are not counted those lines which either without change, or in a corrupt state, have been taken from the *Saṁhitâs*, the *Brâhmaṇas*, or the avowedly older Upanishads. The line 10. 5 has been included, though it be also in *Kaivalya-Upanishad* 2 bc, 3 ab, because there is good reason to believe that it has been taken from the MNU.[13] Moreover we comprise in our list the line fragments of 11 or 12 syllables, scattered over *khaṇḍas* 13. 22. 23. Cases that, for some reason or another, appear doubtful have been omitted.

Now it is a well-known fact that the Vedic *trishṭubh-jagatî* line has, roughly speaking,[14] developed into the *indravajrâ* (*upendravajrâ*) and the *vaṁśastha* (*indravaṁśâ*) of the classic[15] period of literature. Their forms are:

trishṭubh...	⏓ – ⏓ – | ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ – ⏓ – ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
indravajrâ (upendravajrâ)	⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
jagatî	⏓ – ⏓ – | ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓ – ⏓ – ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –
vaṁśastha (indravaṁśâ)...	⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –

[11] *Die Quellen der Mahânârâyaṇa-Upaniṣad und das Verhältnis der verschiedenen Rezensionen zu einander* von Dr. Robert Zimmermann. Leipzig 1913. (Berlin Dissertation).

[12] The quotations in this essay refer to the *khaṇḍas* and *mantras* of the *Âtharvaṇa-Recension* of the MNU., published by Col. G. A. Jacob. Bombay 1888. B. S. S. XXXV.

[13] See "*Die Quellen* . . ." p. 40 f.

[14] For further information on the shape of Vedic and classic metres and the change of the former into the latter see: *ZDMG. XXXV*, p. 181 ff: *Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka*, von H. Oldenberg; ZDMG, XXXVII, p. 54 ff: *Das altindische Âkhyâna mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Suparṇâkhyâna*, by the same; *ZDMG.* XXXVIII p. 590 ff: *Ueber die Entwicklung der indischen Metrik in nachvedischer Zeit*, von Hermann Jacobi; *Indische Studien*, Vol. XVII, p. 442 ff: *Zur Lehre vom, Çloka* von Hermann Jacobi; *Gurupûjâkaumudî*, Leipzig 1896, p. 50 ff: *Ueber den Śloka im Mahâbhârata*, by the same; p 9 ff: Hermann Oldenberg, *Zur Chronologie der indischen Metrik; Die Triṣṭubh-Jagatî Familie. Ihre rhythmische Beschaffenheit und Entwicklung*, von Dr. Richard Kühnau, Göttingen 1886, p. 27 ff.

[15] In this essay we use the word "classic" instead of "artificial" as a designation of the later non-vedic literature.

The distinctive features, then, of the *trishṭubh* (*jagatî*) as compared with the *indravajrâ* (*vaṁśastha*) type are, besides the more or less changeable beginning of the *pâda*[16], first the existence of the cæsura and its position after the fourth or fifth syllable, and second the number of *mâtrâs* of the syllables 5, 6, and 7, if the cæsura is after the fourth, or of the syllables 6, 7, and 8, if the cæsura occurs after the fifth syllable. In order to fix the chronological position of a book with the help of metre we have, therefore, to inquire into these characteristics, since they show whether the writer—fashioning of course his verse according to the form then in vogue—wrote closer to the vedic or the classic period.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

SHANDY.

Dr. E. Hultzsch has given a very interesting note (*ante.* Vol. XLIV, p. 195) on the words *shandy* and *shindy*. He quite correctly derives *shandy* from the Tamil word *śandai*, a weekly market. But in giving *saṁdhâ* as the Sanskrit original of the Tamil *śandai* he does not seem to be quite correct. The other Dravidian languages have likewise the same word in a slightly modified form for a weekly market. *Cf.* Telugu *santa* and Kannada *sante*. The old grammars of the Kannada language derive the word *sante* from the Sanskrit *saṁsthâ* and not *saṁdhâ*.

Sûtra 257 of the *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, a Kannada grammar composed in about A. D. 1260, states that *stha* of Sanskrit words becomes *ta* in Kannada (satva-miśram appa thakâram bareyum takâram akkum) and gives these examples :—avasthe=avate, sthûḷam=tûḷam, sthânam=tâṇam, *samsthe=sante*, sthâpane=tâpaṇe.

The *Karṇâṭaka-Śabdânuśâsana*, a grammar written in A. D. 1604, makes a similar statement n *śûtra* 149 which runs thus :—

Sûtram || Sasthi.

Vṛittiḥ || sakârasya bahulam lub bhavati thakârê parê.

Prayôgaḥ || *saṁsthe=sante*, sthâna=tâṇa, sthiti=titi, sthaṇḍila=taṇḍila, avasthe=avate.

Vyâkhyâ || êka-pada-vishayam idam | yatra sthâni-nimittê bhinna-pada-gatê na tatra lôpaḥ || ambhas:huṭanam, sarasthôṭam ity-âdau tad-abhâvât ||

We have therefore to take *saṁsthâ* as the Sanskrit equivalent of the Tamil *śandai*, the Telugu *santa* and the Kannada *sante*. The occurrence of sonants in Tamil in place of the surds of the sister languages is a well-known dialectic peculiarity. *Saṁsthâ* is certainly a more appropriate word for a weekly market than *saṁdhâ*.

R. NARASIMHACHAR.

BANGALORE,
19*th October*, 1914.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN EARLY METHOD OF EXTRADITION IN INDIA.

"Upon a dream of a Negro girl of Mahim that there was a Mine of Treasure, who being overheard relating it, Domingo Alvares and some others went to the place and Sacrificed a Cock and dugg the ground, but found nothing. They go to Bundara at Salsett, where disagreeing, the Government there take notice of the same, and one of them, an Inhabitant of Bombay, is sent to the Inquisition at Goa, which proceedings will discourage the Inhabitants. Wherefore the Generall is desired to Issue a proclamation to reclaim him, and if not restored in 20 days, no Roman Catholic Worship to be allowed in the Island." Bombay General Letter to the Court of Directors dated 17 March 1707. (*Bombay Abstracts* 1-78).

R. C. TEMPLE.

[16] On the varieties of prosody at the beginning of the anushṭubh and trishṭubh *pâda* see: *Die Hymnen des Ṛigveda. Herausgegeben* von Hermann Oldenberg. *Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena*, Berlin 1888, p. 13 ff., 48 ff., and the same ZDMG. XXXVII., p. 55 ff.

Vad or the Banian tree—A prince named Satyawán died of snakebite under the *Vad* tree. His wife named Sávitri, who was very chaste and dutiful, requested Yama, the god of death, and succeeded in securing from him the life of her husband Satyawán. As the prince Satyawán returned from the jaws of death under the *Vad* tree, this tree was specially worshipped by her, and it is therefore believed that Sávitri has ever since then been responsible for the practice of worshipping the *Vad* tree by women for the purpose of securing a long life to their husbands.[1] It is also believed that the god Vishnu takes shelter under the *Vad* at the time of the general destruction of the world. The worship of this tree is similar to that of the other deities, and women take turns around it at the close of the worship or *puja*.[2]

The *Tulsi* plant is worshipped daily by the Hindus in general, and women in particular, by keeping the plant near their houses. The god Vishnu is worshipped particularly by the leaf of this plant.[2] The *Tulsi* plant is considered by the people to represent the goddess Luxmi, the wife of Vishnu. Hindu women will not take their meals before worshipping the *Tulsi* plant daily in the morning. It is also said that the god Vishnu, in his eighth incarnation called Krishna, had loved Vrunda, the wife of a demon. After her death she was burnt, but on her burning ground there grew the *Tulsi* plant. As Krishna loved Vrunda very dearly, he began to love this plant also, and hence the image of Bál Krishna, or the god Vishnu, is married to this plant every year on the 12th day of the bright half of *Kártik* (November).[3] As it is also believed that the god Vishnu resides in the *Tulsi* plant, the worship of this plant is equivalent to the worship of the god Vishnu.[4]

Besides the above mentioned trees, the *Palus* (Butea frondosa), the *Bel*, a tree sacred to god Shiva, and the *Shami* (Prosopis spicigera), a tree sacred to god Ganpati, the son of Shiva, are considered to be holy by the Hindus.[5]

A common custom among Hindus is for a person who has lost his two wives and wishes to marry a third, to be first married to a *Rui* plant, and then to the actual bride. His marriage with the *Rui* plant is considered as a third marriage. After the marriage, the *Rui* plant is cut down and buried, and thus the marriage with the third bride is considered to be a fourth marriage. The marriage with the *Rui* plant has been adopted in the belief that the third wife is sure to die unless the spirit of the deceased is made to enter the *Rui* plant.[6]

When a girl is born under the influence of inauspicious planets which may be harmful to her husband, she is first married to a tree or an earthen pot, and then to the bridegroom. The marriage with the earthen pot is called *Kumbhaviváha*, or the pot-wedding. It is believed that, by observing this practice, the danger to her husband is avoided. The danger passes to the tree to which she is first married.[7]

Among the lower classes in the Thána District[8] a poor man unable to marry owing to his poverty is first married to a *Rui* plant and then to a widow. This marriage with a widow is called *pát lávane*. This remarriage of a widow among the lower classes is generally performed at night, and under an old mango tree. It is never performed in the house. A widow who has remarried cannot take part in any auspicious ceremony such as a marriage, etc.[8]

At Vankavli in the Ratnágiri District there is a custom among the low class Hindus of a woman who has lost her second husband and wishes to marry for the third time, first marrying a cock, *i.e.*, she takes the cock in her arms at the time of her marriage with the third husband.[9]

Persons who have no children make a vow to Khandoba at Jejuri that the firstborn, male or female, shall be offered to him. The females, offered in fulfilment of such vows are called

[1] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[2] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Dahánu, Thána.
[4] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
[7] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[8] School Master, Edwan, Thána.
[9] School Master, Vankavli, Ratnágiri.

Muralis. They are married to the god Khandoba, and have to earn their livelihood by begging in villages. A male child thus offered to the god is called a *Vághya.*[1]

There is a custom of offering children to the deities Yallamma and Khandoba in fulfilment of vows made in order to get a child. The child is taken to the temple of these deities, accompanied with music. The temple ministrant asks the child to stand on a wooden board on a heap of rice in front of the deity, and puts into its hands a *paradi*—a flat basket of bamboo, tying to its neck the *darshana* of the deity. A female child is married to the dagger—*Katyár*—of the deity. When once this ceremony has been performed, parents abandon their rights to such children. When these children come of age, the males can marry but the females cannot. The latter earns her livelihood begging *jogava* in the name of the goddess Amba with a *paradi* in her hand. A male child offered to the goddess Yallamma is called *jogata,* and a female, *jogatin.* Children dedicated to the goddess Máyáka are called *Jogi* and *Jogin.* Children offered to *Firangái* and *Ambábái* are called *Bhutya* (male) and *Bhutin* (female).[2]

In the Konkan districts there is a class of women known as Bhávinis who are said to be married to *Khanjir, i.e.,* a dagger belonging to the god. They are also called *deva yoshita, i.e.,* prostitutes offered to the god. They have no caste of their own. They retain the name of the caste to which they originally belonged, such as Maráthe Bhávini, Bhandári Bhávini, Sutár Bhavini, etc. The following account is given of the origin of the sect of Bhávinis. A woman wishing to abandon her husband goes to the temple of a village deity at night, and in presence of the people assembled in that temple she takes oil from the lamp burning in the temple, and pours it upon her head. This process is called *Deval righane, i.e.,* to enter into the service of the temple. After she has poured sweet oil from the lamp upon her head, she has no further connection with her husband. She becomes the maid servant of the temple, and is free to behave as she likes. Daughters of such Bhávinis who do not wish to marry, undergo the process of *shesa bharane,* and follow the occupation of their mothers. The sons of the Bhávinis have an equal right to the property of their mother, but any daughter who marries a lawful husband loses her share in the property of her mother. A Devali follows the occupation of blowing the horn or cornet, and is entitled to hold the torches in the marriage ceremonies of the people in the village. Many of them learn the art of playing upon the tabour—*mrudunga*—and are useful to *Kathekaris, i.e.,* those who recite legends of the gods with music and singing. Some of them become farmers while others are unoccupied.

Bhávinis follow the occupation of a maid-servant in the temple, but their real occupation is that of public women. They are not scorned by the public. On the contrary, they are required to be present at the time of a marriage to tie the marriage-string—*Mangalsutra*—of a bride, for they are supposed to enjoy perpetual unwidowhood—'*Janma suwásini.*' Some of the houses of Bhávinis become the favourite resorts of gamblers and vagabonds. In the absence of a daughter, a Bhávini purchases a girl from a harlot, and adopts her as her daughter to carry on her profession.[3]

Snakes are believed to be the step-brothers of the gods. They reside under the earth and are very powerful. The snake is considered to be very beautiful among creeping animals, and is one of the ornaments of the god Shiva. An image of a snake made of brass is kept in the temple of the god Shiva, and worshipped daily along with the god. There is a custom among the Hindus of worshipping *Nága, i.e.,* the cobra, once a year on the *Nága panchami* day, *i.e.,* the fifth day of the bright half of *Shráwan* (August). Images of snakes are drawn with sandalpaste on a wooden board or on the walls of houses,

[1] School Master, Palshet, Ratnágiri.
[2] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[3] School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.

and worshipped by Hindu women on this day. *Durva* grass, sacred to Ganpati, parched rice *láhya*, legumes *kadadan*, and milk are offered to this image. Some people go to the snakes, abode *Várul*—an ant-hill—on this day to worship the snake itself, if they happen to catch sight of it.[1]

It is said that at Battisa Shiràle in the Belgáum District the real *Nága* comes out of its abode below the earth on this day, and is worshipped by the people. Milk and *láhya*, parched rice, are put outside the house at night on this day with the intention that they may be consumed by a snake. Hindus do not dig or plough the earth on *Nága panchami* day. Even vegetables are not cut and fried on this day by some people.[2]

Earthen images of snakes are worshipped by some people in the Konkan districts on the *Nága panchami* day. The *Nága* is considered to be a Bráhman by caste, and it is believed that the family of the person who kills a snake becomes extinct. The cobra being considered a Bráhman, its dead body is adorned with the *jánawe*, and then burnt as that of a human being. A copper coin is also thrown into its funeral pile.[3]

At certain villages in the Deccan a big earthen image of a snake is consecrated in a public place on the *Nága panchami* day, and worshipped by Hindus in general. Women sing their songs in circles before this image while men perform *tamáshás* by its side. In fact, the day is enjoyed by the people as a holiday. The snake is removed next day, and an idol in the form of a man made of mud is seated in its place. This idol is called Shirálshet, who is said once to have been a king and to have ruled over this earth for one and one-fourths of a *ghataka*, *i. e.*, for half an hour only. This day, is observed as a day of rejoicing by the people.[4]

The names of the snake deities are Takshaka, Vásuki and Shesha. Their shrines are at Kolhápur, Nágothane, Prayaga, Nágadeváchi Wádi and Subramhanya. A great fair is held every year at Battisa Shiràle on the *Nága panchami* day.[4]

There is a shrine of a snake deity at Sávantwádi. The management of the shrine is in the hands of the State officials. It is believed that a real snake resides therein.[5]

There is a shrine of a snake deity at Awás in the Alibág taluka of the Kolába District, where a great fair is held every year on the 14th day of the bright half of *Kártik* (November). It is said that persons suffering from snakebites recover when taken in time to this temple.[6]

It is said that a covetous person who acquires great wealth during his life-time and dies without enjoying it, or without issue, becomes a snake after death, and guards his buried treasures. At Kolhápur there was a *Sáwkár*—money-lender—named Kodulkar who is said to have become a snake, and to guard his treasures. In the village of Kailava in the Panhála petha of the Kolhápur District there is a snake in the house of a Kulkarni, who scares away those who try to enter the storehouse of the Kulkarni.[7]

It is a general belief among the Hindus that snakes guard treasures. It is said that there are certain places guarded by snakes in Goa territory. Persons who were compelled to abandon Portuguese territory owing to religious persecutions at the hands of the Portuguese buried their treasures beneath the ground. Those who died during exile are said to have become *bhuts* or ghosts, and it is believed that they guard their buried treasures in the form of snakes.[8]

The Hindus generally believe that the snakes who guard buried treasures do not allow any one to go near them. The snake frightens those who try to approach, but when he wishes

1 School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
4 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
5 School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Apte, Panwel, Kolába.
7 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
8 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

to hand over the treasure to anybody he goes to that person at night, and tells him in a dream that the treasure buried at such and such a place belongs to him, and requests him to take it over. After the person has taken possession of the treasure as requested, the snake disappears from the spot.[1]

It is said that a snake which guards treasure is generally very old, white in complexion, and has long hair on its body.[2]

Hindus worship the image of a snake made of *Darbha* grass or of silk thread on the *Anant Chaturdashi* day, *i.e.*, the 14th day of the bright half of *Ashwin* (October), and observe that day as a holiday. Legends of the exploits of the god are related with music and singing on this day.[3]

A snake festival is observed in the Nágeshwar temple at Awás in the Kolába District on the night of the 14th day of the bright half of *Kártika* (November). Nearly four hundred devotees of the god Shankar assemble in the temple, holding in their hands *vetra-sarpa* long cane sticks with snake images at their ends. They advance dancing and repeating certain words, and take turns round the temple till midnight. After getting the permission of the chief devotee, they scatter throughout the neighbouring villages with small axes in their hands, and cut down, and bring from the gardens, cocoanuts, plantains, and other edible things that are seen on their way. They return to the temple after two hours, the last man being the chief devotee called *Kuwarkándya.* The fruits are then distributed among the people assembled at the temple. Nobody interferes with them on this day in taking away cocoanuts and other fruits from the village gardens. On the next day they go dancing in the same manner to the Kanakeshwar hill with the snake sticks in their hands.[4]

In the Deccan no special snake festivals like those described above are celebrated. But in the temples devoted to snake deities, on the full moon day of *Kártik*, which is sacred to the snake deity, the deity is worshipped with special pomp, and the crests of the temples are illuminated on that night.[5]

The village cures for snakebite are:—

1. The use of charmed water and the repetition of *mantras* by a sorcerer.
2. The use of certain roots and herbs as medicines.
3. The removal of the sufferer to the neighbouring temple.
4. Branding the wound with fire.
5. The drinking of soapnut juice, or of water in which copper coins have been boiled by the patient, who is thus made to vomit the snake poison.[6]

In the Deccan a person suffering from snakebite is taken to a village temple, and the ministrant is requested to give him holy water. The deity is also invoked. Thus keeping the person for one night in the temple, he is carried to his house the following day if cured. The vows made to the deity for the recovery of the person are then fulfilled. There is one *turabat*, a tomb of *Avalia* a Mahomedan saint, at Panhála where persons suffering from snakebite are made to sit near the tomb, and it is said that they are cured. In some villages there are enchanted trees of *Kadulimb* where persons placed under the shade of such trees are cured of snakebites. Some people tie a stone round the neck of the sufferer as soon as he is better, repeating the words *Adi Gudi Imám* the name of a Mahomedan saint. After recovery from snakebite the person is taken to the mosque of the *Adi Gudi Imám Sáheb*, where the stone is untied before the tomb, and *jágri* equal to the weight of the stone is offered. A feast is also given to the *Mujáwar* or ministrant of the mosque. There is at persent a famous enchanter—*Mántrika*—at Satára who cures persons suffering from snakebite. It is said that he throws charmed water on the body of the sufferer, and in a few minutes the snake

[1] School Master, Chawk, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Basani, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Pendur, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Chawl, Kolába.
[5] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[6] School Master, Jambivali, Kolába.

begins to speak through the victim. The sorcerer enquires what the snake wants. The snake gives reasons for biting the person. When any thing thus asked for by the snake is offered, the victim comes to his senses, and is cured. There are many witnesses to the above fact.[1]

At Mitbáv in the Ratnágiri District chickens numbering from twenty to twenty-five are applied to the wound caused by the snakebite. A chicken has the power of drawing out the poison from the body through the wound, but this causes the death of the chicken. The remedy above described is sure to be successful if it is tried within three hours of the person being bitten. There are several other medicines which act on the snakebite, but they must be given very promptly. There are some men in this village who give charmed water for snake or any other bites. Many persons suffering from snakebite have been cured by the use of *mantras* and charmed water.[2]

Water from the tanks of Vetávare in the Sávantwádi State and Mánjare in Goa territory is generally used as medicine for snakebite. It is believed that by the power of *mantras* a snake can be prevented from entering or leaving a particular area. This process is called '*sarpa bándhane*'. There are some sorcerers who can draw snakes out of their holes by the use of their *mantras*, and carry them away without touching them with their hands.[3]

At Adivare, in the Rájápur taluka, roots of certain herbs are mixed in water and applied to the wound caused by the snakebite, and given to the sufferer to drink.[4]

At Náringre in the Ratnágiri District, persons suffering from snakebite are given the juice of *Kadulimb* leaves, and are kept in the temple of Hanumán. The feet of the deity are washed with holy water, and the water is given to the victim to drink.[5]

A snake is believed to have a white jewel or *mani* in its head, and it loses its life when this jewel is removed. This jewel has the power of drawing out the poison of snakebite. When it is applied to the wound, it becomes green, but when kept in milk for sometime, it loses its greenness and reverts to its usual white colour. It gives out to the milk all the poison that has been absorbed from the wound, and the milk becomes green. This jewel can be used several times as an absorbent of the poison of snakebite. The green milk must be buried under ground, so that it may not be used again by any one else.[6]

It is believed that an old snake having long hair on its body has a jewel in its head. This jewel is compared with the colours of a rainbow. The snake can take this jewel from its head at night, and search for food in its lustre. Such snakes never come near the habitation of human beings, but always reside in the depth of the jungle. This species of snake is called *Deva Sarpa, i. e.*, a snake belonging to a deity. It is related that a snake was born of a woman in the Kinkar's house at Tardál in the Sángli State, and another one in the Gabale's house at Kolhápur.[7]

1 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
2 School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri,
7 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

CHAPTER VIII.

TOTEMISM AND FETISHISM.

The worship of totems, or *Devaks*, prevails among Hindus in Western India. The term *Devak* is applied to the deity or deities worshipped at the beginning of a thread or a marriage ceremony. The ceremony is as follows: A small quantity of rice is put into a winnowing fan, and with it six small sticks of the *Umbar* tree, each covered with mango leaves and cotton thread. These are worshipped as deities. Near the winnowing fan is kept an earthen or copper vessel filled with rice, turmeric, red powder, betelnuts, sweet balls made of wheat flour, ghi and sugar ; and on the top of the vessel is a small sprig of mango and a cocoanut covered with cotton thread. This vessel is also worshipped as a deity, and offerings of sweet eatables are made to it. After the worship of this vessel, the regular ceremony of *Punyáhavachana* is performed. Twenty-seven *Mátrikás*, or village and local deities, represented by betelnuts are consecrated in a new winnowing fan or a bamboo basket. Seven *Mátrikás* are made of mango leaves, six of which contain *durva* grass, and the seventh *darbha* grass. Each of them is bound with a raw cotton thread separately. They are worshipped along with a *Kalasha* or a copper *lota* as mentioned above. This copper *lota* is filled with rice, betelnuts, turmeric, etc., a sprig of mango leaves is placed on the *lota*, and a cocoanut is put over it. The *lota* is also bound with a cotton thread. Sandalpaste, rice, flowers, and *durva* grass are required for its worship. An oil lamp called *Arati* is waved round the *devak*, the parents, and the boy or the girl whose thread or marriage ceremony is to be performed. A *Suwásini* is called and requested to wave this *Arati*, and the silver coin which is put into the *Arati* by the parents is taken by her. The father takes the winnowing fan and the mother takes the *Kalasha*, and they are carried from the *mandap* to the *devak* consecrated in the house. A lighted lamp is kept continually burning near this *devak* till the completion of the ceremony. After completion of the thread or marriage ceremony the *devak* is again worshipped, and the ceremony comes to an end. The deity in the *devak* is requested to depart on the second or the fourth day from the date of its consecration. No mourning is observed during the period the *devak* remains installed in the house.

Among Maráthás and many of the lower classes in the Ratnágiri District the branch of a *Vad*, *Kadamba*, mango, or an *Apta* tree is worshipped as their *devak* or *kul*.[1]

Some Maráthás have a sword or a dagger as their *devak*, which is worshipped by them before commencing the ritual of the marriage ceremony.[2]

The family known as Ráne at Náringre in the Devgad taluka of the Ratnágiri District, and the families known as Gadakari and Jádhava at Málwan, consider the *Vad* or Banyan tree as their *devak*, and do not make use of its leaves. In the same manner, some people consider the *Kadamba* tree sacred to their family.[3]

There are some people among the Hindus in Western India whose surnames are derived from the names of animals and plants, such as *Boke*, *Lándage*, *Wágh*, *Dukre*, *Káwale*, *Garud More*, *Mhase*, *Rede*, *Keer*, *Popat*, *Ghode*, *Shelár*, *Gáyatonde*, *Wághmáre*, *Shálunke*, *Bhende*, *Padwal*, *Wálke*, *Apte*, *Ambekar*, *Pimpalkhare*, *Kelkar* and *Kálke*.

The Hindus believe that a cow, a horse, and an elephant are sacred animals. The cow is treated with special respect by the Hindus

[1] School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri. [2] School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.

in general, and the bull by the Lingáyats and oilmen. The milk, the urine, and the dung of a cow are used as medicines, and they are also given as offerings to the god in sacrifices.

The Shelár family considers the sheep as their *devak*, and they do not eat the flesh of a sheep. The Shálunke family respects the *Shálunki* or sparrow. People belonging to the More family do not eat the flesh of a peacock as they consider it to be their *devak*.[1]

The Bhandáris whose surname is Padwal do not eat the vegetable of a snake-gourd or *Padwal*.[2]

Hindus do not eat the flesh of the animal respected by them, and those who offer any fruit to their *guru* as a token of respect do not eat that fruit in future. Some Hindus do not eat onions, garlic and the fruit of a palm tree. The fruit of a tree believed to be the *devak* of a family is not eaten by the members of that family.

The families of Ráva and Ráne do not take their food on the leaf of a *Vad* or Banyan tree as they consider it to be their *devak*.[3]

There are some Hindu families in the Kolába District who believe that their *kul* or totem consists of the tortoise and the goat, and they do not eat the flesh of such animals. A certain community of the *Vaishyas* or traders known as Swár believe that a jack tree or *Phanas* is their *kul*, and they do not use the leaves of that tree.[4]

It is believed among the Hindus that the deity *Satwái* protects children for the first three months from their birth. The deity is worshipped on the fifth day from the birth of a child, and if there occurs any omission or error in the worship of that deity, the child begins to cry, or does not keep good health. On such occasions the parents of the child make certain vows to the deity, and if the child recovers, the parents go to a jungle, and collect seven small stones. They then besmear the stones with red lead and oil, and worship them along with a she goat in the manner in which the vow was promised to be fulfilled.[5]

The horse is connected with the worship of the god Khandoba because this animal is sacred to that deity, being his favourite vehicle. For this reason all the devotees or *Bhaktas* of Khandoba take care to worship the horse in order that its master, the god Khandoba, may be pleased with them.

It is well known that the cow is considered as most sacred of all the animals by the Hindus, and the reason assigned for this special veneration is that all the deities dwell in the cow.

The *Nandi*, or a bullock made of stone, consecrated in front of the temple of Shiva, the *Vágh* or a tiger at the temple of a goddess and cows and dogs in the temple of Dattátraya are worshipped by the Hindus.

The mouse, being the vehicle of Ganpati the god of wisdom, is worshipped by the people along with that god.

In the Konkan cattle are worshipped by the Hindus on the first day of *Kártika*, and they are made to pass over fire.

The mountains having caves and temples of deities are generally worshipped by the Hindus. The Abucha Pahád, the Girnár, the Panchmadhi, the Brahmagiri, the Sahyádri, the Tungár, the Jivadancha *dongar*, the Munja *dongar* at Junnar, the Tugábáicha *dongar*, the Ganesh Lene, and the Shivabai are the principal holy mountains in the Bombay Presidency.

Mount Abu, known as the Abucha Pahád, is believed to be very sacred, and many Hindus go on a pilgrimage to that mountain.

Hills are worshipped at Ganpati Pule and Chaul. At Pule there is a temple of the god Ganpati, the son of Shiva, and at Chaul in the Kolába District there is a temple of the god Dattátraya.

1 School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
5 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

The place which produces sound when water is poured over it is considered to be holy, and is worshipped by the people.

In the Deccan, hills are worshipped by the people on the *Narak chaturdashi* day in *Dipawáli*, 14th day of the dark half of *Ashwin* (October). The legend of this worship is that the god Shri Krishna lifted the Govardhan mountain on this day, and protected the people of this world. A hill made of cowdung is worshipped at every house on the *Narak chaturdashi* day.[1]

Stones of certain kinds are first considered as one of the deities, or as one of the chief heroes in the family, and then worshipped by the people. Many such stones are found worshipped in the vicinity of any temple.

A stone coming out of the earth with a phallus or *lingam* of Shiva is worshipped by the Hindus. If such a *lingam* lies in a deep jungle, it is worshipped by them at least once a year, and daily, if practicable, in the month of *Adhikamás*, an intercalary month which comes every third year.[2]

The red stones found in the Narmada river represent the god Ganpati, and are worshipped by the people.

A big stone at Phutaka Tembha near Murud in the Ratnágiri District is worshipped by the people, who believe it to be the monkey god Hanumán or Máruti. All the stone images of gods that are called *Swayambhu* or self-existent are nothing but rough stones of peculiar shapes. There are such *swayambhu*—natural-images—at Kelshi and Kolthare in the Ratnágiri District.[3]

There is a big stone at Palshet in the Ratnágiri District which is worshipped as *Kálikádevi*.[4]

Stones are sometimes worshipped by the people in the belief that they are haunted by evil spirits. We have for example a stone called *Mora Dhonda* lying by the seashore at Málwan in the Ratnágiri District. It is supposed to be haunted by *Devachár*.[5]

The stones which are once consecrated and worshipped as deities have to be continually worshipped, even when perforated. The small, round, white stone slab known as *Vishnupada*, which is naturally perforated, is considered to be holy, and is worshipped daily by the Hindus along with the other images of gods. The holes in this slab do not extend right through.[6]

It is considered inauspicious to worship the fractured images of gods, but the perforated black stone called *Sháligrám*, taken from the Gandaki river, is considered very holy, and worshipped by the people. For it is believed to be perforated from its very beginning. Every *Sháligrám* has a hole in it, even when it is in the river.[7]

Broken stones are not worshipped by the people. But the household gods of the Bráhmans and other higher classes which are called the *Pancháyatan*—a collection of five gods—generally consist of five stones with holes in them.[8]

No instances of human sacrifices occur in India in these days, but there are many practices and customs which appear to be the survivals of human sacrifices. These survivals are visible in the offerings of fowls, goats, buffaloes, and fruits like cocoanuts, brinjals, the *Kohále* or pumpkion gourd and others.

Human sacrifices are not practised in these days, but among the Karháda Bráhmans there is a practice of giving poison to animals in order to satisfy their family deity. It is said that they used to kill a Bráhman by giving him poisoned food.

It is believed that the people belonging to the caste of Karháda Bráhmans used to offer human sacrifices to their deity, and therefore nobody relies on a Karháda Bráhman in these

[1] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[2] School Master, Medhe, Kolába.
[3] School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Palshet, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Mokhháde, Thána.
[7] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[8] School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.

days. There is a proverb in Maráthi which means that a man can trust even a *Kasái* or a butcher but not a Karháda.

As they cannot offer human sacrifices in these days, it is said that during the *Navarátra* holidays, *i. e.*, the first nine days of the bright half of *Ashwin* (October), they offer poisoned food to crows, dogs and other animals.[1]

At Kálshe in the Málwan taluka of the Ratnágiri District, the servants of gods, *i.e.*, the ministrants or the Bhopis of the temple prick their breast with a knife on the *Dasara* day, and cry out loudly the words '*Koya*' '*Koya*'. No blood comes from the breast as the wound is slight. This appears to be a survival of human sacrifice.[2]

In the Bombay Presidency, and more especially in the Konkan districts, fetish stones are generally worshipped for the purpose of averting evil and curing diseases. In every village stones are found sacred to spirit deities like Bahiroba, Chedoba, Khandoba, Mhasoba, Zoting, Vetál, Jakhái, Kokái, Kalkái and others. The low class people such as Mahárs, Mángs, etc., apply red lead and oil to stones, and call them by one of the above names, and ignorant people are very much afraid of such deities. They believe that such deities have control over all the evil spirits or ghosts. It is said that the spirit Vetál starts to take a round in a village on the night of the nomoon day of every month, accompanied by all the ghosts. When any epidemic prevails in a village, people offer to these fetish stones offerings of eatables, cocoanuts, fowls and goats.

There is a stone deity named Bhávai at Kokisare in the Bávada State, to whom vows are made by the people to cure diseases. As the deity is in the burning ground, it is naturally believed that this is the abode of spirits.[3]

At Achare, in the Málwan taluka of the Ratnágiri District, the round stones known as *Kshetrapál* are supposed to possess the power of curing diseases, and are also believed to be the abode of spirits.[4]

At Adivare, in the Ratnágiri District, there is a stone named *Mahár Purukha* which is worshipped by the people when cattle disease prevails, especially the disease of a large tick or the cattle or dog louse.[5]

At Ubhádánda, in the Ratnágiri District, there are some stones which are believed to be haunted by Vetál, Bhutnáth, Rawalnáth and such other servants of the god Shiva, and it is supposed that they have the power of curing epidemic diseases. People make vows to these stones when any disease prevails in the locality.[6]

The Hindus generally consider as sacred all objects that are the means of their livelihood, and, for this reason, the oilmen worship their oil-mill, the Bráhmans hold in veneration the sacred thread—*Yadnopavit*,—and religious books, the goldsmiths consider their firepots as sacred, and do not touch them with their feet. In case any one accidently happens to touch them with his foot, he apologises and bows to them.

It is believed by the Hindus that the broom, the winnowing fan, the *páyali*—a measure of four *shers*, the *Samai* or sweet-oil lamp, a metal vessel, fire and *Sahán* or the levigating slab should not be touched with foot.

The metals gold, silver, and copper, the King's coins, jewels and pearls, corns, the *Sháligrám* stone, the *Ganpati* stone from the Narmada river, conch-shell, sacred ashes, elephant tusks, the horns of an wild ox (*Gava*), tiger skin, deer skin, milk, curds, ghi, cow's urine, *Bel*, basil leaves or *Tulsi*, cocoanuts, betelnuts, and flowers are considered as sacred by the Hindus, and no one will dare to touch them with his foot.

1 School Master, Chawk, Kolába.
2 School Master, Kálshe, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
4 School Master, Achare, Ratnágiri.
5 School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
6 School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.

Hindus worship annually on the *Dasara* day the arms and all the instruments or implements by which they earn their livelihood. The corn sieve, the winnowing basket, the broom, the rice-pounder, the plough, the *Awuta* or wood bill, and other such implements are worshipped on this day. The agriculturists respect their winnowing fans and corn sieves, and do not touch them with their feet.

In the Kolhápur District all the instruments and implements are worshipped by the people one day previous to the *Dasara* holiday. This worship is called *Khándepujan.* They also worship all agricultural instruments, and tie to them leaves of *Pipal* and mango trees.[1]

A new winnowing fan is considered to be holy by the Hindus. It is filled with rice, fruits, cocoanuts and betelnuts, and a *Khana*—a piece of bodice cloth—is spread over it. It is then worshipped and given to a Bráhman lady in fulfilment of certain vows, or on the occasion of the worship of a Bráhman *Dampatya* or married pair.

The broom is considered to be holy by the Hindus. Red powder—*Kunku*—is applied to a new broom before it is taken into use. It should not be touched with the feet.

At Rewadanda, in the Kolába District, some people worship a wood-bill or *Koyata* on the 6th day from the birth of a child. The rice-pounder, or *Musal*, is worshipped by them as a *devak* at the time of thread and marriage ceremonies.[2]

Fire is considered to be holy among the high class Hindus. It is considered as an angel that conveys the sacrificial offerings from this earth to the gods in heaven. It is considered as one of the Hindu deities, and worshipped daily by high class Hindus. A Bráhman has to worship the fire every day in connection with the ceremony *Vaishwadeva*—oblations of boiled rice and ghi given to the fire. It is also worshipped by the Hindus on special religious occasions.

Fire is worshipped at the time of *Yadnas* or Sacrifices. Sacrifices are of five kinds. They are—

Devayadna, Bhutayadna or *Brahmayadna, Rishiyadna* or *Atithiyadna, Pitruyadna* and *Manushyayadna.* The offerings of rice, ghi, firewood, *Til* or sesamum, *Java* or barley, etc., are made in these *yadnas.* It is also worshipped at the time of *Shrávani* or *Upákarma*—the ceremony of renewing the sacred thread annually in the month of *Shrávan.*[3]

Among the lower classes fire is worshipped on the *Mahálaya* or *Shráddha* day. They throw oblations of food into the fire on that day.

The fire produced by rubbing sticks of the *Pipal* or *Shevari* tree is considered sacred, and it is essentially necessary that the sacred fire required for the *Agnihotra* rites should be produced in the manner described above.

Agnihotra is a perpetual sacred fire preserved in *Agnikunda,* —a hole in the ground for receiving and preserving consecrated fire. A Bráhman, who has to accept the *Agnihotra,* has to preserve in his house the sacred fire day and night after his thread ceremony, and to worship it three times a day after taking his bath. When an *Agnihotri* dies, his body is burnt by the people who prepare fire by rubbing sticks of *Pipal* wood together.[4]

There are some Bráhmans who keep the fire continuously burning in their houses only for *Cháturmás* or four months of the year. The fire which is preserved and worshipped for four months is called "*Smárta Agni.*"[5]

[1] Rao Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[2] School Master, Rewadanda, Kolába.
[3] School Master, Ibhrámpur, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Adivare, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Anjur, Thána.

CHAPTER IX.

ANIMAL WORSHIP.

The following animals, birds and insects are respected by the Hindus :—The cow, bullock, she-buffalo, horse, elephant, tiger, deer, mouse, goat, ants and alligators; and among the birds the following are held sacred.—Peacock, swan, eagle and *kokil* or cuckoo.

Of all the animals the cow is considered to be the most sacred by Hindus. It is generally worshipped daily in the morning for the whole year, or at least for the *Cháturmás* or four months beginning from the 11th day of the bright half of *Asháḍha* to the 11th day of the bright half of the month of *Kártika*; and a special worship is offered to it in the evening on the 12th day of the dark half of *Ashwin* (October).

The cow is believed to be the abode of all the deities and *rishis*. It is compared with the earth in its sacredness, and it is considered that when it is pleased it is capable of giving everything required for the maintenance of mankind, and for this reason it is styled the *Káma Dhenu* or the giver of desired objects. It is said that a person who walks round the cow at the time of its delivery obtains the *punya* or merit of going round the whole earth. The cow is even worshipped by the god Vishnu.

The cow is considered next to a mother, as little children and the people in general are fed by the milk of a cow. Some women among high class Hindus take a vow not to take their meals before worshipping the cow, and when the cow is not available for worship, they draw in turmeric, white or red powder the cow's foot-prints and worship the same. At the completion of the vow it is worshipped, and then given as a gift to a Bráhman. It is considered very meritorious to give a *Gopradán*—a gift of a cow along with its calf, to a Bráhman. The sight of a cow in the morning is believed by all Hindus to be auspicious.

The bullock is respected by the people as it is the favourite vehicle of the god Shiva, and is very useful for agricultural purposes. The *Nandi* or bull is worshipped by Hindus. The bullock is specially worshipped on the 12th day of the bright half of *Kártika*. When performing the funeral rites of the dead, a bull is worshipped and set free. The bull thus set free is considered sacred by the people, and is never used again for agricultural or any other domestic purposes.

In order to avoid calamities arising from the influence of inauspicious planets, Hindus worship the she-buffalo, and offer it as a gift to a Bráhman. The she-buffalo is compared with the *Kál Purusha* or the god of Death, the reason being that Yama is believed to ride a buffalo. The Bráhman who accepts this gift has to shave his moustaches and to undergo a certain penance. The cowherds sometimes worship the she-buffalo. As it is the vehicle of Yama, the buffalo is specially worshipped by people when an epidemic occurs in a village. In certain villages in the Konkan districts the buffalo is worshipped and sacrificed on the same day.

The horse is the vehicle of the deity Khandoba of Jejuri. It is worshipped on the *Vijaya Dashami* or the *Dasara* holiday as in former days, on the occasion of the horse sacrifice or *Ashwamedha*.

The elephant is the vehicle of the god Indra and is specially worshipped on the *Dasara* day. It is also believed that there are eight sacred

elephants posted at the eight directions. These are called *Ashtadik-Pálas, i.e.,* the protectors of the eight different directions, and they are worshipped along with other deities on auspicious ceremonial occasions, like weddings, thread-girding, etc.

The deer and the tiger are considered to be holy by Hindus, and their skins are used by Bráhmans and ascetics while performing their austerities. The deer skin is used on the occasion of thread girding. A small piece of the deer skin is tied to the neck of the boy along with the new sacred thread.

The mouse, being the vehicle of the god Ganpati, is worshipped along with that deity on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day, the fourth day of the bright half of *Bhádrapada.*

The goat is believed to be holy for sacrificial purposes. It is worshipped at the time of its sacrifice, which is performed to gain the favour of certain deities.

The ass is generally considered as unholy by the Hindus, and its mere touch is held to cause pollution. But certain lower class Hindus like the Lonáris consider it sacred, and worship it on the *Gokul Ashthami* day (8th day of the dark half of *Shráwan*).

The dog is believed to be an incarnation of the deity Khandoba, and it is respected as the favourite animal of the god Dattátraya. But it is not touched by high class Hindus.

It is considered a great sin to kill a cat.

All domestic animals are worshipped by the Hindus on the morning of the first day of *Márgashirsha* (December).

On this day the horns of these animals are washed with warm water, painted with red colours, and a lighted lamp is passed round their faces. They are feasted on this day as it is considered to be the gala day (*Diváli* holiday) of the animals.

Hindus consider it meritorious to feed ants and fish, and to throw grain to the birds. Ants are fed by the people scattering sugar and flour on the ant-hills. It is believed that, by feeding the ants with sugar or flour, a person obtains the *Punya* or merit of *sahasrabhojan, i.e.,* of giving a feast to a thousand Bráhmans.

Alligators are worshipped as water deities by the Hindus.

The peacock is the favourite vehicle of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning, and it is therefore respected by the people.

The swan is the vehicle of Brahma, the god of creation.

The eagle is the vehicle of the god Vishnu, and is a favourite devotee of that deity. It is therefore held sacred by Hindus.

The cuckoo or *Kokil* is believed to be an incarnation of the goddess Párwati. This bird is specially worshipped by high caste Hindu women for the period of one month on the occasion of a special festival called the festival of the cuckoos, or *Kokila vrata,* which is held in the month of *Ashádha* at intervals of twenty years.

The crow is generally held inauspicious by Hindus, but as the *manes* or *pitras* are said to assume the form of crows, these birds are respected in order that they may be able to partake of the food offered to the dead ancestors in the dark half of *Bhádrapada* called *Pitrupaksha.*

It is necessary that the oblations given in performance of the funeral rites on the tenth day after the death of a person should be eaten by the crow. But if the crow refuses to touch these oblations, it is believed that the soul of the dead has not obtained salvation; and hence it is conjectured that certain wishes of the dead have remained unfulfilled. The son or the relatives of the dead then take water in the cavity of their right hand, and solemnly promise to fulfil the wishes of the dead. When this is done, the crow begins to eat the food.

The harsh sound of a crow is taken as a sure sign of an impending mishap.

The dog, cat, pig, ass, buffalo, rat, *bhálu,* an old female jackal, lizard, and the birds cock, crow, kite, vulture, owl, bat, and *pingla* are considered as unholy and inauspicious by Hindus.

THE HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF THE DOME IN PERSIA.

By K. A. C. Creswell.

It is my intention in this article to trace the history and evolution of the dome in Persia from the earliest times to the present day; and I hope to show at the same time the very important part played by Persia in the evolution of domed construction, which I believe has never been pointed out before. Before I can do this, however, I must first briefly review the dome in antiquity.

There was a time when it was thought that the dome was not of really great antiquity, but this opinion can no longer be held. In ancient Egypt the dome was known at a very early date. This may sound strange, since we are accustomed to think of Egyptian architecture as a style of columns and architraves and walls of finely wrought masonry; yet side by side with this monumental form of construction there existed vaults and domes in small and unimportant buildings. At Hieraconpolis several domed *shuna* or store pits of about 6 feet in diameter have been found, which seemed to have belonged to houses of the pre-pyramid age. Some foundations of isolated circular buildings, probably granaries, were also discovered. In the 12th Dynasty, domes were formed over the circular chamber within the pyramids of that age; built, however, in horizontal courses, like the beehive tomb at Mycenae.



Fig. 1.

A model of a house of the 10th Dynasty found at Rifeh, (Fig. 1) shows a terrace roof with three little rounded cupolas just emerging through it, exactly like a style of house found at the present day in many parts of the East.[1]

The use of little domes for granaries was quite general. According to Perrot and Chipiez, "the granaries, barns and storehouses were almost always dome-shaped. Those which had flat roofs seem to have been very few indeed."[2]

In Chaldaea and Assyria, also, the dome was known from very early times. Figure 2 shows a bas-relief found by Layard in the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh, (705-681 B. C.) Here we see buildings, some with hemispherical cupolas, and some with tall domes approximating to cones in shape. These undoubtedly represent peasants' houses which are constructed in the same way at the present day in many villages of Upper Syria and Mesopotamia.[3] Note the eye left in the centre of the dome to admit light; we shall notice this feature again.

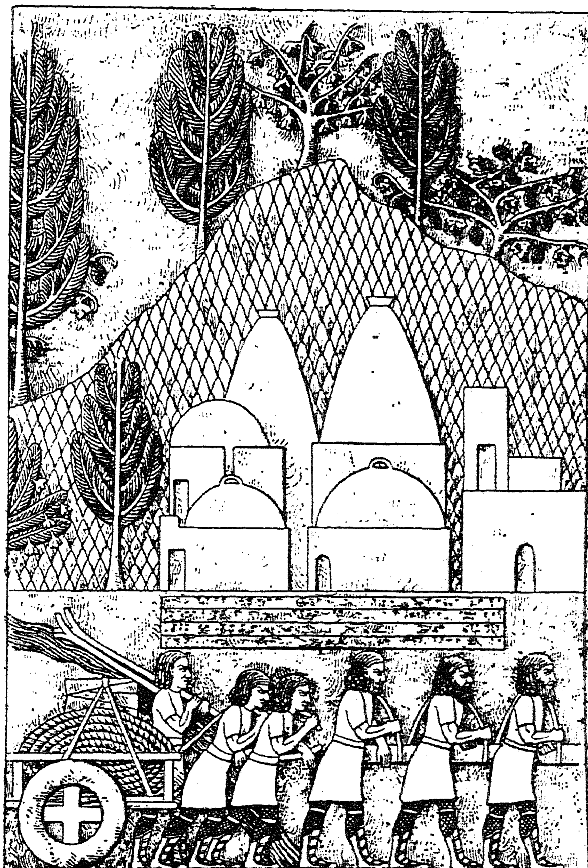


Fig. 2.

[1] Lethaby (W. R.), *Architecture*, London, [1912], p. 58, fig. 13.
[2] Perrot (Georges) and Chipiez (Charles), *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1883, Vol. II, p. 37.
[3] See Ewald Banse: *Die Gubâb Hutten Nordsyriens und Nordwest—Mesopotamiens*: *Orientalisches Archiv*, Jahrg. II. pp. 173-179.

In Rome the dome appears to have been known some centuries before our era. It seems to have been introduced as a feature in bath-building, and the only domes known to Vitruvius, who wrote about the beginning of the 1st century, were those required for the hot chamber of the bath. The ruined cupola of the bath at Pompeii is a concreted shell of rubble, very conical, just like those shown on Layard's bas-relief.

Now there is one thing common to all these domes, they are all small and used in buildings of secondary importance. In Egypt this is always the case, while in Chaldaea and Assyria the great palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib appear to have been built without domes. Strabo, who died A. D. 25, and who did not visit Mesopotamia, but who describes Asia from the Taurus to India, by the aid of contemporary writings, mentions the vaulted narrow rooms. He says, "We may add that all the houses were vaulted, in consequence of the absence of wood."[4]

Strabo's remarks were confirmed by Place who found curved segments of vaulting some 4 feet by 6 amongst the débris in the rooms of the palace of Khorsabad. He even found rollers of limestone, weighing from 2 to 3 cwt. pierced at each end with a square hole into which wooden spindles were inserted. Similar rollers are used to this day in the East after rain, to roll the flat terraces on top of the vaulted roofs of sunburnt clay. This roller closes the cracks, kills the weeds and makes the surface firm.

Place found that in nearly every chamber (a fact which Strabo comments on) the length was at least twice the breadth and in many cases four, five or even seven times as great. This precludes the idea of a dome. In the palace of Sargon out of 184 rooms scarcely any are square,[5] and there is nothing to show that these were covered with domes—they may quite well have been vaulted. So that we may say that in palace architecture the dome played no part at all, or next to none.

Now what is the explanation of the fact that the nations of antiquity which I have mentioned, although they could construct domes, never used them in buildings of the first importance ? Why do we find the dome relegated to small and inferior buildings ? I think the reason is this. It must be obvious to everyone that supposing you possess the art of building a dome, it will not be of much use to you, unless you have *also* devised a means whereby you can set it over a square chamber. A circular granary is all very well, but when it comes to a complex building, an aggregation of cells, like a palace for instance, you cannot compose it of circular rooms, and unless you can devise a method of setting the domes over square rooms, you must abandon them in favour of vaults.

All the domes that I have mentioned hitherto are either set over circular spaces, like the granaries in Egypt or the baths at Pompeii, or else they are set over a square space by a makeshift pendentive which could not be trusted on a large scale.

Regarding Egypt, Prof. Petrie says "Egyptian doming of construction chambers is irregular, the sides contracting inwards while the corner increasingly rounds. For open chambers I think the angles in each case are truncated by placing bricks across them."[6]

In Rome likewise the domes mentioned by Vitruvius for the hot-chamber of the baths are set over a circular space. Even at a considerably later date this is the case with the dome of the Pantheon. In this huge dome, 140 feet in diameter, which still remains the

[4] Strabo, Bk. LXVI. c. 1, s. 5.

[5] Place (Victor), *Ninive*, plates III-VII.

[6] Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

largest in the world, Roman dome construction reached its zenith and then almost died out. Few are the domes in Roman architecture, and as Fergusson remarks "So far as I know all the domed buildings erected by the Romans up to the time of Constantine, and indeed long afterwards, were circular in the interior, though, like the temple built by Diocletian at Spalatro, they were sometimes octagonal externally."[7] One thing, a satisfactory pendentive, was wanted, before domed construction could come to its own.

In the case of the domes on the bas-relief found by Layard, which I have already mentioned, the setting at the angles was no doubt as unsatisfactory as in the Egyptian examples referred to by Prof. Petrie, and quite impossible on a large scale.

Now it seems to me that the Persians, who were the first people to solve this problem, and devise a satisfactory pendentive, played for this reason a very important, in fact vital, part in the evolution of domical construction.

We will now consider the two earliest domed buildings in Persia, namely the palaces of Firûzâbâd and Sarvistân. I put Firûzâbâd first, contrary to the usual order, for reasons which I shall give later. At Firûzâbâd we see the dome applied on a large scale for the first time, this dome being 45 feet in diameter, and we see also the means by which this setting of a really large dome over a square space became possible, *viz*: by means of a squinch, a device wholly Persian. By the squinch, which here consists of a series of concentric arches, thrown across the angle, and advancing one over the other, the square is reduced to an octagon, upon which it is easy to set a dome (Fig. 3). It is impossible to overrate the importance of this discovery, which did for the East what the Byzantine pendentive did for the West. By it Persia, so to speak, ennobled the dome, raising it to the very front rank as a method of roofing, a position it has kept in Persia ever since. In fact I think I may make this generalization, that Persia is the land of the dome, whereas Mesopotamia is the land of the vault. Thus while in Persia we have these two palaces in which the dome plays a conspicuous part, in Mesopotamia we have the palaces of Al Hadra (or Hatra) and Tak Kisra where the vault alone is found. Later in the palace of Mashita, in the 8th century palace of Ukhaidir and at Kasr Kharâneh this is also the case and even in the 9th century Bait-ul-Khalîfah at Rakka. In all these buildings the vault is employed to the complete exclusion of the dome. These two palaces Firûzâbâd and Sarvistân, are attributed to the Sasanian period by all authorities on the subject with the single exception of Dieulafoy, who, in his work, "*L'Art antique de la Perse*", attributes them to the Achaemenian age.

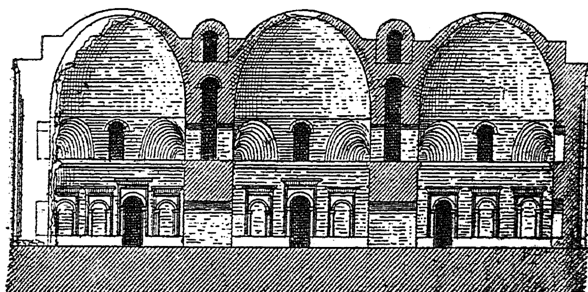


Fig. 3.

[7] Fergusson (James), *Handbook of Architecture*, London, 1859, p. 346.

I give here a plan of Firûzâbâd, (Fig. 4.) striking for its noble simplicity. It measures 170 feet by 320 and is therefore a really large building. All the spaces shown are covered by elliptical barrel vaults, except the open court and the three square rooms which are covered by elliptical domes set on squinches. These three domes, being each 45 feet in diameter are much larger than any we have hitherto met with in Egypt or Chaldaea. The stability of the vaults is ensured, either by adjacent structures or by large voids in the thickness of the walls spanned by barrel vaulting. Dieulafoy calls these discharging chambers. (Plate I, A.) An interesting feature in this palace is the stucco decoration, a good deal of which remains. That on the outside recalls the method used in Chaldaea, Khorsabad for example and consists of reed-like pilasters of semicircular section with panellings between. (Fig. 5.) The great archeddoorways are set in frames surmounted with the Egyptian reed cornice, which recalls those used in the Achaemenian palaces at Persepolis and Susa. (Fig. 6.) They are, however, executed in stucco being applied to the face of the wall, whereas in Achaemenian work they are always carved in the stone. In addition to this the reed cornice, instead of commencing with a vertical rise, spreads out, thus showing a later and decadent form of composition. The entire fabric is of broken stone or rubble, bound by a good mortar of lime mixed with sand.

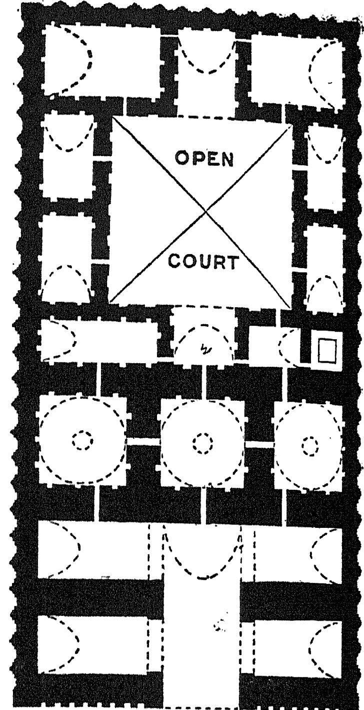
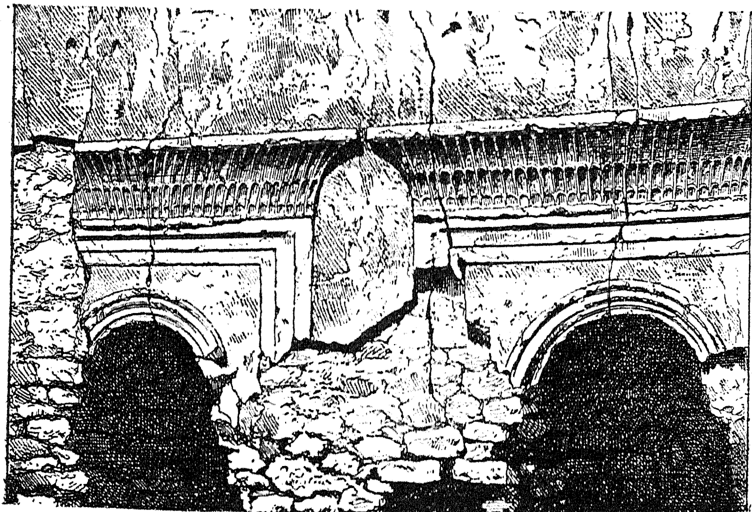


Fig. 4.


Fig. 5.


Fig. 6.

I will now briefly describe Sarvistân. It measures 120 feet by 140, and has three domes which are shown here in plan and in section. (Figs. 7 and 8) The walls are built of stone, the domes being of brick, but practically all the stucco decoration has disappeared. A great advance in scientific knowledge is shown in the vaulting arrangements. In order to lessen the thrust of the elliptical barrel vaults, and to avoid very thick side walls, piers were built within the walls, thus forming a series of recesses. (Plate I, B.) These recesses, be it specially noticed, are nothing more than a development of the method employed at Firûzâbâd, by which the hollow spaces left in the thickness of the walls in the former building, are here utilised to add to the floor-space of the hall itself. These piers do not carry transverse arches, but support instead either semidomes or barrel vaults over the recesses between them, above which rises the central elliptical vault, its span being reduced by this arrangement from 26 feet (the extreme width of the hall) to about 17. (Fig. 9). The lower portion of these piers is carried on coupled columns, which give increased space; so that the builders must have recognised the fact that, the thrust being resisted, the actual weight can be borne by supports of less superficial area than the piers themselves. As the recesses are of course rectangular, squinches are used in the angles to carry the semi-domes over them.

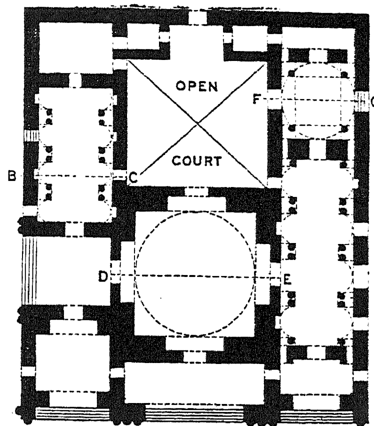
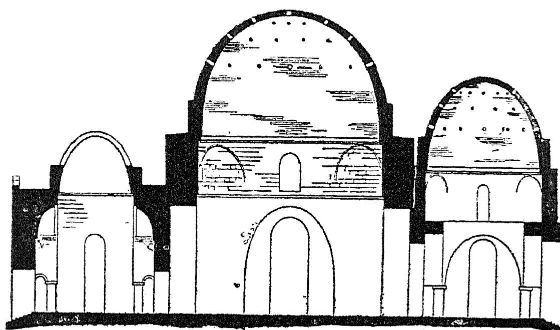
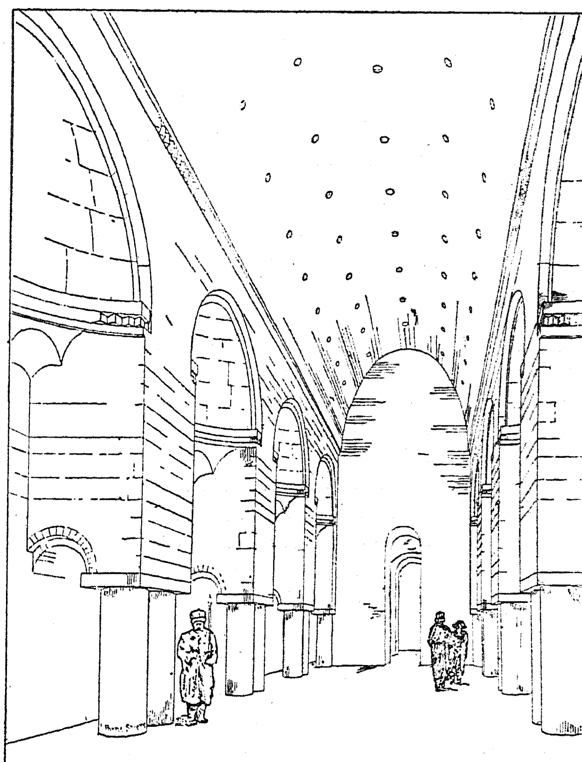
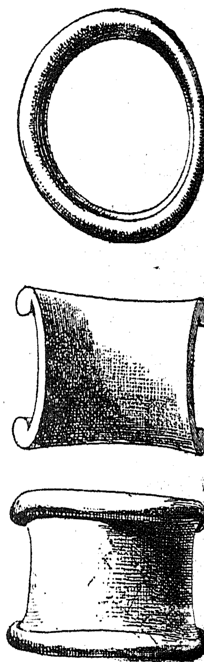


Fig. 7.


Fig. 8.


Fig. 9.

I must mention here that while the domes of Firûzâbâd have an eye in the centre to admit light (similar to those on Layard's bas-relief) at Sarvistân we find the domes as well as the vaults pierced for the same purpose by hollow terracotta pots, (Fig. 10) built in at regular intervals, as may be seen in (Fig. 9.)


Fig. 10.

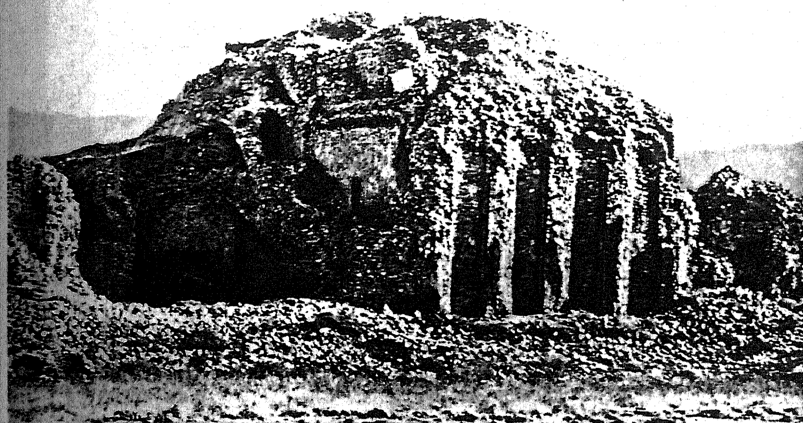
It will now be easy for me to give my reasons for considering Firûzâbâd to be earlier than Sarvistân. Firstly I would point out the highly evolved vaulting system of the latter compared with the simple planning of the former. Piers similar to those at Sarvistân are used in one of the halls at Ukhaiḍir, (Plate I, C) (c. 750 A.D.) to support arches carrying a barrel vault, which, however, now takes a pointed, instead of an elliptical form. Piers are used also at Qsair 'Amrah (c. 711-750) [8] and Kasr Kharâneh, only the vaulting system they support is much more complicated. At Kasr Kharâneh (Plate I, D), we see at the end of the hall a semi-dome on squinches which is exactly like what we find in the recesses at Sarvistân. Further, the Egyptian reed-cornice at Firûzâbâd though decadent still shows strong affinities with the palaces at Persepolis and Susa (Perrot and Chipiez, though attacking Dieulafoy, admit the force of this argument,) and the reed-like pilasters recall the still earlier Chaldaean palaces at Khorsâbâd and elsewhere. To put it briefly, while Sarvistân looks forward and is the prototype of 7th and 8th century buildings, all the affinities of Firûzâbâd are with the past. The manner already alluded to whereby the hollows in the walls of Firûzâbâd are, thrown so to speak, into the main hall at Sarvistân must obviously belong to a later development.

Regarding the actual dates of these two palaces, Dieulafoy attributed them, as I have said, to the Achaemenian age, seeing in them Persian palaces, built in the style of the country in the 6th century B. C., the palaces at Persepolis and Susa being in the governmental style introduced from foreign nations during the great conquests of the Achaemenians. Every other writer on the subject is against this view ; Flandin and Coste who discovered them, Fergusson, Perrot and Chipiez, and more recently Prof. Phené Spiers, all attribute them to the Sasanian dynasty. Perrot and Chipiez, however, are willing to put these two palaces in the late Parthian or Arsacid period.[9] Recently Dieulafoy has modified his view and now admits Sarvistân to belong to the Sasanian period, though still standing out for an early date for Firûzâbâd. *Medio tutissimus ibis* is a very sound motto in archaeology as in most other things, and I think that we shall be safe in concluding that Firûzâbâd was built not later than 240 A. D.[10] and possibly considerably

[8] It was built between the years 711 and 750, when the house of Umayyah came to an end, the earlier date being determined by the presence among the frescoes of a representation of Roderick, the last king of the West Goths, who came first into contact with the Arabs at the battle of Xeres in 711. G. S. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir*, p. 112. Prof. Max van Berchem on very convincing grounds has narrowed down the period to A.D. 712-715. *Journal des Savants*, 1909, pp. 363-372.

[9] *History of Art in Persia*, London, 1892, p. 188.

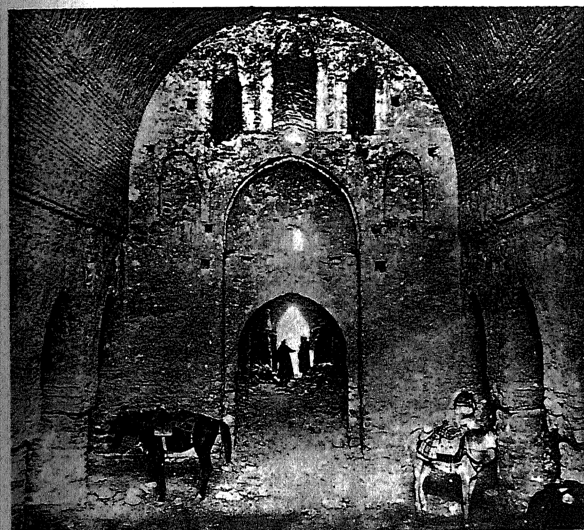
[10] It is certainly not safe to attribute it to Firûz (A. D. 458-482) as has been done, (by Prof. Phené Spiers : *Sassanian Period*, in Russell Sturgis's *Dictionary of Architecture*) since the name Firûzâbâd only dates from the 10th century when it was given to the place by Asad-ad-Dauleh, one of the rulers of the Bûyah dynasty of Fârs and Irâq. Curzon, *Persia*, II, 228.



A. Discharging Chambers, Firūzabad.



B. Side of Hall at Sa

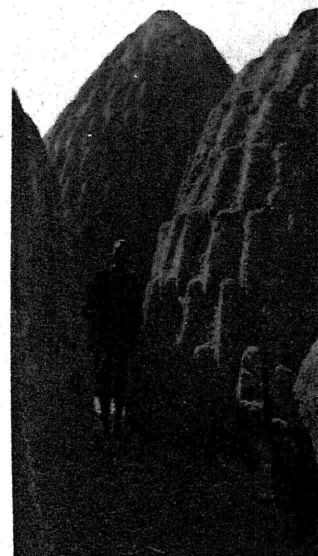


C. The Great Hall, Ukhaiḍir.



D. Kasr Kharânah, piers and semi-





earlier as it is so strongly differentiated from Sarvistân, but nevertheless not earlier than very late Achaemenian (c. B. C. 340) owing to the decadent quality of its Persepolitan decoration shown in the door-frames with the Egyptian reed-cornice. I really do not see how it can be fixed within much narrower limits. As for Sarvistân we are on firmer ground and I think we may date it between A.D. 350 and A.D. 380, which is the latest date I have seen assigned to it, although, on account of its affinities with the buildings mentioned I should be quite willing to put it even a century later.

So far I have said nothing as to the origin of the dome, although we have seen the antiquity of this method of construction. Now domes are built by the most primitive people with practically no appliances, all over the Near and Middle East at the present day. Layard gives a vivid description of one he saw built in Kurdistân which was just like those on the bas-relief. Innumerable travellers in Persia have remarked firstly on the immense tracts which are absolutely treeless and secondly that wherever there is a lack of timber, there the houses are vaulted and domed with sun-baked clay. In Eastern Persia especially is this the case. (Plate I, E,) shows a typical mud domed village.

Sven Hedin, from whose book I have taken this photograph, says that each "house is a low, long rectangle of mud, and over each room rises a cupola-shaped roof of sundried bricks, for here at the margin of the desert there is no timber to make a flat roof."[11] Domed huts existed in B.C. 700 in Mesopotamia as we see from Layard's bas-relief, and no doubt they did also in Persia, like conditions producing like effects. Quintus Curtius who wrote in the 1st century describes the dwellings of the inhabitants of the Paropanisus (the region north of Herât) as being very similar to these, he says "their form, broadest at bottom, gradually contracts as the structure rises, till it terminates in the fashion of a ship's keel, with an aperture in the centre to admit the light."[12] It therefore seems probable to me that the dome was developed more or less independently in those regions where wood was lacking and necessity forced the invention of this sort of roofing, and far from thinking the domes of Firûzabad and Sarvistân to be derived from Mesopotamia I think they were simply a development of indigenous construction.

Lest an independent origin of the dome should seem improbable I would call attention to these domes of sun-baked clay, 20 feet in diameter and 30 feet high, found by Miss Macleod in the German Kameruns.[13] (Plate I, F, and Plate II, A.) Here we see this feature used by the most primitive people and strange to say in a most scientific form. The shells are extraordinarily thin, but it should be noted that they are formed to almost perfect parabolic curves, which according to Waldram,[14] a recent writer on the mathematical theory of domes, eliminates all ring tensions due to the weight of the material. Of course I am not suggesting that these natives know anything about conic sections, but, merely, that working with plastic clay, they have, by experiment, found out a particularly safe shape.

We now come to the romance of the dome which is ushered in with the advent of Islam. The earliest Muhammadan dome known to me is that of the great Mosque at Kum. This was built by Abu Sadaim Husain bin 'Ali al-Ash'ari in A. H. 265 (878) and is 80 feet in height. The next dome, also at Kum, is that of the tomb of Muhammad bin Musa, who died A. H. 296. The dome over his grave was built in A. H. 366 (976). I regret that

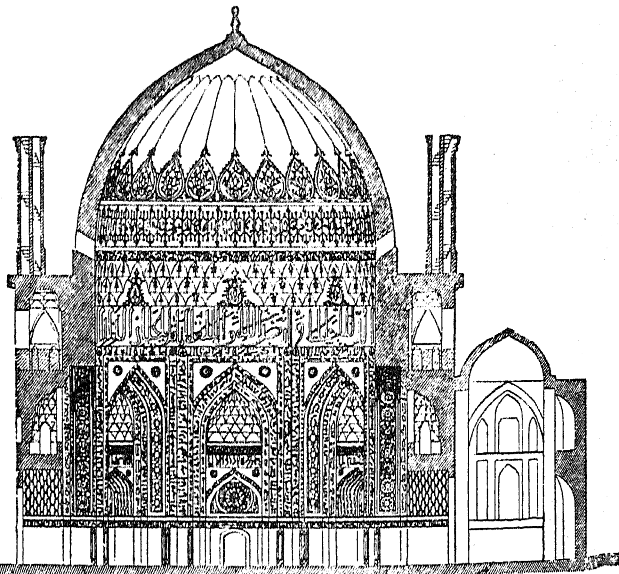
[11] *Overland to India*, I. 195. [12] Bk, L, ii, c. 3.
[13] Macleod (Olive), *Chiefs and Cities of Central Africa*, London, 1912, pp. 114-116.
[14] Waldram (Percy), *Structural Mechanics*, London, [1912.] 325-6.

I cannot give illustrations of these two domes, but in reply to my enquiry Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler—to whose book *Eastern Persian Irak*, I am indebted for their dates—has very kindly informed me that so far as he can remember they are "of a more or less hemispherical shape." This sounds as though the Sasanian form still persisted.

In the 12th century we have the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at old Merv. (Plate II, B.) Sultan Sanjar reigned from A. D. 1117 to 1157, and this mausoleum was built during his lifetime. So great was its solidity that he gave it the name of Dâr-ul-Akhîrât, "the Abode of Eternity."[15] Nevertheless it was damaged and disfigured by Tulûi Khan, the son of Chingiz, at the sack of Merv in A. D. 1221. The drum of the dome appears to be strengthened by buttresses at four points. This view of the interior (Plate II, D.) is taken from a Russian work by Zhukovski on the ruins of old Merv. It is, I am sorry to say, rather blackened and unsatisfactory, but no doubt it was a very difficult exposure. However, it shows, sufficiently plainly, the squinches at the angles, a feature which might almost have been predicted with certainty. O'Donovan,[16] who visited this mausoleum about 30 years ago, says that it "cannot be less than 60 feet to the summit of its cupola," and that "its greatest diameter is at least forty feet."

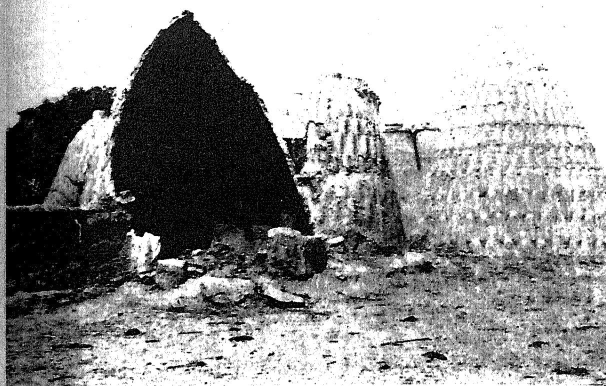
The Jabal-i-Sang at Kermân is said to be the oldest building there. Although I cannot date it, I give a view of it (Plate II, C), because early Muhammadan domes are scarce. This illustration is due to the kindness of Col. P. M. Sykes; it is unpublished and is quite new material architecturally. This building is further interesting as providing a very clear prototype of the numerous domes of the Pathân period at Delhi, which hitherto have been almost a type apart. In comparison with the tomb of Firoz Shâh, (Plate III, E.) built in 1389[17] it will be seen that the shape of these domes is strikingly similar, and they both stand on octagonal plinths, the former on a double one.

The building shown (Fig. 11) was built in 1307 by Muhammad Khudabunda at Sultânieh. He was the first Persian sovereign publicly to declare himself of the Shi'a sect of Muhammadans, and with a view to establish it more firmly in the minds of his subjects he entertained the project of transporting hither the remains of 'Ali and Husain from Najaf and Kerbela, hoping thus to render it a place of pilgrimage. He did not live to complete his object and the building became, instead, his own mausoleum.[18] The building is octagonal in plan and the slight transition from the octagon to the circle on which the dome rests is effected by stalactite pendentives. The dome is 84 feet in diameter, and is therefore a really large one, the largest in fact, in Persia. A vaulted gallery runs round the base of the dome and the stability of the structure is further ensured by eight minarets, one at each of the angles. The whole building was covered


Fig. 11.

15 Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, p. 143.
16 *The Merv Oasis*, p. 250.
17 Stephen (Carr.), *Archæology of Delhi*, p. 157.
18 Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.* I. 276-81.

THE DOME IN PERSIA. Plate II.



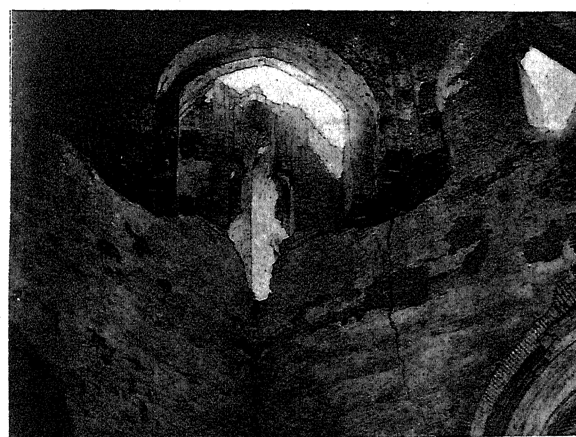
A. Ruined hut, Musgum.



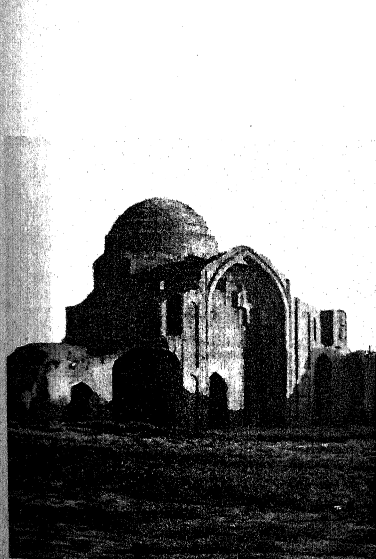
B. Mausoleum of Sultān Sanjar, Merv.

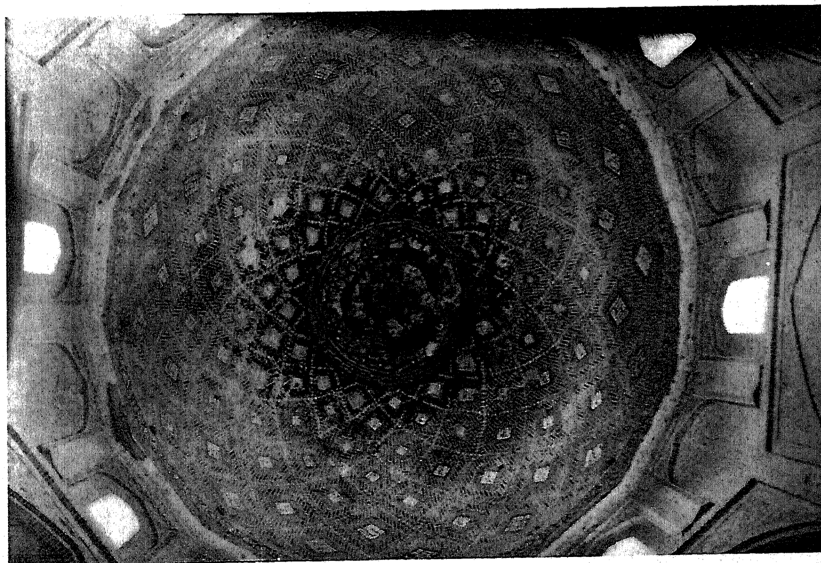


C. Jabal-i-Sang, Kerman.



D. Mausoleum of Sultān Sanjar, Interior.





with Persian tiles, some magnificent strips of which remain; it had doors of Indian steel which existed down to 1671 when they were seen and described by Struys,[19] and both in planning and decoration, it would appear to have been the greatest masterpiece of Persian architecture. This is borne out by the universal chorus of praise showered on it by almost every traveller who has visited it. Morier, writing in 1810, in an age when few could see beauty outside the classical styles, said: " . . . of any description, and in any place, I do not recollect a building which could have surpassed this in its original state[20]."

I would invite special attention to the shape of this dome. Contrary to what is usually the case in the West, its beautiful outline is not obscured by the piling up of material on its haunches. This feature is typical of the general ignorance prevailing in Europe in regard to dome construction. Fergusson, with his knowledge of Eastern domes, was the first to shed a ray of light on the problem in 1855,[21] when he made an attempt to point out one of the chief fallacies to be found in European theories of dome construction. Up till then the dome had been considered simply as a circular vault, and like a vault requiring a great amount of abutment. This error goes back to Roman times, as can be seen from the Pantheon, where perfectly unnecessary masses of material are piled up on the haunches of the dome giving it a very ugly exterior outline (Fig. 12). Fergusson pointed out that while any given section of a vault was of the same breadth throughout, and therefore of the same weight, in a dome the lower rings are much heavier than the crown as they contain far more material. This is of course, in accordance with the curious mathematical theorem that the weights of the sections of a hemispherical dome are in proportion to their heights. Thus, as is shown in Fig. 13, the weight of section A B C D is twice that of Section B C F because it is twice the height. Fergusson concluded therefore, that the weight of this lower ring constituted ample abutment, and that such a dome would be stable; in fact, as Fergusson expressed it, "It is almost as easy to build a dome that will stand, as it is to build a vault that will fall".

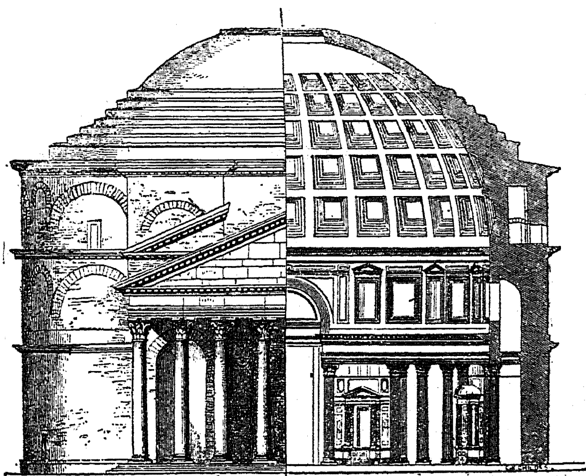


Fig. 12.

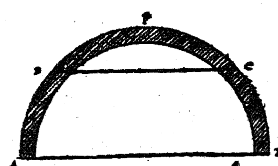


Fig. 13.

It was reserved, however, for E. B. Denison (afterwards Lord Grimthorpe) to give a full, complete and mathematical demonstration of the theory of the dome, when in February 1871, he read before the Royal Institute of British Architects a paper on "The Mathematical Theory of Domes", in which he brought the highest mathematical attainments to bear upon this problem. This use of the higher mathematics was rendered necessary by the fact that the actual thickness of the dome itself, interferes with the geometrical and trignometrical considerations involved in the problem, and so deranges all the natural relations of sines and cosines, that the formulæ soon become unmanageable for any direct solution and render necessary a free use of the integral and differential calculus. I cannot here go into all the interesting results obtained by him,

[19] Struys (J), *Travels and Voyages*, (trans.) London, 1684, p. 302. John Bell of Antermony who visited it in 1717 speaks of "a brass gate of lattice-work, seemingly of great antiquity." *Travels from St. Petersburg*, &c. London, 1788, I. 99.

[20] Morier (James), *A Journey through Persia*, London, 1812, p. 258.

[21] *op. cit.* pp. 441-3.

although I must remark in this connection that he found pointed domes considerably superior to hemispherical ones.

This superior stability of a pointed dome is interesting as almost all domes in the East are pointed, but of course this superior shape must have been found by long experience and not by calculation beforehand, as Newton only invented the calculus in 1665, and without it the problem is insoluble. Of course, all domes in the East are unnecessarily thick, tremendously so, in fact, though some are of wonderfully scientific shape, for instance, this one at Sultânîeh, which I think is also one of the most beautiful, as indeed it should be since it satisfies the eye mechanically. Its internal construction, however, though peculiar and original, is not so scientific. According to Dieulafoy, it is made with an inner and outer lining, each a brick and a half thick, with a sort of cellular webbing between made by intersecting ribs following the lines of latitude and longitude, so to speak, the hollow cells left being nearly square in shape. This construction is, I believe, unique as far as Persia is concerned, but a similar device is found in the dome of St. Peter's at Rome and in the Cathedral at Florence where it is useful in taking a firmer hold of the lantern to prevent it being turned over by the wind. Except for this possible advantage where the dome carries a lantern I say, on the authority of the Paper I have just referred to (where this problem is treated in detail) that this kind of construction is not scientific, and is not to be commended, because it is *not* the best disposition of a given amount of material; strange as it may seem, the dome would be stronger if the inner and outer layers were brought together and welded into one without the intervening cellular work. The problem of the dome is radically different from that of the vault and the girder, and one cannot look upon a dome as cut up into a series of vertical sections forming cantilevers. However, its *shape* is, as I have said, ideal.

Although it does not quite fall within the title of this article, I cannot leave this beautiful mausoleum without referring to one extraordinary feature, which no doubt accounts for the intense sense of harmonious proportion so many observers have felt on looking at it. Dieulafoy, who published in 1883 a detailed study of this building, in César Daly's *Revue d'Architecture et des travaux publiques*, found that the interior and exterior elevations were set out in a framework of squares and equilateral triangles, the intersections of which gave all the chief fixed points such as the width and height of the doorway, the level of the upper gallery, height of cornice and so forth, so that the size of every part was related to every other part in some definite proportion. Mauss has shown[22] that in two other domed buildings—the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem—the plan must have been set out on similar lines, equilateral triangles governing the former and right-angled triangles with equal sides the latter. Mauss's plan of the Dome of the Rock is given here (Fig. 14) showing the geometrical skeleton which governs the design. In this building again, as might be expected, the extraordinary harmony of its interior is the first thing to strike the observer. I quote Prof. Hayter Lewis[23] :—

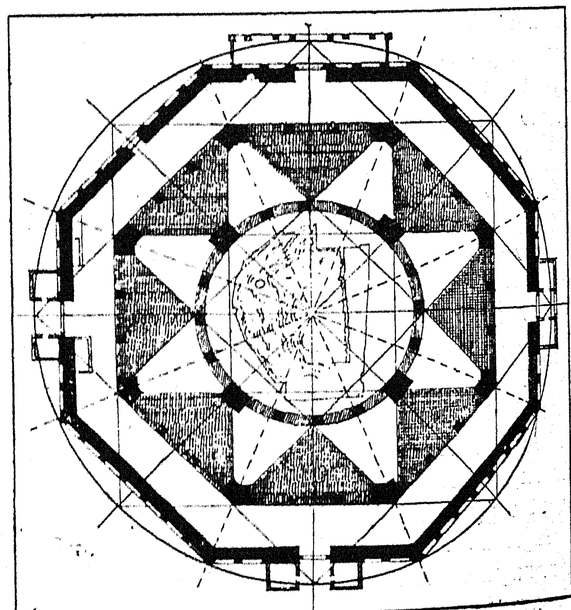


Fig. 14.

[22] Mauss (C), *Note sur la méthode employée pour tracer le plan de la mosquée d'Omar et de la rotonde du Saint-Sépulchre à Jerusalem*: *Revue archéologique*, III. série, tome XII, pp. 1-31.

[23] Lewis (T. Hayter), *The Holy Places of Jerusalem*, London, 1888, pp. 126-7.

It is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful buildings existing, and I cordially agree with these eloquent words of Mr. Fergusson: "The one thing I was least prepared for was the extreme beauty of the interior of the building. I remember perfectly the effect of the Taj Mahal and other great imperial tombs at Agra and Delhi. . . . But so far as my knowledge extends, the dome of the Rock surpasses them all. There is an elegance of proportion. . . which does not exist in any other building I am acquainted with."

I believe this is the only other instance in Muhammadan architecture where anything of this sort has been discovered, but it might well be found in other buildings were it looked for, since the idea itself, although its existence was not dreamt of sixty years ago, is constantly being found over a wider and wider field. Prof. Phené Spiers states that in the design of Gothic Cathedrals there is reason to believe that proportions based on the equilateral triangle were used in the setting out.[24] Babin has shown by numerous examples that a system of triangulation was used in fixing the proportions of Greek temples, the height of the façade, the depth of the entablature, and the spacing of the columns all conforming to it.[25] He has since found the same thing in Persian architecture of the Achæmenian period.[26] Ram Raz mentions the rules of proportion in his *Architecture of the Hindus,* which he compiled from the *Silpa Śâstras,* a collection of writings of uncertain age and origin, of which he collected fragments in the Carnatic where he was born. All the proportions laid down by him are, however, simple arithmetical ratios. This was the case, also, with the Bhâvnagar House-Front at the Delhi Exibition of 1903, which was specially made by the head carpenter of the State according to the traditional rules of his craft. (Sir George Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi,* pp. 124-5 and plate 28). It appears, therefore, that in India less subtle ratios obtained.

That this idea is extremely ancient cannot be denied, since various relationships of this sort are found in the Great Pyramid, where, amongst other things, the height bears to the circumference of the base the same relationship as the diameter of a circle bears to its circumference. That literature contains no reference to this remarkable system goes for nothing, as craft secrets of this sort were, no doubt, only imparted under vows of secrecy. Under a scheme of this sort, whereby the size of every part is related to every other part in some definite proportion, as pointed out above, a building instead of being a collection of odd notes, became a harmonious chord in stone, a sort of living crystal; and after all it really is not strange that harmonies of this sort should appeal to us through our sight, just as chords in music appeal to us through our hearing. Some of the ratios involved above, such as the square root of two, and especially that which the diameter of a circle bears to its circumference, which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space, nay further, into the equation of movement of the very electrons of the atom itself, are fundamentals in time and space, they go right down to the very basis of our own nature and of the physical universe in which we live and move and have our being, and may well appeal to us sub-consciously.

The Masjid-i-Jama at Verâmin is another example of a great building of the golden age of Persian architecture. According to an inscription over the main entrance it was built A. H. 722 (1322) by Sultan Abu Said, the son and successor of Khudâbunda. The form of the dome is less pointed than that at Sultânieh (Plate II, E.) and recalls somewhat those of Sarvistân in outline. The interior arrangement is as follows: The inner chamber,



[24] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* 11th edition, art. *Architecture,* II, p. 370.

[25] Babin (C.), *Note sur l' emploi des triangles dans la mise en proportion des monuments grecs: Revue archéologique,* III^{e} série, tome XVI, pp. 82-106.

[26] *Note sur la métrologie et les proportions dans les monuments achéménides de la Perse: Revue archéologique,* III^{e} série, tome XVII, pp. 347-79.

square on plan, is converted into an octagon by squinches thrown across the angles. On this stands an octagonal drum, with narrow windows in each face, a new feature of which this is the earliest example known to me with one exception, Imâmzâdeh Yahia, also at Verâmin, built in the 12th century according to Dr. Sarre.[27] The eight sides of the drum are converted into sixteen by a series of beautifully finished squinches, and on these rests the dome itself. (Plate II, F). On examining the plate, it will be seen that the dome instead of being either set back or carried across the sixteen angles, has the internal rim of its spherical surface distorted almost imperceptibly to fit its support, the distortion soon merging in the true hemisphere as the dome rises. This separation of parts—pendentives, drum, dome—recalls the similar separation of structural elements to be found in Byzantine architecture of the 10th century,[28] in which, however, squinches are replaced by spherical triangles.

The interior of this dome is decorated with tile mosaic, with a magnificent rosette in the centre; beyond this may be seen a network of interlacing curves, in the interstices of which are square plaques containing ornamental devices in highly conventionalized Kufic, a somewhat uncommon decorative feature. It is, however, found in the Blue Mosque at Tabrîz (1437-68),[29] and in a few mosques at Cairo, examples of which have been published by Innes and Rogers. I give here (Fig. 15) an example from the mosque of Hasan (1356) published by the former,[30] of which he gives the following reading in French style: "La Ilah illa Allah, Mohamed rasoul Allah": There is no god but God, Mohamed is the Apostle of God.

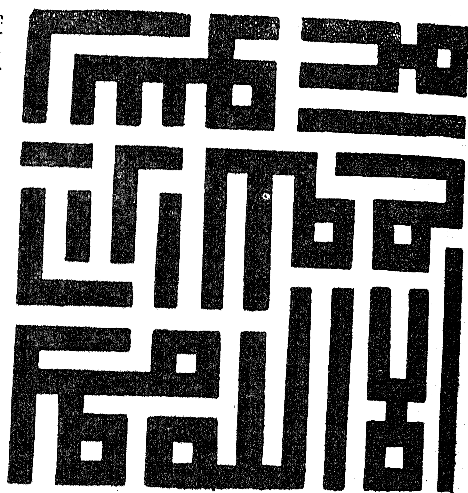


Fig. 15.

The mausoleum at Sultânîeh and the highly articulated and well finished interior of this dome, together with Prof. Sarre's fine plates of the main entrance and mihrâb, enable one to realize the splendour of Persian architecture in the 13th and 14th centuries.

We now approach the Tîmûrî age when a great change is witnessed in the style of dome used in Persia. Up to this point all the domes met with are simple structures and we have no example of the bulbous double dome. The only apparent exception to this is the double dome of the shrine of Imâm Rizâ, at Meshed, sometimes stated to have been built by Suri, governor of Nishâpûr in 1037[31]; but this is incorrect, as this early dome was destroyed by an earthquake in the 17th century and rebuilt and gilded by Shâh Sulaimân in 1672, according to Chardin, who was an eye-witness of the work.[32]

[27] Sarre (F.), *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, fig. 65.

[28] Choisy (A), *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantines*, p. 96, S. Bardias at Salonika being one of the earliest dated examples.

[29] Texier (C.), *Description de l'Arménie la Perse*, etc., pl. 47, 49.

[30] Innes (Walter), *Inscriptions arabes en caractères carrés : Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, III série, No. I, pp. 61-7.

[31] Yate, (C.E.) *Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 316.

[32] Chardin, ed. Langlés, Vol. III. p. 228.

Now, however, a new type appears which consists of the former type of dome, *covered over* by a slightly bulbous shell, which is superimposed on it, leaving a large space between. This type only appears towards the end of Tîmûr's reign, his early buildings not having this feature. In 1371 he built, at Samarkand, the Mausoleum of his sister Chûchuk (Tchouchouck) Bikâ in the group of buildings known as the Shâh Zindeh or Living Saint, so called from the grave of Kâsim ibn 'Abbâs, who is supposed to be still living, and whose shrine forms the chief building in the group. Both these buildings have single domes, fluted externally, but, when we come to the Mausoleum of his wife Bîbî Khânûm, (Plate III, A.) commenced, according to Schubert von Soldern[33] in 1399, and finished in 1403[34] and his own Mausoleum (Plate III, B,) known as the Gûr Amîr, we for the first time meet with the double dome with slightly swelling outline, a type of dome which henceforth became a constant feature in Persian architecture. The mosque-mausoleum, built at Hazrat-i-Turkistân over the tomb of Hazrat Khwâja Ahmad Yesavî by Tîmûr, which was commenced in 1397 and finished in 1404,[35] has a huge dome, similar in shape to that at Sultânîeh,[36] but the double dome soon became general.

No explanation of the origin of this peculiarity is to be found suggested in Fergusson's *History of Architecture,* nor does Russell Sturgis in his recent *History of Architecture* (1908) make any comment on it. The same remark applies to Texier, who thought the double dome with entasis was the rule in Persia with the single exception known to him, at Sultânîeh, although when speaking of the Masjid-i-Shâh at Isfahân, he says that one is led to

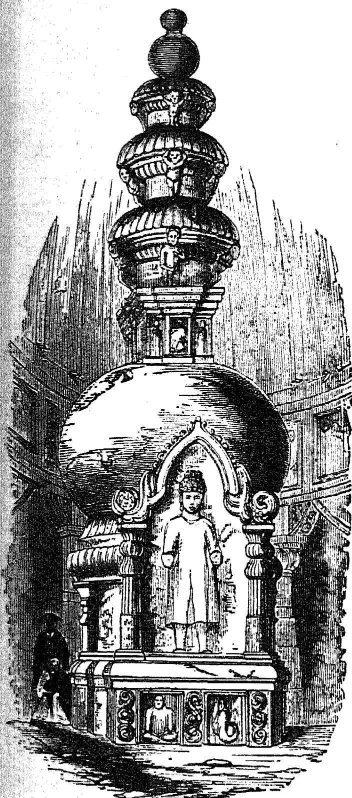


Fig. 16.

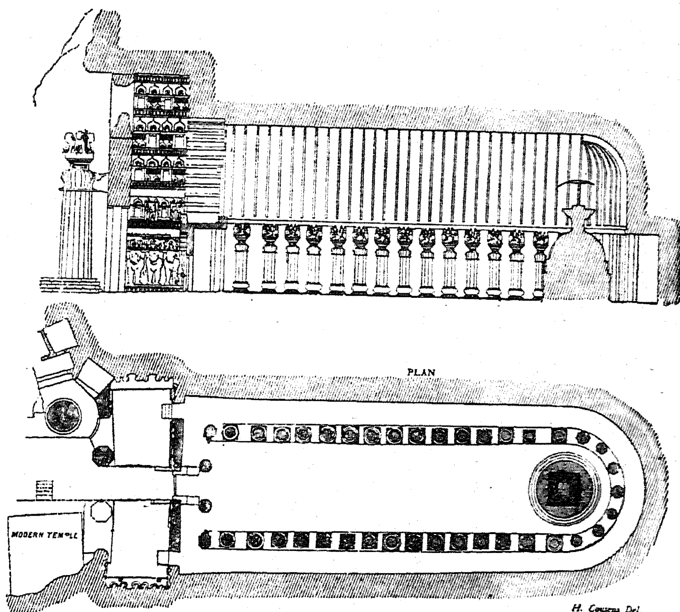


Fig. 17.

[33] *Die Baudenkmaler von Samarkand.* [34] Saladin, *Manuel d'art Musulman,* Vol. I, p. 434.

[35] Mir-salih-Bektchourin, *Description de la Mosquée de Hazret,* in A. P. Khorochkine, *Itinéraires de l'Asie Centrale* pp. 247-56.

[36] E. Schuyler, *Turkestan* 1. 70-73, and photograph in F. von Schwarz, *Turkestan,* p. 200.

believe it was introduced from India by the Mogul rulers of Persia. P. Coste in *Monuments Modernes de la Perse* states (p. 59 and pl. 71) that it was introduced during the 16th century and calls the dome at Sultânîeh the "Arab" form! (p. 46.)

A Gosset in *Les Cupoles d'Orient et d'Occident* describes the feature without comment, while A. Choisy in his *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Paris, 1889, follows Coste in stating that it only became the rule in Persia towards the end of the 16th century, but I have shown that it occurs much earlier. He, like Texier, suggests an Indian origin, *viz*: that it was an imitation of certain bulbous topes to be seen there. He apparently had in mind structures such as those at Ajanta, shown in figures 16 and 17.

Now as Tîmûr was in India shortly before the building of the Bîbî Khânûm and the Gûr Amîr, we must consider the possibility of this Indian origin. In the first place these topes are solid structures and not examples of roofing, and the few which are bulbous such as those shown, are quite small and not the conspicuous and striking buildings likely to be noticed even by a conqueror in his meteoric flight through the country. But could he have seen any double domes with slightly swelling outline? No! for not one of the domed buildings which were standing in the North-West of India in the time of Tîmûr, of which remains have come down to us, have this feature. I have compiled a list of these buildings from Carr Stephen's *Archæology of Delhi*, and Fanshawe's *Delhi, Past and Present*, and find that there are seventeen of them. They comprise the group of buildings classed by Fergusson as Early, Middle, and Late Pathân. Amongst them are the tombs of Shams-ud-dîn Altamsh, Rukn-ud-dîn Firoz Shâh, Ghiâs-ud-dîn Tughlak Shâh, the Jama Masjid of Firûzâbâd, the Kalân Masjid and the buildings attributed to Khân Jâhân. I give as a typical example the tomb of Firoz Shâh, built A. D. 1389. (Plate III, E.) All the domes found in these buildings are pointed in shape but low in elevation, and built in horizontal courses. Carr Stephen speaking of them remarks that "domes, the stones of which are held together by the wonderful adhesive qualities of the lime used in those days, without any keystone, have been before remarked on and are *another characteristic of the Mohammedan Indian buildings of the 14th century*."[37]

These domes have not a single feature in common with the Gûr Amîr and Bîbî Khânûm, yet as they are all of one type they are conclusive evidence as to the style of the period and completely refute the theory that the double dome had an Indian origin.

Regarding the theory of the Indian origin of the double dome, Saladin[38] apparently follows Choisy, and in addition suggests that it has also certain mechanical advantages *viz*: that it tends to the stability of the dome by constituting additional abutment.[39] A more extraordinary statement it is difficult to conceive, since it is obvious that it must act outwardly in the same direction as the thrust of the upper part of the dome itself.

Figure 18 shows a section of the dome of the Gûr Amîr. The dotted line produced from C shows the extent of the projecting part. Now the centre of gravity of the projecting part is roughly at B, and this part therefore will act with leverage $\frac{AB}{AC}$ about

[37] *Archæology of Delhi*, p. 154.
[38] *Op. cit.*, p. 360.
[39] Professor Phené Spiers in *Architecture East and West*, p. 20, also makes a similar statement, but only as a surmise.

the turning point C, in direction A. D. Now the thrust K of the upper part E is in the same direction more or less, and thus the projecting part adds to the difficulty instead of helping matters. This is shown when it comes to practical work by the interior construction of this dome, which has a series of tie-bars T, fixed at their extremities in the lower part of the sides of the dome and meeting in the centre, where they are carried by a pile of masonry M.[40] They are an imperative necessity to neutralise the unscientific shape chosen for the construction of the dome, and by their very existence refute Saladin's theory that "la forme bulbeuse présente alors l'avantage de conserver sensiblement, à l'aplomb de l'arc du mur du tambour, la projection du centre de gravité du segment le plus important de la cupole, donc de ramener la poussée à l'intérieur du mur." (p. 360).

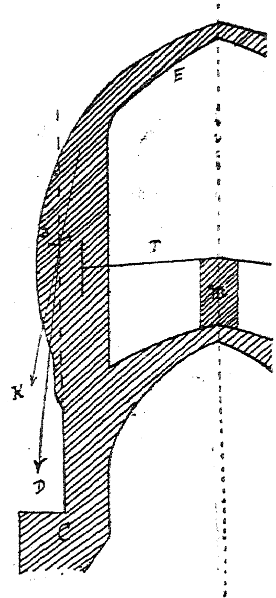


Fig. 18.

It is now clear to us that the shapes of the domes of the Bîbî Khânûm and Gûr Amîr could not have sprung from constructive necessities in brick or stone. When we find this to be the case with other features in architecture, we usually find that the feature in question is a *copy* of construction in wood, *e. g.*, the mortised joints of the stone rail round the Sânchî Tope,[41] also the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order, the Lycian tombs in the British Museum, etc. Can it be so in the case of the bulbous double domes? Is there, or was there, anywhere in the Moslem world known to Tîmûr, a double dome with swelling outline? Yes! at one place, and at one place only, and that was at Damascus, where stood the great Umayyad Mosque built by the Khalif Wâlîd in A. D. 705-13, the dome of which in Tîmûr's time was *double and of wood.*

The following details concerning this mosque are taken from Professor Phené Spiers' "Architecture East and West."[42] In plan it was as shown in (Fig. 19) It consists of three aisles and a transept at the intersection of which there was a dome B, which was called the Kubbat-an-Nasr (the vulture dome); the dome was considered as the head, the aisle below as the breast, while the lofty transept roofs, high above the rest, were likened to outspread wings. The sides of the square around B measure 39 feet 6 inches. The angles of this square are vaulted over with squinch pendentives, and the drum resting upon the octagon thus formed is set back 2 feet so that the dome resting upon it has an internal diameter of 43 feet 6 inches. There is a range of windows in the present drum and a second range in the dome, which is built of stone and covered with lead. This is as things were before the fire of 1893, and the above dome was built at some date subsequent to the burning of the mosque at the sacking of Damascus by Tîmûr in 1400.

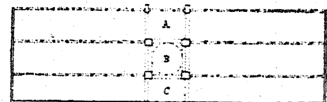


Fig. 19.

Descriptions of the mosque at various dates previous to this are to be found in the diaries of the various Arab geographers who visited it between the 9th and 14th centuries.

[40] Saladin, *op. cit.* p. 361. [41] Fergusson, *Indian Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 111. [42] pp. 213-44.

The description from which I propose to quote is that of the Spanish Arab, Ibn Jubair, who visited Damascus in 1184. The part of his description most interesting for our purpose is that which refers to the central dome. Mukaddasî speaks of one dome only, but Ibn Jubair, 200 years later, descants on the immense height of the great dome which "broods over the void." He describes also how that it consisted of an *external* and *internal* dome, and rested on a drum. From this it may be assumed that Al Wâlîd's dome succumbed in the fire of 1069. The following is the description given by Ibn Jubair of that which succeeded it, probably built between 1069 and 1082:—

"A central nave is below it (*viz.*, the transept) going from the Mihrâb to the court; and over this nave (as seen from the interior) are three domes—namely, the dome which is close to the mosque wall towards the court (dome over space A in plan), the dome which is over and adjacent to the Mihrâb (dome over space C in plan), and the dome which is below (forming the inner of lower cupola of) the Kubbat-ar-Rasâs (the dome of lead) rising between the other two."

He describes his visit to the interior of the latter:—

"Verily the entrance to the same, and into the interior where is the inner dome—*like a sphere within a larger sphere*[43] is from the mosque. We went up by a ladder in the western colonnade that goes round the court, and walked over the flat roof. The roof is covered with large sheets of lead, the length of each sheet being four spans and the width three. After passing over the flat roof we came to the Dome, and mounted into it by a ladder set there; and doing so it almost happened that we had all been seized with dizziness. We went into the round gangway (this was round the outside of the lead dome), which is of lead, and its width is but six spans, so that we could not stand there, fearing to fall over. Then we hastened on to the entrance into the interior of the dome, passing through one of the grated windows which opened in the lead-work; and before us was a wondrous sight. We passed on over the planking of great wood beams which go all round the inner and smaller dome, which is inside the outer Leaden Dome, as aforesaid, and there are here two arched windows, through which you look down into the Mosque below. From here the men who are down in the Mosque look as though they were small children. This dome is *round like a sphere*, and its structure is made of planks strengthened with stout ribs of wood, bound with bands of iron. The ribs curve over the dome aud meet at the summit in a round circle of wood. The inner dome, which is that seen from the interior of the Mosque, is inlaid with wooden panels. They are all gilt in the most beautiful manner, and ornamented with colour and carving. The Great Leaden Dome covers this inner dome that has just been described. It also is strengthened by wooden ribs bound with iron bands. The number of these ribs is forty-eight, and between each rib is a space of four spans. The ribs converge above, and unite in a centre-piece of wood. The Great Double Dome rests on a circular base . . . One of the wonders of the place is that we saw no spiders in the framework of the domes, and they say there are none here at all.[44]"

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[43] It would almost follow from this that the larger one must have been bulbous, since they both sprang from the same drum.

[44] G. le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 255-7.

One cannot help being struck by the close resemblance of the above description to the dome of the Bîbî Khânûm and Gûr Amîr, with the sole difference that these two are built of brick covered with enamelled tiles. The correspondence is close throughout; there is a drum in each case, the peculiar feature of an inner and outer shell occurs in all, while the shape must have been very similar. No one accustomed to see domes would describe one as "round like a sphere" unless it were more or less bulbous. That it was actually so there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Ibn Jubair says that the length of the Mosque from east to west (which we know to be 455 ft.) was 200 paces; a pace would therefore be just under 27½ ins. He says later on that the circumference of the dome of lead was 80 paces, *i. e.*, 182 feet; its diameter, therefore, was 58 feet. Now the interior diameter of the base, still existing, of the drum on which it stood is 43 feet 6 inches, while the exterior diameter, from Fig. 100 in "Architecture, East and West," would appear to be about 52 feet. The dome of lead, therefore, must have overhung its base by 3 feet all round.

The dome of the Gûr Amîr has sixty-four ribs against forty-eight in the dome at Damascus, and I once thought that this feature was copied also; however, such was not the case, as this feature is found already in the Oxus region at an earlier date. In later times in the Oxus region these ribs were reduced in number and thickened, till in the Shîr Dâr (1648) we have the so-called melon-dome in its most pronounced form. (Plate III, D).

Tîmûr appeared before Damascus on Saturday 8th January 1400, and the next day negotiations were opened with him by the citizens, and, on his guaranteeing their safety, the Bab Saghin was opened to him on Tuesday morning. After nearly two months spent in bargaining and extracting a ransom the place was finally sacked, and on the 4th March all the population that remained, men, women and children were bound and dragged off. On the 17th March, Tîmûr ordered the city to be set on fire, and, sparks from the burning city lighting on the Umayyad Mosque, it was burnt, "till all that was left standing was a wall with no roof, nor door nor marble."

We thus see that Tîmûr had the great Umayyad Mosque constantly in his view for two months and nine days, and cannot fail to have been impressed, keenly appreciating architecture as he did, with this great building, in his day the largest and most splendid mosque in Islam, and, according to Yakut, writing in the century previous to Tîmûr, one of the Four Wonders of the World of Mediæval Islam.[45] He was far more likely to have some of its most striking features reproduced for him at Samarkand than he was to copy, or even to notice, an obscure Tope (as suggested by Choisy) during his meteoric career through the North-Western Provinces of India.

Now it may seem an anomaly that a great conqueror like Tîmûr, steeped as he was in blood, to an extent perhaps only equalled by Chingîz Khân, should have had any feeling for, or interest in, architecture; nevertheless such was actually the case. He was greatly impressed by the Jama Masjid at Firûzâbâd (Old Delhi) built by Firoz Shâh in 1354, and took a model of it home to have it reproduced at Samarkand,[46] and Fanshawe states (p. 264) that he also greatly admired the Kutb Mînâr, and carried off workmen to construct a similar one in his capital, which intention, however, was never carried out.

[45] The other three were: the Sanjah bridge built by Heraclius on a tributary of the Upper Euphrates, with a span of 150 feet, the dome of the Christian church at Edessa, and the Pharos at Alexandria. G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp. 123-124.

[46] Carr Stephens, *ibid*, p. 126.

Further, Don Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo in his account of his embassy to Tîmûr, in 1404,[47] states that Tîmûr, looked after the execution of his buildings personally, and was carried every day in a litter to the spot, and, if not satisfied, he sometimes caused to be torn down already finished buildings, and then caused them to be re-erected according to his instructions. The same thing has been related by Tîmûr's biographer Sharaf-ud-dîn 'Ali.

It is also stated in the *Institutes of Tîmûr* (Ed. of 1787, p. 103), that "The workmen who were spared from the sack of Damascus, and brought to Tartary were ordered to build a palace at Samarkand, which they did with much intelligence." Here is an actual importation of craftsmen from Damascus, who might well have copied the dome of their own great mosque in working on the Gûr Amîr and Bîbî Khânûm, even supposing Tîmûr had given no special directions on the subject, and they would have been led to execute it in brick too, as timber is very scarce in this region.

Lastly, one more point in favour of my theory. We saw above that the interior diameter of the dome at Damascus was 43 ft. 6 in. Now, according to Schubert v. Soldern,[48] the diameter of the dome of the Bîbî Khânûm, the first building erected by Tîmûr after his visit to Damascus, is 13·5 metres (44 ft. 3 in.), a difference practically negligible in domes of such a size.

I therefore think that I have shown, as nearly as such a thing can be shown, short of a direct contemporary historical statement to that effect, that the double slightly swelling Persian dome was first copied in brick by Tîmûr after his stay at Damascus from a wooden one of the same shape that he saw there, and was employed in his subsequent buildings, *viz.*, the Bîbî Khânûm and the Gûr Amîr at Samarkand.

Ibn Jubair (1184) remarks, and his statement is repeated by Ibn Batutah (1326): "From whatever quarter you approach the city you see this dome, high above all else, as though suspended in the air"[49]; it was probably for the sake of its external effect that this form was devised, and came to be adopted elsewhere.

Before I leave the subject of the wooden dome at Damascus, I must add that I think it has not been without its influence elsewhere. I shall give two instances.

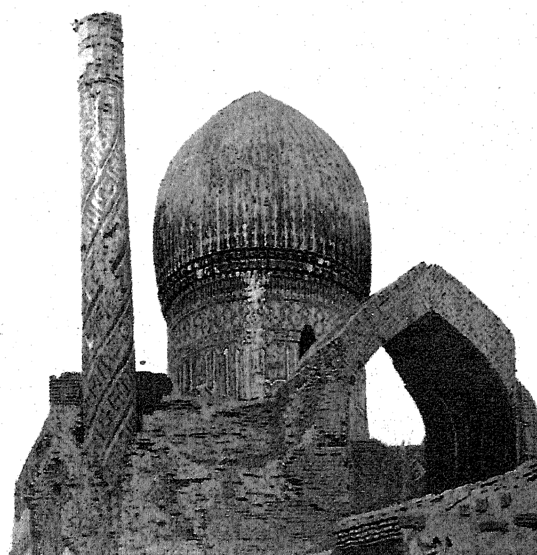
The famous mosque of Hasan at Cairo, built in 1356-62 now has an ordinary pointed dome erected in the 17th century. (Plate III, F). This replaced one which according to Pietro della Valle who visited Cairo about 1610, was bulbous. He says: "especially do I like the dome the shape of which I have never seen the like of before in that it commences vertically, then swells out, and then contracts to a point like the egg of a hen."[50] According to Saladin (p. 127 f.) Khalil Zahiri relates that Sultan Hasan brought together architects from all countries to design what he intended to be the greatest building in the world. Amongst other things he caused to be copied (on a modified scale) the great vaulted hall of Chosroes at Ctesiphon which accounts for the four great vaulted liwans on each side of the main court. When Saladin says that the influence of Damascus, is also apparent everywhere in the decoration, etc., it certainly seems to me that the admittedly eclectic Sultan must have gone there for his dome too.

47 Translated for the Hakluyt Society, 1852.
48 *Die Baudenkmaler von Samarkand*, p. 28.
49 G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 244.
50 Saladin, *op. cit.* quoting Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hasan au Caire.*

THE DOME IN PERSIA. Plate II



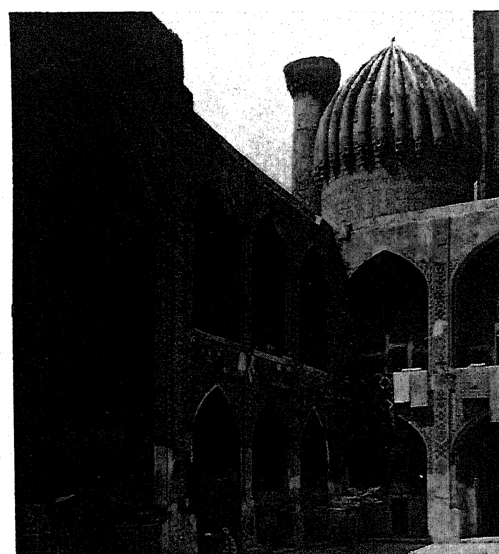
A. Bībī Khānūm, Samarkand.



B. Gūr Amīr, Samarkand.



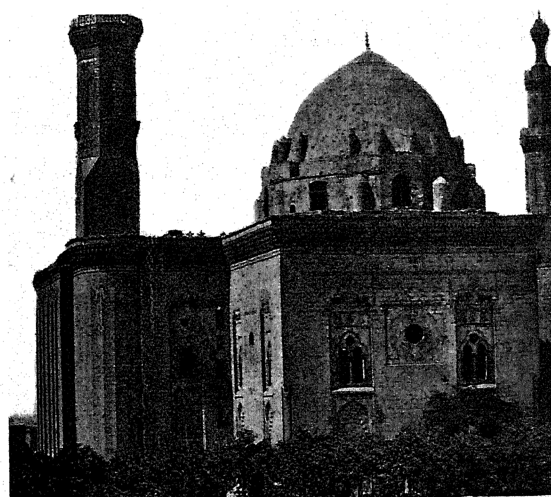
C. Mausoleum of Shāh Rukh, Herat.



D. Shīr Dār Madrassah, Samarkand.



E. Mausoleum of Firoz Shāh, Delhi.



F. Mosque of Sultān Hasan, Cairo.

The other instance is S. Mark's at Venice. This building, Byzantine in planning and construction, was roofed until the 13th century, with the lower inner domes only. (Fig. 20.) In this respect it resembled most other Byzantine buildings, but, in the 13th century, the huge outer domes of wood covered with lead, were added. It has been suggested to me that this was done in consequence of the raising of the Gothic façade which was added about this time and which hid the low domes, and that to restore their external effect the outer wooden ones were added. Quite so, but whence came this desire for external effect in dome construction ? Not from Byzantine architecture. In this style the domes are never designed for external effect and are frequently lower than a hemisphere. It is true that in the 10th century under the Macedonian Emperors a high drum, pierced with windows was interposed between the pendentives and the dome,[51] but the dome itself remained as shallow as ever, while here we have the drum untouched and the dome made the conspicuous feature. I suggest that it came from Damascus. Venice was a state whose outlook was almost entirely towards the East, with which she traded direct, to the great economic detriment of Constantinople in the 13th and 14th centuries, and the Great Ummayad mosque must have been as familiar to many Venetians as, say, the Taj Mahal is to many English people to-day.

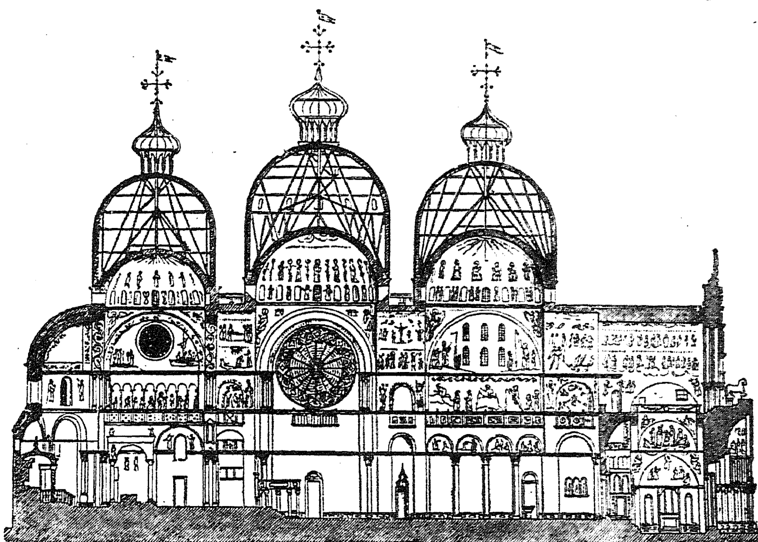


Fig. 20.

After Tîmûr's death in 1405 the double dome passed from Samarkand to Khurâsân, over which it was spread by the Timurides then ruling at Herât. In the mosque built at Meshed in A. D. 1418 (according to Khanikoff) by Gawhar Shâd, the wife of Shâh Rukh, the son of Tîmûr; the dome according to O'Donovan,[52] "has something of a bulbous shape," and is, I conclude, double. Later, the mosque and mausoleum in the Musalla at Herât, built by Sultan Husain Mîrzâ (A. D. 1487-1506), are, Vámbéry[53] remarks, "an imitation of the monuments at Samarkand," and he adds in a footnote, "the sepulchre particularly has much resemblance to that of Timour." Wishing for confirmation on this point I wrote to Colonel C. E. Yate, one of the few people who have seen this group of buildings before they were levelled in 1885, and he very kindly informed me that while unable to speak regarding the Musalla, he was able to confirm my idea as to the Mausoleum, from a photograph in his possession taken from a painting by Sir Edward Durand which he has kindly allowed me to reproduce here (Plate III, C.) This mausoleum is commonly attributed to Shâh Rukh, but as Colonel Yate has pointed out,[54] it probably took its name from a tombstone bearing the following

51 Choisy, *L'art de batir chez les Byzantines*, p. 96.
52 *The Merv Oasis*, I, p. 497.
53 *Travels in Central Asia*, p. 283-4.
54 *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 31.

inscription " Shâh Rukh Sultân, son of Allah-u'd Dowlah, son of Baisanghar, son of Shâh Rukh, son of Amîr Taimûr, A. H. 863 [1459] "

Dating midway between these two is the Blue Mosque at Tabrîz, built by Jahân Shâh (1437-68), which Texier states had a double dome, according to Chardin and Tavernier, who visited it in the 17th century before it was wrecked by an earthquake. Now, although I am not quite satisfied, from the descriptions quoted, that such was actually the case, yet I will mention what may prove to be a very interesting connecting link. Colonel C. E. Yate[55] states that Gauhar Shâd was the sister of Kârâ Yûsuf Turkomân. Now as Jahân Shâh, the builder of the Blue Mosque, was the son of the latter, it follows that he was the nephew of Gauhar Shâd, and may very well have had the dome of her mosque at Meshed copied in his own mosque at Tabrîz, supposing it really was a double bulbous one as Texier states.

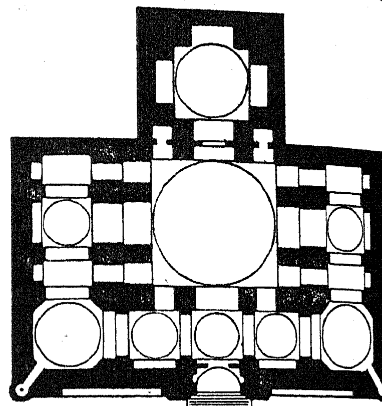


Fig. 21.

There is about the plan of this mosque, (Fig. 21), however, something which Fergusson calls Byzantine. I cannot quite see this myself, although the three domes in a row in front of the main dome-chamber, seem very unusual. The nearest approach to this plan that I can find in Byzantine architecture is that of Panhagiâ Lycodemo at Athens. Should this plan, however, really show Byzantine influence, it is tempting to try to put its date forward a few years so that it falls into the reign of Uzûn Hasan, Jahân Shâh's successor, in which case I could suggest an explanation. Whether this can be done I cannot say, as I am unable to find the ultimate authority on which the attribution of it to Jahân Shâh rests. However, could it be attributed to his successor, my explanation would be this.

Uzûn Hasan, was Baiendari of the Akkuyunlu or White Sheep dynasty of Turcomans and he defeated and killed Jahân Shâh in 1468. Uzûn Hasan, who ruled at Tabrîz, married Despina, the daughter of Calo Johannes, one of the last Comneni Emperors of Trebizond, which startling alliance was the outcome of the desire of the Christian Princes of Europe to unite with the Persians against the growing power of the Turks whose advance they were viewing with dismay. It is easy to conceive a Byzantine influence being introduced under such auspices, especially as the relations with the West were so close at this time that there was a Venetian ambassador, Caterino Zeno, at Uzûn Hasan's court, at whose instance he invaded Asia Minor, but was defeated by Sultan Muhammad II.[56] Although I do not hold definite views as to the plan of the Blue Mosque, it nevertheless seems to me that there is here scope for interesting research.

The building shown (Plate IV, A.) is at Tûs 15 miles N. W. of Meshed but its date is not known. The dome is very interesting on account of the way in which the base is pierced with windows, a new feature. The nearest approach to this hitherto is at Verâmin where we saw narrow slit-like windows pierced in the octagonal drum on which the dome stood. Here, however, the idea is much more boldly applied, the base of the dome itself being pierced, and to neutralize the weakening effect of this it

[55] *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 31.

[56] Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 65.

has been built with a massive stepped lower part. According to O'Donovan[57], its internal height cannot be much under 70 feet. He also states that a gallery "seems to have run round the interior of the dome if one may judge by the remains of wood beams and the spaces sunk in the walls."

I believe the only writer who has attempted to date this building is Prof. Jackson, who, in his recent book "From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyâm," suggests the middle of the 12th century as its probable date (p. 288), thinking it may possibly be the mausoleum of Hamid Ibn Kahtabah mentioned by Yakut in 1216. His choice, however, is apparently limited by his statement (p. 278) regarding Tûs "that finally the Mongols crushed it never to rise again from the dust in which it lies to-day," a mistake made by Fraser. As a matter of fact Ibn Batuta visited it a century later and describes it as one of the most famous towns of Khurâsân. In 1381 Tîmûr occupied it and took possession of the province. In 1387 Hâjî Beg Jânî Kurbânî, one of Tîmûr's nobles, rebelled at Tûs, strengthened the town, and struck coins in his own name, whereupon Tîmûr sent his youngest son Mîrân Shâh against it, who took it after a siege of several months. Yet this was not the end of it as Mirkhond gives an account of a visit Shâh Rukh made to it in 822 (1419). Khanikoff[58] found a tablet there dated 983 (1575), and he adds that Tûs does not disappear from the list of places engraved on the tablets of Persian astrolabes until after 1100 (1685). The object in giving the geographical positions of important places is, of course, to help in the casting of horoscopes, and the position of an uninhabited place would scarcely be found there, so it is evident that the present desertion of Tûs only dates from the commencement of the 18th century. It is therefore futile to attempt to date this building from any considerations of this sort, and in the absence of other evidence we must fall back on its degree of architectural development to help us. Personally, from the feature I have called attention to, *viz* : the window at the base of the dome, I would suggest the first half of the 15th century for this part, at least, of the building ; but my chief reason for showing it is that I seem to see in it the prototype of the dome of the mosque in the Pûrânâ Kila of Shêr Shâh at Delhi, built 1541. This illustration (Plate IV, B) is taken from Russell Sturgis's *History of Architecture*[59] as it shows the windows round its base, so clearly. Most photographs show the top of the gateway restored, which effectually conceals the windows.

In the 16th and 17th centuries we find the double dome with slightly swelling outline in general use for all important buildings.

Plate IV, C, shows the dome of the Royal Mosque at Isfahan built by Shah 'Abbas in 1612. It is brilliant with glistening tile-work, one of the most striking features of Persian domes. Notice the windows round its base.

Most important domes in Persia are covered with faience, but those belonging to sacred shrines are generally gilded, Meshed and Kum possessing well-known examples.

In August 1673 the dome of the shrine of Imâm Rizâ, at Meshed, was entirely thrown down by an earthquake, although the rest of the building "remain'd as was said, pretty entire"[60]. It was rebuilt by Shâh Suleiman, and covered with gilt plates. It is of similar shape to that of the Royal mosque at Isfahan except for the absence of windows round

[57] *ibid*, II, p. 15.

[58] Khanikoff (N), *Mémoire sur la parteé méridionale de l'Asie centrale*, p. 31.

[59] By kind permission of Messrs. Batsford.

[60] Cardin, "*Travels in Persia*" (Lloyd's trans.) Vol. I, p. 131.

the base. Chardin, who was in Isfahan at the time, saw these plates being made, and the following is his account as it stands in Lloyd's translation :—

"On the 9th [of October] I went to the House of the King's Goldsmith which is in the Royal Palace, to see them make some Gilt Plates in the Form of Tiles, which were to cover the dome of the mosque of Imam Reza, at Metched, which an earthquake had flung down, as I before related. A thousand men, as was said, were employ'd in repairing this Mosque; and they work'd at it with so much Diligence and application, that it was to be finish'd by the latter end of December. These plates were of brass [no-cuivre, *i. e.*, copper] and square. Ten Inches in Breadth and Sixteen in Length, and of the Thickness of two Crown-pieces. Underneath were Two Barrs three Inches broad, solder'd on Cross-wise, to sink into the Parget, and so serve as Cramp-Irons to fasten the Tiles. The upper part was gilt so thick, that one would have taken the Tile to have been Massif Gold: Each Tile took up the weight of three Ducates and a quarter of Gilding, and came to about ten Crowns Value. They were ordered to make Three thousand at first, as I was told by the Chief Goldsmith who was Overseer of the work.[61]

I think that the previous dome was probably covered with blue tiles on account of the couplet, "Samarkand is the face of the earth : Bukhara is the marrow of Islam: were there not in Meshed an azure dome, the whole world would be merely a ditch for ablution ". According to Schuyler this couplet was probably written about A. D. 1500.[62]

I shall now attempt to show that the use of gilt-plates for the dome of Imâm Rizâ's mausoleum was an innovation. Five other gilt-domes exist at the present day, *viz*:—

(1) The shrine of Fatima at Kûm.

(2) The shrine of 'Ali at Najaf.

(3) The shrine of Husain at Kerbelâ.

(4) The shrine of Imâm Mûsâ at Kazimain.

(5) The shrine of Imâm Mahdi at Samarrâ.

All the e are later than the example at Meshed.

The shrine of Fatima at Kûm was gilded by Fath 'Ali Shâh, in consequence of a vow made by him to embellish the shrine, should he ever succeed to the crown. According to Morier,[63] writing in 1809, "he covered the cupola of the tomb itself with gold plates (instead of the lacquered tiles which he removed)." This must have been done about 1805 (he ascended the throne in 1797) as Johnson, writing in 1817 says, the gilt cupola was added to this structure about twelve years ago by the reigning monarch."[64] The work, apparently, is inferior to that at Meshed as Fraser remarks, "the plates are so thinly gilt that the whole value of the precious metal employed, according to my information, does not exceed two thousand tomauns."[65] That, previous to this, the dome was covered with ordinary glazed tiles, there can be no doubt. Chardin gives a drawing[66] of the shrine showing a dome covered with arabesques and he states in the text that it was overlaid "with large square Tiles of Cheney " in gold and azure.

[61] pp. 236-7.

[62] Schuyler (E.), *Turkestan*, Vol. I. p. 240.

[63] Morier (G.), *A Journey through Persia*. p. 180.

[64] Johnson (J.), *Journey from India to England*, p. 146.

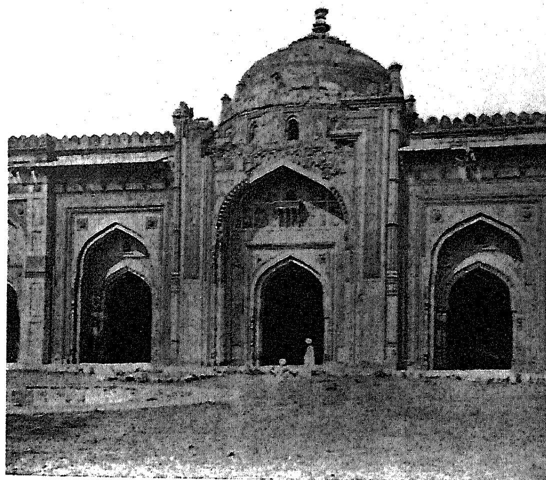
[65] Fraser (J. B.), *Narrative of a Journey into Khorâsan*, p. 141.

[66] *Travels into Persia, etc.* (Trans.), Vol. I, plate 14.

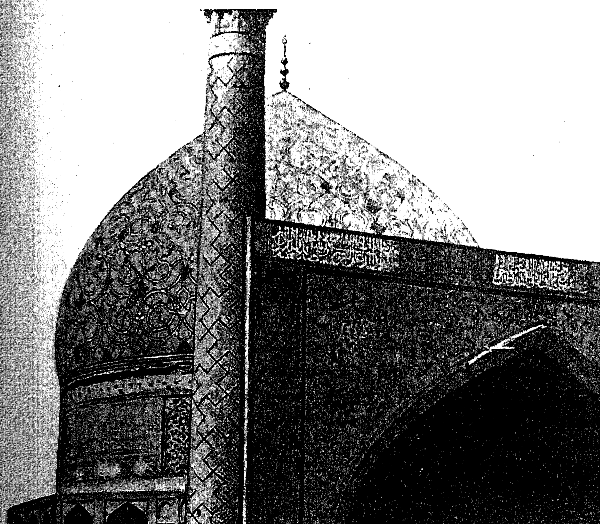
THE DOME IN PERSIA. Plate IV.



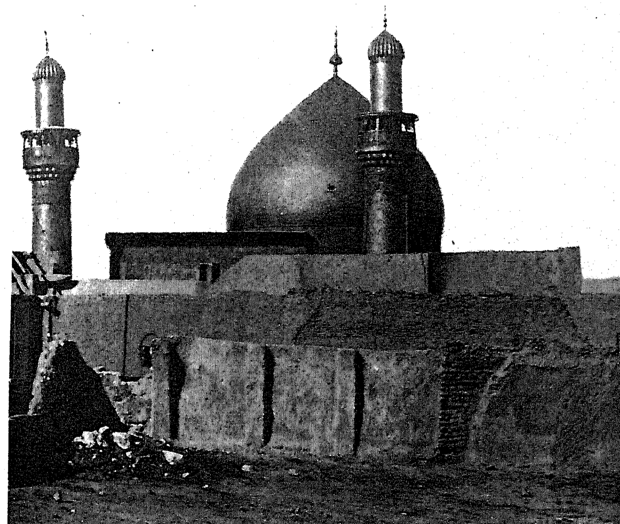
A. Dome at Tūs



B. Mosque of Sher Shāh, Delhi.



C. Masjid-i-Shāh, Isfahān.



D. Shrine of Ali, Najaf.



E. Madrassah-i-Shāh Husain, Isfahān.



F. Mausoleum of Humāyūn, Delhi.

Niebuhr states that the dome of the shrine of 'Ali at Najaf was gilded by Nâdir Shâh.[67] The plates used in this instance, according to Loftus, are said to have cost two *tumâns* (£1 sterling) each.[68]

The dome of the shrine of Husein at Kerbela was also gilded by Nadir Shâh, according to Kinneir[69] and Ker Porter.[70]

The two domes of the shrine of Imâm Musa at Kazimein, according to Fraser were "gilt by Nadir Shâh, who appears to have resorted to this mode of decorating the tombs of saints as an expiation for his other enormities."[71] Rousseau, however, in his book published in 1809[72], states that it had been gilt nine years previously by order, and at the expense, of Aghâ Muhammad Khân. As Rousseau was more nearly contemporary with the event, having had the advantage of Fraser by nearly twenty years in this respect, besides residing on the spot for some time as French Consul, it is his version that we must accept. This is confirmed by Niebuhr who describes it in 1764, as covered with "piérres vernies," which were gradually falling off.[73]

In the case of the shrine of Imâm Mahdi at Samarrâ, the question is not so easily settled. A gilt dome existed here as early as 1872, when it was seen by Baron von Thielmann.[74] Commander J. F. Jones writing in 1846 states that it had recently been repaired, and was he believed "formerly covered with gold similar to the cupolas of Kathemein, Kerbella, and Nejef, but is now perfectly white, the present funds not being sufficient to give it its former splendour."[75] This I think must be an error as Kinneir in 1814 wrote as follows:—". . . the tomb and sanctuary of Imaum Mahomed-ul-Mohadi, who was burried at Samara . . . . . is a handsome brick building, with two cupolas and minarets, ornamented with glazed tiles."[76] These tiles having all fallen off at the time of Commander Jones's visit thirty year later, it appears to me that he jumped to the conclusion, from analogy with other shrines, that the dome had once been gilt.

I therefore conclude that the idea of covering the dome of a sacred shrine with gilt tiles was an innovation of the luxurious and extravagant reign of Shâh Sulaimân.

Perhaps I ought rather to say a revival, as the idea was not altogether new in Islâm, though it was so in Persia. The Dome of the Rock (Kubbat as Sakhra), at Jerusalem, was at one time decorated in this fashion. This gilt covering is mentioned *c.* A. D. 913 by Ibn 'Abdar-Rabbih, who writes "The dome is covered by means of 3392 sheets of lead, over which are placed plates of brass, gilded, which number 10,210."[77] As there is some doubt as to whether Ibn 'Abdar-Rabbih actually visited Jerusalem, I may add that the gilt covering is mentioned by Mukaddasi in A. D. 985.[78]

Ibn al Athir relates that an earthquake in A. H. 407 (1016) caused the dome to fall in, and an inscription records its restoration which was completed by the Fatimite Adh Dhâhir A. H. 413 (1022). Its glory however was not revived and Nâsir-i-Khusrau, who saw it in A. D. 1047 states that the new dome was covered with lead.[79]

I will now offer a suggestion as to the origin of this very novel feature. Clermont Ganneau has shown[80] that there once stood in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, a great *ciborium* covering an altar or some spot specially venerated, and that the enigmatic hemisphere of which Eusebius speaks was identical with the *absida*

67 *Voyage en Arabie*, tome II, p. 210, quoting Mohammed Mahedi Khân's *History of Nadir Sháh.*
68 Loftus (W. K.), *Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 52.
69 Kinneir (Sir G. M.), *A Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 283.
70 *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia etc.*, Vol. I, p. 352.
71 *Journey in the Caucasus, Persia, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 139.
72 M*** [*i. e.*, J. B. L. J. Rousseau], *Déscription du pachalik de Bagdad*, 1809, p. 18.
73 *Op. cit.*, tome II, p. 247.
74 *Travels in the Caucasus, Persia, etc.* Vol. II, p. 139.
75 *Memoirs*: *Records of the Bombay Government*, New Series, No. XLIII, p. 12.
76 *Journey through Asia Minor, etc.*, p. 471.
77 G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 162.
78 *ibid*, p. 124.
79 *ibid*, p. 129.
80 *Recueil d'archéologie orientale, tome II, p. 353.*

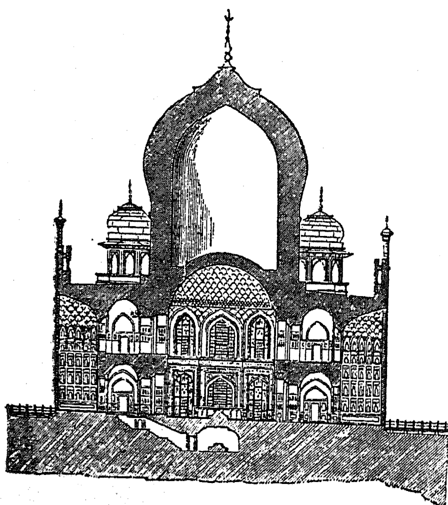
of Brevarius and subsequent pilgrims. Brevarius writes "intranti in ecclesiam Sancti Constantini magna ob occidente est absida." That this has nothing to do with an *apse*, but is on the contrary the same as the hemisphere of which Eusebrius speaks is proved by the characteristic detail given by both writers that the object in question rested on twelve columns disposed in a circle and surmounted by Silver Hydrae. *Ciboria* frequently had hemispherical cupolas and one of this type is shown on the mosaic of church of Saint George at Thessalonica. In a subsequent article[81] he gives an interesting quotation from Eutychius (d. 940) to the effect that the Khalif Walîd carried off a dome of brass gilt (in which description he recognizes another *ciboria*) from the church at Baalbek, in order to cover the Sakhra (rock) at Jerusalem, where it was no doubt placed like a *baldachino* over the sacred spot, in emulation of the Christian practice. It seems to me that the sight of this dome of gilt brass standing under the great wooden dome, may well have prompted the real idea of covering the latter also with plates of brass gilt.

Plate IV E. shows the Madrassah-i-Shâh Husain, at Isfahân, built between 1700 and 1710 by Shâh Husain. It is covered with a fine coating of coloured tiles and the original plate in Coste's work from which this illustration is taken, being coloured, gives an excellent idea of the splendour of this sort of decoration.

This type of dome also spread into India where it first appears in the Mausoleum of Humâyûn built 1556-65.[82] (Plate IV, F.)

Humâyûn succeeded to the throne in 1530, but in 1539 was defeated at Kanauj by Shêr Shâh Sûr, who eventually drove him out of India. He took refuge in Persia at the court of Shâh Tahmasp, by whose aid he eventually recovered his Kingdom from Shêr Shâh's successor, sixteen years later, in 1555. It is not surprising that surrounded by a Persian Army, a Persian Court, (the Governor of Delhi was a Persian, Shihâbu-ud-dîn Ahmad, *Nishâpûrî*), and no doubt Persian craftsmen, his Mausoleum should have the double dome which was rapidly becoming general in Persia.

This building is said to have been the prototype of the Tâj, (Plate V, B.) which



Section of Tâj Mahal, Agra. Scale 110 ft. to 1 in.
Fig. 22.

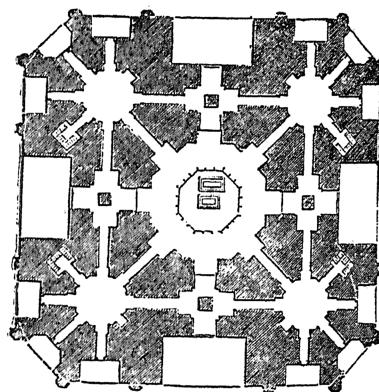


Fig. 23.

is similar in planning and arrangement (Figs. 22 and 23) and which was commenced in 1632, *i. e.*, about 75 years later.

[81] *Receuil d'archéologie orientale*, tome III, pp. 88-90.

[82] Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

Here, however, (Plate V, A.) we see a mausoleum which was only built six years before the Tâj, *i. e.*, in 1626. It is the mausoleum of Khân Khânân the son of Humâyûn's general Bairâm Khân, who won back the Mogul Empire for him at the battle of Sirhind, and conquered again for Akbar at Pânîpat. Khân Khânân himself stood high in Akbar's favour and held important commands under him. He died in 1626 and his mausoleum has a double dome, the distance between the crown of the inner and outer shell being 25 feet.[83] This building which has been ignored in this connection by almost every writer, seems to me to be the real model on which the Tâj was based. It resembles the Tâj much more closely than does the mausoleum of Humâyûn, its whole framework being more drawn together while its dome is practically identical in shape. The kiosks at the corners too, as also the doorways, which are flush with the façade instead of being recessed, bear this out.

To return to Persia, this form of dome under 18th century decadence takes an increasingly bulbous form, in fact as Saladin says, the greater the swelling of the dome the later the date at which it has been constructed. This swelling form culminates in the mosque of Jalâlû'ddîn at Shîrâz, (Plate V, D.) and in the dome of the Shâh Chirâgh which *may* date from the time of Kârîm Khân, (18th cent.) but which is probably subsequent to the great earthquake of 1824, which according to J. E. Alexander,[84] who was there shortly afterwards, left "not a single dome or minaret standing."

It follows exactly the same course in India during and after the reign of Aurangzîb, the most pronounced and best known example being perhaps the mausoleum of Safdar Jang at Delhi. (Plate V, C).

For present-day practice a good account may be found in Langenegger's *Die Baukunst des Irâq* Here is a diagram (Fig. 24) given by him of a recent dome with double shell; the outer being one brick thick covered with a layer of modern tiles. He expressly remarks that it could not stand without the tie-bars shown, which supports the view I took earlier in this paper as to this unscientific shape, contrary to the opinion held by several French writers on the subject.

This (Fig. 25), is another section given by him for more massive construction in which the whole outer shell is supported on a trussed frame. On the other hand we have this example, (Fig. 26) which may be called jerry-building in excelsis. The rods shown radiate from a centre and project through the outer shell until it is finished, when they are cut off level, but I ought to add that Dr. Langenegger says this style of thing is stronger than perhaps might be expected.

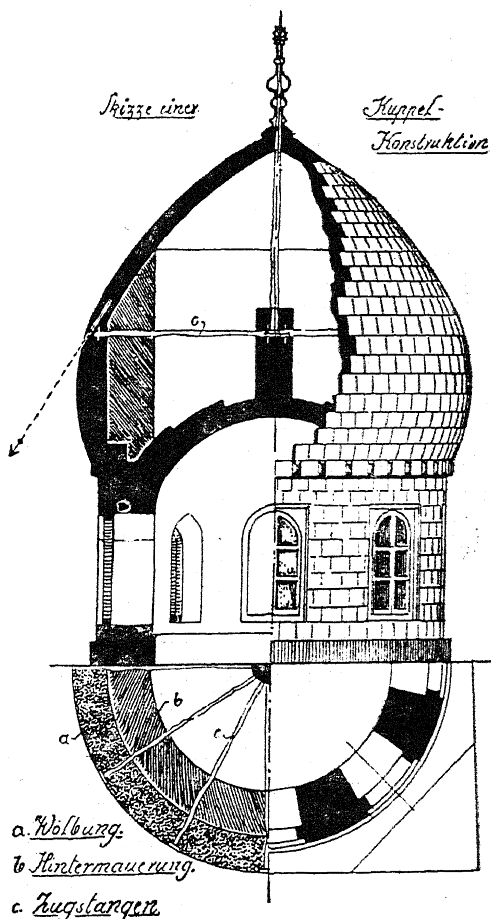


Fig. 24.

[83] Carr Stephen, *op. cit.* p. 215.

[84] *Travels from India to England*, p. 125.

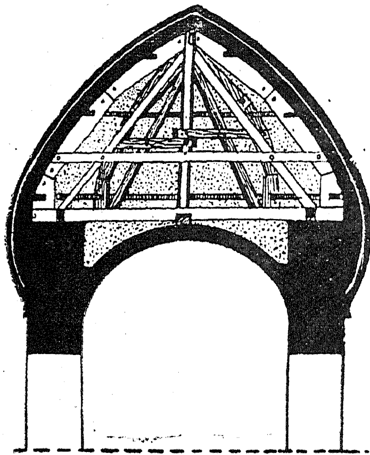


Fig. 25.

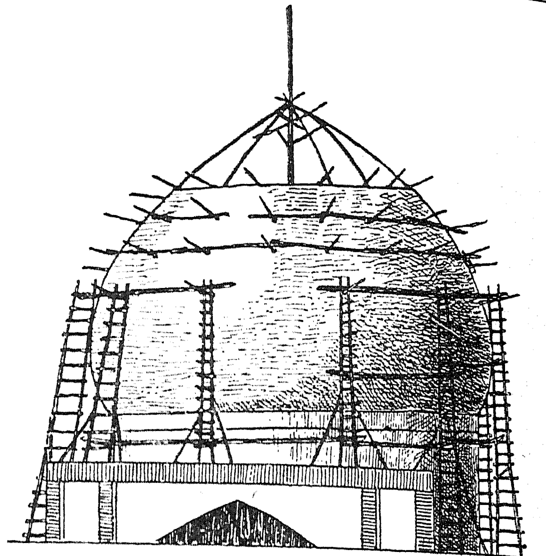


Fig. 26.

The framework referred to above is only required in consequence of the outward bulge of the dome, as stated. The inner shell of these domes as well as all ordinary (single shell) domes in Persia are constructed without centreing, a most important point in a country where wood is extremely scarce. Chardin,[85] O'Donovan,[86] Biddulph,[87] Marsh,[88] Ferrier,[89] and Fowler[90] have described this feature, which is the rule in Persia from the dome of a peasant's hut (Plate I. E.) to the large dome at the intersection of two galleries in the bazaar (Chahr Su), and the inner shell of the chief dome in a mosque. After the completion of the pendentives, the successive rings of the dome are completed one by one, and as they set rapidly the workmen have no hesitation in leaning on them almost immediately, reaching over and plastering the interior as far as they can. The exterior is plastered also, and as no scaffolding is used as a rule, half bricks are omitted at intervals, into which the bricklayers insert their feet and climb about as they wish.

Dome construction without centreing is not confined to Persia, but is found pretty nearly all over Islam. Egypt is no exception, and Mr. Somers Clarke in his recent book,[91] describes the construction by two men of a dome of a house he had built. This dome rested on an octagon pierced by windows, one in each face, and after the completion of the octagon (which itself rested on pendentives over a square room), a punt pole was borrowed from a neighbouring *dahabeah* and laid diagonally across. A centre point was found by taking a piece of string the full diameter of the octagon and doubling it. To this centre point the string was tied, and a knot at each end of it established the radius. Each workman took one end, which fixed the outline of the dome, except the apex which approximated to a conical form. Mr. Somers Clarke concludes: "There are in Egypt hundreds of domes built in the manner above described and many of them are several hundred years old, but it would be difficult to find a builder in Europe who did not require for the work

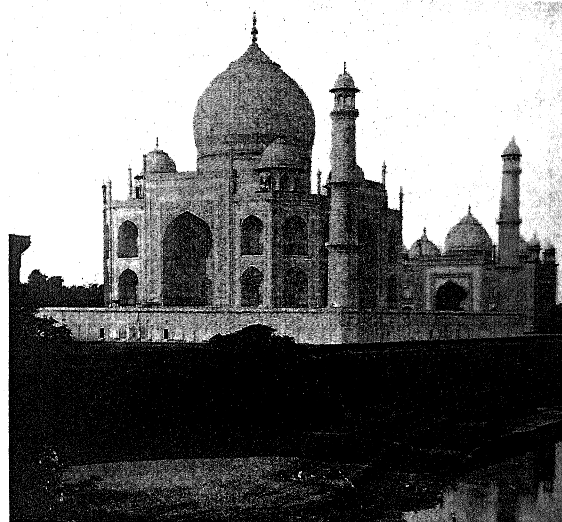
[85] *Travels*, (Lloyd's translation) II, p. 278.
[86] O'Donovan (E.), *The Merv Oasis*, I, p. 476.
[87] Biddulph (C. E.), *Four Months in Persia*, p. 59.
[88] Marsh (H. C.), *A Ride through Islam*, p. 89.
[89] Ferrier (J. P.), *Caravan Journeys*, p. 174.
[90] Fowler (G.), *Three Years in Persia*, I, p. 82.
[91] *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, pp. 28-30.

THE DOME IN PERSIA.

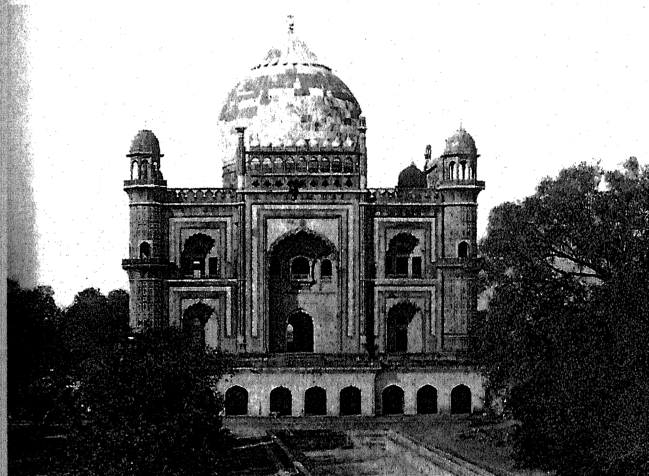
Plate V.



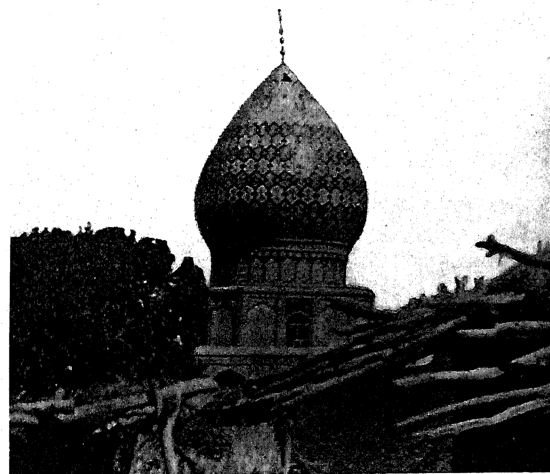
A. Mausoleum of Khān Khānān, Delhi.



B. Tāj Mahal, Agra.



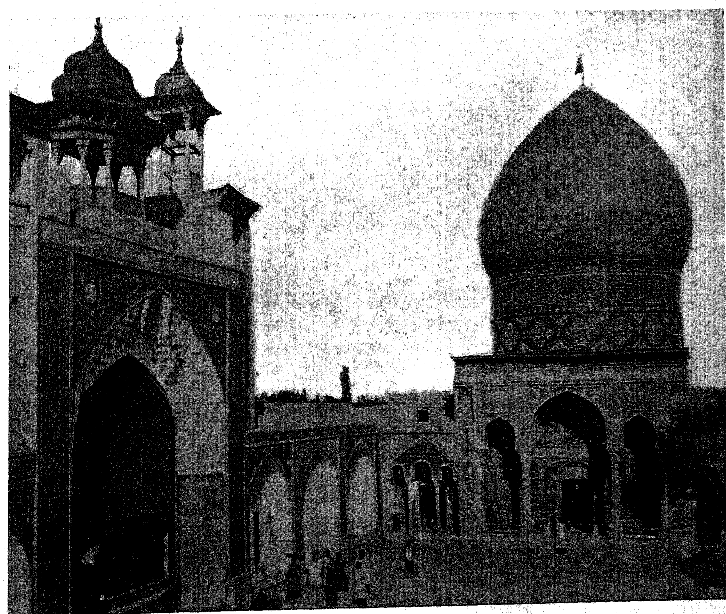
C. Mausoleum of Safdar Jang, Delhi.



D. Mosque of Jalālu'ddīn, Shīrāz.



E. Imām al Horr, Kerbela.



F. Dome of Mosque, Teheran.

timber 'centres,' ladders, and many things which he looks on as a matter of course and as absolute necessities."

In Turkey similar methods are, or were, used. Eton[92] over a century ago described the practice there. Instead of a knotted rope, two poles were used, pivoted at the centre of the dome, the shorter describing the interior surface, the longer one the exterior. No scaffolding whatever was used, except at the extreme apex of the dome.

The only instance of the use of this method in the West, so far as I know, is at Malta, where the great dome of the church at Mousta was constructed in this fashion about fifty years ago. Stone is the material employed, and the whole work was carried out by the local master-mason, Angelo Gatt. It was he who insisted on building the dome without scaffolding, and showed how it could be done by simply notching each course on to the one below. As this dome is over 120 feet in diameter, it might well be called one of the most remarkable in the world.[93]

As an example of the most extreme form of this style of dome I may cite the dome of the shrine of Imâm al Horr at Kerbela, (Plate V, E), and of the mosque at Teheran (Plate V, F.)

To sum up. Persian domes may be divided into three groups :—

1st :—The pre-Muhammadan domes of elliptical shape, which we see at Firûzâbâd and Sarvistân.

2nd :—The domes of the Muhammadan period down to 1400, which, gradually changing from the earlier style become pointed, the dome at Sultânîeh being the finest example.

3rd :—The double dome introduced by Tîmûr after his stay at Damascus, which though only of very slightly swelling outline for three centuries, gradually became fuller about 1700, a tendency which culminated in the course of the last hundred years, till it attained at Shiraz an extremely bulbous form.

Note.—In addition to acknowledgments already made in the text, I am also indebted to M. le colonel Dieulafoy for permission to use photographs, and to Sir Coleridge Kennard, Bart., for Plate II., E and F. As part of the above Paper has appeared in the *Burlington Magazine*, I must thank the Editors for permission to make use of it.

NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR OF THE OLD WESTERN RAJASTHANI WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO APABHRAMÇA AND TO GUJRATI AND MARWARI.

BY DR. L. P. TESSITORI, UDINE, ITALY.

(*Continued from p.* 126.)

mâraï "Kills" (F 783, 74), from *maraï* "Dies"

mêlaï "Brings together" (P. 338), from *milaï* "Meets", etc.

2. Causals formed by adding to the root the causative affix *âv*, from Apabhramça *âva, âve* < Sanskrit *â-pay*. In the last language, the affix proper is *-pay*, and *â* is the terminal vowel of the roots in °*â*, to which the use of the afore-said affix is confined. Prakrit and Apabhramça take *âpay* as a general affix and employ it to derive causals from

[92] Eton (W), *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London, 1798, p. 229.

[93] Fergusson, *Modern Styles*, I, pp. 45-47.

any root. Before the *âv* affix, a radical long vowel of the Old Western Râjasthâni is generally, though not always, shortened. Ex.:

ăpâvaï "Causes to give" (P. 656), from *âpaï* "Gives"
bŏlâvaï "Calls" (P. 342), from *bolaï* "Speaks"
mănâvaï "Causes to obey" (Dd. 6), from *mânaï* "Obeys"
lyâvaï "Brings" (ÂdiC.), from *lii* "Takes", etc.

Occasionally, and chiefly with verbs having a radical long vowel, the shortened form *av* of the affix is used instead of *âv*, and the radical vowel is allowed to remain long. Ex.:

vînavaï "Informs" (P. 348) [< Ap. *viṇṇâvaï* < Skt. *vijñâpayati*]
pâṭhavaï "Despatches" (P. 445)
bholavaï "Cajoles" (P. 409)
mêlavaï "Brings together" (P. 339)
sîkhavaï "Instructs" (Daç. ix)
sosavaï "Dries up" (P. 546).

This is by no means a peculiarity of the Old Western Râjasthânî, but is widely spread in both Prakrit and Apabhraṃça. Take only the following examples from Hemacandra, being the Prakrit originals of four of the Old Western Râjasthânî verbs given above:

paṭṭhavaï Siddh. iv, 37 *viṇṇavaï* Siddh. iv, 38
mêlavaï Siddh. iv, 28 *sosavaï* Siddh. iii, 150.

In the Old Western Râjasthâni, as already in the Apabhraṃça, the same *av* affix is used to derive denominatives (see § 142), which sometimes makes it difficult to decide whether a form in *-avaï* is to be considered as a causal or denominative.

(3) Causals formed by the affixes: *âḍ*, *âr*, (*âl*). The existence of the first affix may be traced back to the Prakrit, as it occurs in the verb *bhamâḍaï*, recorded by Hemacandra, *sûtra* iv, 30 of his *Siddh.*, and in two or three others. I have no difficulty to explain *ḍ* as a mere euphonic or pleonastic element inserted in the place of usual *v* to avoid contraction of the *â* of the causal root with the termination, and therefore practically bearing an analogy to the pleonastic affix, which is dealt with under § 146. The two other affixes *âr* and *âl* are obviously derived from *âḍ* (Cf. § 29). Examples are:

(*a*) in *âḍ*:

ûḍâḍaï "Causes to fly" Dd. 10
jagâḍaï "Awakes (trans.)" Daç.
nasâḍaï "Puts to flight" Kal. 16, P. 587, Indr. 57
dekhâḍaï "Shows" P. 317, 393, Ratn. 108, Yog. iv, 40, Çrâ., Dd., F 715
baïsâḍaï "Causes to sit" Âdi C.
pamâḍaï "Causes to obtain, procures" Daç.
lagâḍaï "Applies" Çrâ.

(*b*) in *âr*:

ghaṭâraï "Lessens (trans.)" Âdi C.
divâraï "Causes to give" Vi. 60
baïsâraï "Causes to sit" Daç. iv, F 715, ii, 11, Âdi C.
livâraï "Causes to take" Up. 182
sûâraï "Causes to sleep" Daç. iv

(c) in *âl*:

dikhâlaï "Shows" Âdi C.

Causals in *r*, *l* are also found in Sindhî, Pañjâbî and Hindî. In the two Mârwâṛî causals *dirâvaï* and *lirâvaï* ("To cause to give" and "to cause to take") *r* has been transposed. Their original forms are *divâraï* and *livâraï*, both of which have been quoted amongst the Old Western Râjasthânî examples given above to illustrate causals in *âr*. The same transposition of *r* will be noticed in the double causals under the next head. An instance of a potential passive from a causal in *âr* is *gavarâya* (F 535, iv, 12), from *gavâraï* "Causes to sing."

(4.) Double causals. These are formed by the addition of both the affixes *âv* and *âḍ* > *âr*, combined into *avâḍ*, *avâr*.

Examples:

melavâḍaï Çâl. 31, from *milaï*

kahavâraï Âdi C., from *kahaï*.

In the particular case of vocal roots, the affix *arâv* is used instead of *avâr*. I explain it as being derived from the latter, by *r* being transposed to obviate the concurrence of the *v* in the affix with the euphonic *v* (§ 116) inserted between the terminal vowel in the root and the initial *a* in the affix. Thus from the root *di* "To give", we have first the regular double causal **di-v-avâr-a-ï*, and then, by metathesis of *r*, *di-v-arâv-a-ï* (P. 223, 355, Daç. iv, Âdi C.) Other examples are:

khăvarâvaï Up. 149, from *khâi* (*khâ-v-a-ï*)

jovarâvaï Up. 113, from *joi* (*jo-v-a-ï*)

livarâvaï Daç. iv, from *lii* (*lĕ-v-a-ï*).

Exceptionally the same affix of the vocal roots is used after a root in *h*, in the example:

sahavarâvaï Up. 256, from *sahaï*.

Cf. the case of Marâṭhî, where roots in *h*, as a rule, form the causal with the affix *avavi* (Hoernle, *Gauḍian Grammar*, § 476).

Passive forms are:

kahivarâi "Is called" (Up. 227), simple present

kahavarâi chaï "Is being called" (Âdi C.), compound present

kahavarâṇâ "Mentioned" (*Ibid*), past participle nominative plural masculine.

An anomalous causal is: *pâi* "Causes to drink" (Daç. x, Dd. 2), which is from Sanskrit *pâyayati*, through Apabhraṃça * *pâei*, *pâaï*.

§142. **Denominatives** are derived from substantives either directly or by means of the causal affix *av* (never *âv*). Both ways are common to Prakrit and Apabhraṃça also. Old Western Râjasthânî examples are:

(1.) Denominatives formed from substantives directly:

âṇandiu "Rejoiced" (Ṛṣ. 35), from *âṇanda* < Skt. *ânanda-*

janmyaü "Was born" (Dd. 1), from Skt. *janman*

vyatikramyaü "Passed over" (Âdi C.), from Skt. *vyatikrama-*

mûtriŭ "It was urinated" (Up. 149), from Skt. *mûtra-*

jîtaï, *jîpaï* "Wins" (Dd. 2), from the past participle *jîta-* < Ap. *jitta-* < Skt. *jitá-*

mũkaï "Leaves" (Çrâ., Dd., etc.), from the past participle **mûka-* < Ap. *mukka-* > Skt. *mukta-*.

(2.) Denominatives formed from substantives by the affix *av*:

bhogavaï "Enjoys" (P. 347, 178, F 783, 35 etc.), from Skt. *bhoga-*

sâcavaï "Watches" (P. 297) < Ap. *saccavaï* (Siddhahem. iv, 181) < Skt. *satyâpayati*

gopavaï "Conceals" (P. 286), from Skt. *gopayati*

cītavaï "Reflects" (P., Âdi C.), from Skt. *cintayati*

varṇavaï "Describes" (F 783, 5, Ṣaṣṭ 96), from Skt. *varṇayati*.

Observe that in most of the last examples, the formation of the denominative is traceable to the Sanskrit, and therefore here *v* does apparently the function of a mere euphonic consonant inserted in the place of Sanskrit *y*.

CHAPTER X.

DERIVATIVE SUFFIXES.

§143. The object of the present chapter is to treat only of a few **derivative suffixes**, which either because of their having not yet been properly explained, or because of their bearing on the origin of some adverbs, pronouns and verbal forms, deserve special attention. To the latter class belong chiefly adjectives formed with the pleonastic suffixes *l* and *ḍ*, and as this is by far more comprehensive than the former class, I shall describe it first.

§144. Suffixes, whereof the chief element is *l*, have a very large application in Old Western Râjasthânî. They may be distinguished into: (*a*) suffixes in *-ilaü* and (*b*) suffixes in *-alaü*.

The **suffix** *-ilaü* is from Apabhraṃça *-illaü* < Skt. *-ilâkaḥ* (Cf. Pischel, *Prakr. Gramm.*, §§ 194, 595), and is chiefly used to derive adverbial adjectives, *i.e.*, adjectives expressive of place or time. Examples are:

âgilaü "First" (Ṣaṣṭ. 156) < *aggillaü* < Skt. **agrilâkaḥ*

chehilaü "Last" (cf. § 38) < Ap. *chehillaü* < Skt. * *chedilâkaḥ*

dhurilaü "Initial" (Ṣaṣṭ., Indr.) < Ap. **dhurillaü* < Skt. **dhurilâkaḥ*

pûrvilaü "Former, previous" (Âdi C.), half-tatsama

bâhirilaü "Outward" (*Ibid.*) < Ap. *bâhirillaü* (cf. Ardhamâgadhi *bâhirilla*) < Skt. **bâhirilâkaḥ*

mâhilaü "Inward" (P. 437, Up. 197) < Ap. *majjhillaü* < Skt. **madhyilâkaḥ*

vicilaü "Medial" (Âdi C.) < Ap. **viccillaü* (cf. *vici*, § 75).

It is amongst these adverbial adjectives that the parents of the so-called demonstrative pronouns *olo* and *pelo* of the Modern Gujarâti, are to be classed. I derive the former from Sanskrit **apârilâkaḥ*, through Apabhraṃça **avârillaü* > **orillaü* > Old Western Râjasthânî **orilaü*, whence, by intervocalic *r* being elided (§ 30), **oilaü* > *oliu*. The last form is evidenced by the *Mu*. Similarly, I derive *pelo* from Sanskrit **pârilâkaḥ* (or possibly **parilâkaḥ*), through Apabhraṃça **pârillaü*, whence Old Western Râjasthânî **parilaü* > *païlaü*, which last form is also recorded in the *Mu*. and is also met with in the MS. *Âdi C.* In Modern Gujarâti *olo* and *pelo* are generally used indiscriminately in the sense of the demonstrative pronoun "That", but their Old Western Râjasthânî originals have preserved the difference in their respective meanings, as is born out by the evidence of the *Mu.*, where *oliu* is introduced to give the meaning of "Facing towards one," and *païlaü* of "Facing away from one." Now, these two meanings are quite in accordance with **apârilâkaḥ* "Situated on this side," and **pârilâkaḥ* (or possibly **parilâkaḥ*) "Situated on the other side", which I have pointed out as the ultimate sources of *olo*

and *pelo*. To the same Sanskrit origin are to be traced the adverbial adjectives *urali* or *ulli (taraf)* "On this side", and *parali* or *palli* (*taraf*) "On that side", quoted by Kellogg, § 645, (2), *a* of his *Hindî Grammar,* as being in use in the colloquial of the Upper Doab, and Bihârî *parala* "Ulterior", quoted by Hoernle, § 105 of his *Gauḍian Grammar.*

An instance of the suffix *-ilaü* used in the pleonastic or diminutive function is *thoḍilaü* "Scanty," occurring *Ṛṣ.* 194 and *Ṣaṣṭ.* 116.

Lastly the suffix *-ilaü* is employed as a pleonastic appendage after past participles. This usage seems to have been very rare in Old Western Râjasthânî, if we are to judge from the extant evidence, though in Modern Gujarâtî the suffix *-elo* appears to be very largely spread at the present day. Past participles with *l* being on the whole peculiar of the languages of the Eastern and Southern portion of the Neo-Indian area, it would seem that Old Western Râjasthânî borrowed them from the latter, or, to be more correct, inherited them from the old language of the Outer Circle which was originally spoken throughout the Old Western Râjasthânî area (Cf. Grierson, *LSI.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p. 327). As regards the Prakrit stage, the use of the suffix *-illiya* after past participles is amply evidenced by the Jaina Mâhârâṣṭrî. The few Old Western Râjasthânî examples that are available, have been given § 126, (4), where the subject has been particularly discussed.

§145. The **suffix** *-alaü* is from Apabhraṃça *-alaü, *-allaü* < Skt. **-alâkah,* and in the Old Western Râjasthânî it is chiefly employed as a pleonastic or diminutive suffix after both nouns and adjectives.

Examples:

kiḍalaü "Worm" (Daç. iv, 11)
pataṅgalaü "Moth" (*Ibid.*)
bagalaü "Crow" (P. 376, 378, etc.)
beḍalî "Boat" (F 783, 7) [< Skt. *veḍâ*]
ãdhalaü "Blind" (Çrâ.) [< Pkt. *andhala-*, °*lla-*]
ekalaü "Alone" (P. 204, 281, 282) [< Ap. *ekala-*]
kîdhalũ "Done" (Ṛṣ. 148) [See § 126, (4)].

In some cases, however, Old Western Râjasthânî *-alaü* is not from Apabhraṃça *-alaü*, *-allaü*, but from Apabhraṃça *-illaü*, and is therefore identical with *-ilaü*, the substitution of *a* for *i* being simply directed to avoid consonancy with another *i* in the syllable immediately preceding or following. Such is probably the case with all adverbial locatives in *-ali* (§ 101, (1)), which I am inclined to explain as having derived from **-ili*, namely from adverbial adjectives in *-ila* in the locative (See § 4, (1)). The form *vicâli*, however, which occurs *P.* 602 as an equivalent of *vici*, seems to point out that the employment of the suffix *-ala, -alla* in the same adverbial meaning as *-illa* had already begun in the Apabhraṃça. In the Old Western Râjasthânî commentary contained in the MS. *F 647*, there occur some instances of *mathâlaĩ* "Upon", which is also referable to an Apabhraṃça suffix *-ala, -alla*, the Apabhraṃça original form being *matthaalahĩ* or *matthaallahĩ* < Skt. **mastakalakasmin*. Incidentally, let me remark that I identify the form *mathâlaĩ* explained above, with the locative postposition *mâlai* of Modern Eastern Râjasthânî (See Grierson, *LSI.*, Vol. ix, Part ii, p 36). The intermediate form is **mahâlaĩ*, by weakening of *th* to *h*, quite analogously to the case of *jh* in the Old Western Râjasthânî postposition *mâhi* from *mâjhi* (§ 74, (7)).

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF SANKARACHARYA III.

We have seen already (*ante.*) that Śaṅkarâchârya is posterior to the Śaiva saint Tirujñâna Sambandha. He is posterior also to the Śaiva saint Sundara-Mûrti Nâyanâr, who, according to Tamil tradition, is a contemporary of Cheramân, the last of the Perumâḷs of Kêraḷa. Malayâḷam tradition places the Âchârya's reforms in Kêraḷa after the departure of the last Perumâḷ to Mecca. (825 A. D.).[1]

An examination of Vaishṇava tradition yields us the same chronological results. The early Vaishṇava saints and sages do not refer to Śaṅkara or his *advaita* doctrines, while they (*e. g.*, Saṭagôpa and Tirumangai Âḷvârs) condemn Śaiva, Sânkhya, Śâkya and other schools of thought. The religious songs of these Âḷvârs are said to have been brought together into a collection by Nâthamuni. This is known as 'the 4,000 songs' (*Nâlâyira-prabandham*), the vernacular Bible of the Vaishṇavas. Nâthamuni and his apostolic successors attack Śaṅkara's doctrines. The former attacks him in his *Nyâya-tattva* referred to by Śrî-Râmânujâchârya in his *Sûtra-bhâshya*. The second in succession from Nâthamuni was Yâmuna Âchârya (*alias* Âḷavandâr) who mentions Śaṅkara in his *Siddhi-traya*. And Yâmuna was the *Parama Guru* (Guru's Guru) of Śrî-Râmânujâchârya. It is clear that Śaṅkara must have lived before Nâthamuni. It is also probable that he lived after the Vaishṇava Âḷvârs.

We are in a position to fix the dates of the Vaishṇava Âḷvârs and Âchâryas in the light of astronomical, epigraphical and traditional evidence. The astronomical data would indeed have been conclusive had they been found in the writings of the authors themselves. Where this is not the case, one has to look for them in the works of later writers. But results could be regarded as probably correct if there was absolute agreement as to details among writers who have preserved the astronomical data regarding the lives of their Gurus. Fortunately for us, our authorities are in agreement as to the date of Tirumangai Âḷvâr's birth: Kṛittikâ Śukla 15, Kârtikai Nakshatra, Thursday—which works up to 31st October 776. And this date agrees with the epigraphical evidence available. (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 294). According to tradition, Tirumangai Âḷvâr was later than Saṭakôpa Nammâḷvâr. The latter must have lived in the first half of the 8th century if he be the father of Mathura-Kavi[2] as is most probably the case. For Saṭakôpa calls himself Mâṛan son of Kâṛi in his psalms. And we have an inscription of Mathura-Kavi[3] *alias* Kâṛi son of Mâṛan probably the same as Saṭakôpa (See *Epigraphist's Report* for 1908, Madras, p. 69). According to Vaishṇava tradition Mathura-Kavi was the publisher of the work of Saṭakôpa (*Tiruvâymoḷi*). As regards Nâthamuni he was a contemporary of the Chola king Râja-Nârâyana *alias* Parântaka (10th century). Here again Vaishṇava tradition can be reconciled with known facts. For it places Nâthamuni four generations before Râmânuja (*b.* 4 April 1018). It is true that it speaks of the former (wrongly, of course) as of the second generation from Saṭakôpa, but it suggests that there was something of a break in the *Guruparamparâ* by stating that the work of Saṭakôpa published by Mathura-Kavi had fallen into desuetude long before Nâthamuni's time.

It is, therefore, likely that Śaṅkarâchârya lived in the 9th century, between Tirumangai Âḷvâr and Mathura-Kavi (8th century) on the one hand and Nâthamuni (10th century) on the other.

S. V. Venkateswara.

Kumbakonam,
1st October 1914.

[1] Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Piḷḷai informs me that there is no other date which corresponds to these data for centuries earlier or later.

[2] The late Mr. Venkayya was of opinion that Mathura-Kavi was an elder contemporary, perhaps the father, of Saṭakôpa (*Madras Epigraphist's Report* for 1908, p. 69). There is no need to falsify the Vaishṇava tradition, however, as he has done. It is more than possible that Kâṛi was the name both of Mâṛan's father and his son, the grandchild being usually named after the grandfather.

[3] Mathura-Kavi was a great Sanskrit scholar and poet. The Veḷvikuḷi Grant styles him *Śâstravid* (well-versed in the *Śâstras*), *Kavi* (poet) and *vâgmî* (able debator). It is, therefore, significant that he is not known to have referred to or attacked Śaṅkarâchârya. The Ânamalai cave inscriptions imply that the death of Mathura-Kavi had taken place before 770 A. D.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PANDYA MONARCHY.
(MR. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI'S THEORY.[1])

BY ROBERT SEWELL.

Prefatory Remarks.

THE lost history of Southern India can only, at the present day, be reconstructed after careful and prolonged investigation of the inscriptions and literary remains that in large number await critical examination. A few of these have been fully published with translation and notes by Professor E. Hultzsch; and it is upon these, together with the information given in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy issued by the Government of Madras, that the European scholar has at first to depend when attempting to collect materials for a work on the subject. The labours of the late Professor Kielhorn of Göttingen were mostly confined to an examination of the dates of inscriptions, from which, by advancing slowly and with extreme caution, he was enabled to determine, within definite limits, consisting of a few months in some cases, a few days in others, the times of accession to the throne of a certain number of sovereigns. All this work has been of immense value. With some as yet unbridged intervals, hereafter no doubt to be successfully filled in, we are now in possession of the general outlines, and in course of time the whole story will become plain. But it will never become plain if at the present very critical period workers are not particularly cautious in their methods. Deductions put forward or statements confidently made by an author who is recognized as an authority on the subject may, if these are perhaps based on insufficient evidence, have the unfortunate result of seriously clouding the issue and raising great difficulties for the student in after years. An assertion so made is apt to be accepted as an historic truth.

This cautious advance which I venture to advocate is peculiarly necessary in dealing with the history of the Pâṇḍya kings of the extreme south of the peninsula for several reasons; not the least of which is that a large number of these Pâṇḍya kings seem to have borne the same name, and these are liable to be confused one with another. Another reason is that when we examine the dates of the various reigns we find some overlappings, or what appears to be such; and this requires explanation. We should neither generalize too freely just at present, nor place before our readers conclusions derived from too scanty materials. We should by all means progress, but progress slowly and very carefully.[2]

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[1] *Ante*. Vol. XLII, pp. 163 ff., 221 ff.

[2] I append an illustration to shew how careful we ought to be in not propounding overhasty solutions to these problems of the dates of kings. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has determined, and asks us to accept as the result of his calculations, the reign of a new and previously unheard-of king called Mâṛavarman Śrîvallabha Dêva with accession between 4 and 10 September A. D. 1257, on the strength of three records, 110 of 1900, 539 of 1904, and an inscription at Pudukôṭâ. The first is, as I have admitted below (p. 196 of next issue of this journal), a regular date corresponding to 25 June 1278; he has to make two drastic alterations in the second date to make it support the former; and the last date agrees with it only if we accept his ruling that we may consider a date regular whether or no the nakshatra ended on the day to which the tithi conforms or on the following day. In this last case he accepts the date in full and uses it to determine the latest possible day of the king's accession, though the nakshatra by ordinary custom belonged to the day following that predicated by the rest of the details given. In the end he has no hesitation in declaring this reign, beginning in A. D. 1257, quite certain, and as such he includes in his List.

But these three dates may be so treated as to lead to a different result.

No. 110 of 1900 would be regular for Saturday 13 June 1271 A. D. on Mr, Swamikannu Pillai's ruling, the given nakshatra, Maghâ, ending next day.

No. 539 of 1904 would be regular for Wednesday, 22 August, A. D. 1285, on the same ruling (the given nakshatra ending next day), if we suppose that "Śukla" 5 is an error for krishṇa 5 in the original. A Sukla 5 in solar Siṁha in combination with Kṛittikâ is impossible.

The Pudukôṭâ date would be perfectly regular for *Tuesday*, 26 September, A. D 1284, all the details agreeing for that date. We might suppose "Monday" in the original to be a mistake.

These three dates taken together would prove Mâṛavarman Śrî Vallabha's accession to have taken place on a day between 23 August and 26 September, A. D. 1250, seven years earlier than Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date.

Which result is to be accepted as historically certain? In the second date I have only made one serious change. He has made two. In the third date I make one change. That make us equal in the matter of supposed original errors. For the rest I follow his own rule. His dates are no better than mine, and there can therefore be no certainty about the date of accession.

I venture to give utterance to this warning after having finished an examination into the calculations, assignments of dates and deductions as to the reigns of kings put forward by Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in his two papers on "*Some new dates of Pâṇḍya kings in the 13th century A. D.*", published in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1913, *pp. 163 ff., and 221 ff.*). And before proceeding I hope to be pardoned both by that author and my readers if I make a short personal appeal.

I wish it to be clearly understood that the following paper has been put together and is now laid before the public in no spirit of antagonism to the author. On the contrary I feel that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's attempt to throw light on the intricate chronology of the Pâṇḍya kingdom is deserving of warm welcome and support; and it is to be hoped that he will continue the good work. My sole reason for entering the lists with him is to be found in the fact that, believing that in some cases his enthusiasm has led him to be rather too positive in his assertions and too hasty in his deductions, I fear lest these should meet with such general acceptance as to render any future alteration or correction a matter of great difficulty. We meet on purely scientific ground; and, whether I am right or wrong in my criticism of his results, nothing but good can result so long as personal relations remain undisturbed and the conflict of opinion is kept free from acrimony. Indeed I hope that after perusing my remarks Mr. Swamikannu Pillai will come to agree with me in some of my conclusions. All that I ask is that he should give each case careful reconsideration, and that the responsible government Epigraphists and the public should for the present refrain from accepting all his results as historical facts.

I will begin by a few remarks on matters regarding which I find myself entirely in accord with the author.

(i) On p. 165 Mr. Swamikannu Pillai requests the government Epigraphist, in his notes on inscriptions published in the "Annual Reports", to give us some more extended information. I have long ago found the want of this. We ought to have, and I hope that in future we shall have, for every inscription where such details are available, (*a*) full details of the date,—not only the Saka or cyclic or regnal year; (*b*) a statement by the Epigraphist, based on the characters of the record, giving his opinion as to the apparent limits of the period within which it must have been engraved,—this statement to be such as the author has suggested, *viz*: "about 13th century," "end of 12th or beginning of 13th century", "later than 14th century", it being manifest that without this information investigators who have no access to the originals or squeezes or tracings from them, are all at sea; (*c*) the opening words of the official introduction contained given in the *original* and *not translated*, seeing that these words are often characteristic and are confined to particular sovereigns, e. g., *Samasta-jagad-âdhâra*, which points to a record of the reign of the Pâṇḍya Jaṭâvarman Sundara whose accession took place in A.D 1251, *Iṛandakâlam-edutta* which shews that the inscription was one of Jaṭilavarman Srîvallabha whose accession was in A. D. 1534; (*d*) A translation of any notable historical allusion contained in the inscription, such as is sometimes to be found amongst the king's titles or biruḍas or his boasts of victories gained e. g., "*who took Ilam, Koṅgu and Sôlamaṇḍalam, and performed the anointment of heroes at Perumbâṟṟu-puliyûr,*" a phrase which would at once guide us to king Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya whose reign began in A. D 1253,—or such an allusion as is contained in the body of the record, *e.g.*, a reference to the Muhammadan raid of the early 14th century, mention of the Singhalese invader Laṅkâpura (12 cent.), and so on.

(ii) The Epigraphist's official list of inscriptions copied during the year under report should contain, in separate columns, the names of (*a*) the district, (*b*) the Taluk or division, (*c*) the town to which each record belongs. This is very necessary, for at present only the name of the town is given; and since very often there are many towns of the same name in the south of India, the enquirer has to search elsewhere to ascertain the provenance of the document—a tedious process which wastes valuable time.

(iii) Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, on p. 165 note 2, proposes that in future we should altogether abandon the practice of giving numbers to the names of kings. I trust that this proposal will be carried out by all writers. Up to the present certain Pâṇḍya kings have been described as "Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I", or "II", as the case may be. But so many Sundara Pâṇḍyas are now known to have lived that these numbers will inevitably have hereafter to be changed, and great confusion may result. The only safe course to adopt is to append to the name the known date of the king's accession. I would henceforth describe the kings just mentioned as "Jaṭâvarman, (or, for short "Jaṭâv :" or even "Jaṭ :") Sundara Pâṇḍya (acc: 1251)" and "Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya (acc: 1276)". Where the date of accession is not known as yet some other clue may be stated in brackets such as "(about 13th cent.)", "(time of Râjarâja Choḷa I)", "(Vijayanagar period)", and so on.

I now proceed with a few remarks before entering on the main discussion regarding Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's settlement of the Pâṇḍya dates published by him.

Kshaya Tithis.

In preparing his portion of the treatise on Hindu chronology, which afterwards was published in the *Indian Calendar*, the late Mr. S. Balkrishna Dikshit wrote (*§ 32 p. 18*) that "a day on which no *tithi* ends, or on which two *tithis* end, is regarded as inauspicious". Is this correct? If it is so then may it not be assumed that a royal grant or a private grant would probably not be made on such a day? I put this question because in some instances it will be found that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has decided that the date of an inscription corresponds with such a day, the inscription actually quoting the expunged tithi, which would make the case still more remarkable.[3] No. 62 of 1905, on which he relies for establishing the date of a hitherto unknown Pâṇḍya king whom he calls Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara II (p. 168), is one of these. And there are others. The author's method of calculation gives him the ending moment of the tithi and not the beginning (unless he chooses to work this out), and one who works by this method is apt to let the beginning moment of the tithi in question escape him. Moreover the interval between each of the author's units,—his ephemeris dealing only with two decimals of a day,—is as much as 14m. 24s., and that alone will often cause the occurrence of a kshaya tithi to pass unnoticed. I feel safer with the *Indian Calendar* method, of which the unit is only 4¼m., than with Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's Table X, and of course still safer with Prof. Jacobi's "Special Tables". The Table X mentioned is however very useful for other purposes.

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[3] Similarly I have been led to believe that a civil day during which the moon touches three nakshatras, or only one—in other words when a nakshatra falls altogether within the period of two successive sunrises, or is current at two successive sunrises—is an unlucky day. (See *Ind. Chronography* p. 44, § 125).

"Proof" of a king's existence.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is, if I may be pardoned for saying so, rather too dogmatic in his assertions in many places. Writing purely as a chronologist he congratulates himself (p. 164) on the "accuracy of the results presented to epigraphists" in his article, and the "positive results" at which he has arrived; he states that he has "proved" some points and is able to "show" others; and by adding "a dozen new names" is able to remove the "obscurity" hitherto existing in which Pâṇḍya history has been involved. If readers are able to wade through the paper which I have drawn up they will, I think, conclude that some at least of the results alluded to are, viewed as verifications of dates, unfounded; that in some cases proof is altogether wanting; that of the dozen new names we can only feel fairly sure of three or four (though we must recognize as regards these the service he has done); and that so far from removing obscurity his article, by suggesting possible reigns on somewhat questionable evidence, rather increases it.

Setting aside the case of an inscription which contains such historical statements or allusions as themselves constitute proof, and considering solely the dates of records devoid of such contents, we should, I think, do well to follow in the footsteps of the late Prof. Kielhorn who with laudable caution declined to proclaim decisively the existence and reign of a king until he had before him at least two perfect and regular dates[4] taken from evidently contemporary documents and agreeing with one another. As for instance in the case of Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya (accession A. D. 1253). Prof. Kielhorn had before him his date No. 31 (*Epig: Ind:, VII, pp. 10, 11*), which was in itself perfect and regular, and which, if he had considered that one such date was sufficient to establish conclusively the reign of a king of whose existence nothing as yet was known, he would have at once published. But he was not so rash. He waited, and after some time was rewarded by the discovery of a date (No. 32) in another inscription, equally perfect and regular and confirmatory of the first. Then he was satisfied, and he published the two together. Had his life been spared he would have been gratified by the discovery of a third, similar, viz: my No. 69 (*op: cit: X p. 139*).

In my humble opinion this caution was exemplary and should be imitated by all engaged in chronological work (of which alone I speak). It will be seen hereafter that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai does not entertain this view of the matter. He has in one case considered a reign as conclusively proved when the only evidence adduced by him consists of two dates, each in itself defective and one stating a regnal year which contradicts the other. This is his Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya (accn. 1189-90), the first of his list on p. 165. In another case he has included in his list of proved reigns (p. 166) the name of a king contained in a solitary inscription, as to whose date he himself is so doubtful that he has given two possible renderings of it separated by an interval of 27 years, and for either of which renderings the quoted solar month is inapplicable. This is his Jaṭâvarman

[4] I call an inscription "perfect" when it contains the regnal year, the solar month, the number and fortnight of the tithi, the day of the week and the nakshatra. If in addition to these details it also states the number of the day of the solar month it is "exceptionally perfect." When one or more of the first mentioned five details are wanting it is classed as "imperfect". When all the details are found on examination to correctly correspond to the astronomical requirements of the civil day the date is classed as "regular". If it is found on examination that some slight mistake has been made by the original computer or by the engraver which does not entirely vitiate the accuracy of the whole, and which may be corrected without danger, the date is set down as "not quite regular". If the details are found not to correspond the date is said to be "irregular."

Tribhuvana Vikrama Pâṇḍya, whose accession he states to have taken place "circa 1280." I do not quarrel with his opinion that a king (or may be a prince) lived at the period of inscription. That is a matter for the historian. I am only considering the case, as he did, from the point of view of chronology.

One very good reason why a solitary date, although perfect and regular in itself, should not be accepted as conclusive proof of a reign will be better understood after a short explanation. Unless the number of the solar day of the month is stated, and it is not as a rule stated, all the ordinary details of a Chôḷa or Pâṇḍya date will be found often to correspond with about three different days in a century. Thus in the case last mentioned Mr. Swamikannu Pillai shews that the elements of the date (and surely also its palæographic character) would equally suit Thurs. 30th June 1278, or Thurs. 1st July A. D. 1305).

Hence in almost all cases, even though the details of the date are found to be perfect and regular for a certain civil day, it has to be steadily borne in mind that the same details will equally suit another day about 30 or 35 years earlier or later, and that palæography will rarely be of any assistance in coming to decision. When, however, the first date is confirmed by another, equally good, the doubt is of course at once removed.

Correction of errors in the original inscription.

Those who have engaged themselves in this special line of research constantly have to deal with dates in inscriptions where mistakes appear to have been made either by the original framer or by the engraver. If, for instance, we find a record belonging to the reign of a known king, of which the calendar-portion (day, week-day, tithi and nakshatra) works out perfectly correctly, but which quotes (say) the 6th instead of the 7th regnal year as current at the time we should accept it as genuine and as actually appertaining to the given reign, but we should note the error and the fact that the date is not entirely regular. But when we find a mistake in the date-portion itself we have to be careful and to exercise sound judgment. It is often found that a mistake has been carelessly made in describing the lunar fortnight, the other details being correct; the numeral of the tithi is sometimes wrongly copied, or wrongly calculated ; and so on. A careful chronologist like Prof. Kielhorn will in such circumstances note the defect and state his reason for accepting the date.

But it is manifest that much greater caution has to be observed in the case of a record which cannot be assigned to the reign of any known king, and which is desired by the computer to establish the reign of a king of whom hitherto nothing has been heard. In such case it is clearly dangerous to correct the original and then build up a theory on the result.

Again, it seems hardly safe to alter more than one of the details given in the date and then to build history upon it. Even if it were allowed in the case of a known reign, such a date should never be accepted as a sound basis for finally entering a new and previously unheard-of ruler on the historic list of kings.

Let me give a few instances. If the date of an inscription belonging apparently to the reign of a known king and certified by the Epigraphist to be approximately of that period, mentions the 3rd regnal year when the 2nd or 4th regnal year was current ; or if a dark fortnight is quoted instead of a light one ; or if (say) a 6th tithi is quoted when by all known practise a 5th or a 7th tithi was the correct one ; or if a solar month should be quoted which is one place wrong ; or the same with the position of the moon in the nakshatras ; or with the week-day—if one such error occurs in a date otherwise satisfactory and regular we may assume a computer's or a copyist's or an engraver's error, and pass the date

as acceptable with a note of explanation. And similarly in the case of probable mistakes of omission, such as "2" for "12," or those due to similarity of names.[5] But we should be rather more doubtful if, for instance, a "10th" regnal year was quoted when the date would have fallen in the 2nd year, or if for a 5th tithi a "14th" was quoted, or if for week-day Wednesday a "Sunday" was stated, or if the given nakshatra was instead of (22) Śravaṇa, quoted as (6) "Ârdrâ." In such case the error is so great that, unless it could be accounted for by a similarity in the written names, the date could scarcely be accepted as regular. Still less could a date be accepted if two or more errors were found in the five usual details. Again if instead of those five details only three or four are given in the original date then it becomes still more hazardous to alter it with a view of acceptance. We must not try to build history on any but a solid foundation; and though an inscription with a bad date may legitimately be used for its contents, we should not try to utilize a bad date for a purely chronological purpose by making radical alterations in it.

It must also be remembered that some of the details, standing by themselves, afford insufficient proof. Thus one or other of the lunar tithis and one or other of the nakshatras is by the calendar connected with each civil day of a solar month. Now if an inscription mentions a king's name whose accession-date is not known, and states only the regnal year, the number and fortnight of the lunar tithi and the solar month by name—*i. e.* without giving the number of the day of that month—it is impossible to assign the record to any particular year because that combination must occur in every year. If, however, the week-day is given, we can look for a year where such a combination occurred; but must remember that it recurs every half dozen years, and therefore that it is useless to make guesses. If, in addition to the week-day the nakshatra also is stated we are on safer ground, but even then we have to remember that the same combination recurs about three times in a century. It is only when the number of the day of the solar month is stated, *in addition to all the above details* that we can be perfectly certain, because in such a case the given combination cannot recur for a long time so long that the characters of the record will afford a conclusive guide.

The Nakshatra of the day.

There can be no question but that the regular practice of the Hindus, at any rate in Southern India, has always been to associate in their calendars each civil day with the tithi actually current at sunrise and with the nakshatra in which the moon stood at sunrise, even though such tithi expired and the moon passed out of such a nakshatra very shortly after sunrise. The nakshatra at sunrise actually gave its name to the day, which was called "the day of Hasta," "the day of Aśvini" etc., even though the moon stood in a different nakshatra for almost the whole day. This was the *rule*. It is exemplified in the *pañchâṅga* extract given on p. 14 of the *Indian Calendar*, where it will be seen that Thursday 13th September A. D. 1894 was, in the Hindu calendar connected with the 13th tithi of the bright fortnight though that tithi expired little more than half an hour (1 *gh.* 23 *pa.*) after sunrise; and that Tuesday 11th September was called the day of the nakshatra Uttara Ashâḍhâ though the moon passed out of it less than two hours (4 *gh.* 35 *pa.*) after sunrise.

[5] Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's valuable notes on this subject in his "*Hints to workers in South-Indian Chronology*" should be read in connection. I refer to his §§ 24 to 28, pp. 13 to 17.

But in his "*Hints to workers in South-Indian Chronology*" (p. 18) Mr. Swamikannu Pillai tells us that "it is not necessary that a tithi and nakshatra should be joined *at the same moment* on a particular day, since we have many cases in which the nakshatra of *the moment* and the tithi of the day are joined in a citation." I should like some further explanation of his meaning. The "moment" he speaks of certainly does not mean the moment of sunrise, because he will, I am sure, confirm my statement above as to the regular rule. What I understand him to mean is that, supposing an inscription to commemorate some special event which occurred (say) during the afternoon of a certain civil day, then the record-date might legitimately state the day as connected with the tithi current at sunrise, though that had expired long before midday, and might legitimately mention not the nakshatra in which the moon stood at sunrise but the one in which she stood at the moment of the occurrence of the event commemorated. I concur in this view, with the reservation that the event commemorated in such case must have been some special occurrence; for the date was *not the almanack-date of the day*. There must be a *reason* for such departure from rule; for by all the *pañchâṅgas* which the framer of the record might have consulted the day was certainly named according to rule. It is inconceivable that a *pañchâṅga* should depart from the rule to the extent of actually calling the day after a nakshatra into which the moon passed perhaps late in the day. The day itself always received the name of the sunrise-nakshatra. I take at random some dates in Prof. Kielhorn's last article on dates of Pâṇḍya Kings (*Ep. Ind. IX*. 224). The civil day 5th July A. D. 1298 was called "*Rôhiṇî-nâḷ*," or "the day of Rôhiṇî;" the 4th Feb. 1369 was called *Uttarâḍattu-nâḷ*, or "the day of Uttarâshâḍhâ." If an inscription of either of those two days mentioned the nakshatra Mṛigaśiras as connected with 5th July 1298, or Śravaṇa as connected with 4th Feb. 1369 then there was a departure from the calendar-notation of the day, and such a departure calls for explanation. It may be explained by some ceremonial reason; or the nakshatra of the day may have been considered unlucky, and the compiler of the record may have desired to make it appear that the grant (if a grant) was made under a more auspicious asterism; or the grant may actually have been made at the time of the latter and therefore it was recorded as having been made "*in*" though not "*on the day of*" such an asterism.[6] Otherwise the statement may have been made through carelessness, or through use of a badly-calculated almanac (These pañchâṇgas are all local.) Mr. Swamikannu Pillai says there are "many cases" of this departure from rule. But how many? Professor Kielhorn published 160 Chôḷa dates, and in his last paper (referred to above) he comments on a case of this kind, requiring a "special reason" for the exceptional quotation in a date of a nakshatra not current at sunrise (*op. cit*. p. 211 *ll. 16-18*). In a foot note he points to five dates out of his 160 where he has noticed this departure from rule, and I observe that one of these, No. 66, has been included in error; which reduces the number to four. Four out of 160 cannot be called "many."

[6] Even so one would not expect to find the *date itself* altered. The fact might be specially mentioned in the text; but surely the *almanac-date* would be stated as it was gathered from the almanac (or calculated). We are discussing the *name of the day* as given in that portion of the record which is confined to that purpose.

The "Five Pandyas."

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's Table at foot of p. 166 (*Ind. Ant.* June 1913) is tentatively put forward, but he is so certain of its accuracy that he says it "*will make it clear* (1) that five Pâṇḍyas ruled at the same time; (2) that two Mâṛavarmans and two Jaṭâvarmans were co-regents with a fifth Pâṇḍya who might be either a Mâṛavarman or a Jaṭâvarman." I can at present see no sufficient ground for concurrence in this view, which appears to me fanciful. Since, however, it is a theory sufficiently romantic to seize upon the imagination of South-Indian Hindus and induce them to accept it as an historic fact: and as such acceptance may, if it is not a fact, constitute a danger to science and lead to much confusion and difficulty hereafter, it is necessary to discuss it and to examine the evidence on which it is based. And for a commencement let me state that I find in its favour no evidence at all worthy of the name, and certainly some evidence to the contrary.

Southern India is saturated with the old-world legends of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Mahâbhârata* and, in connection with the latter, the story of the five Pâṇḍava brothers. In all parts of the country every ancient cave or structure, every old fortress, every group of dolmens, cromlechs or kistvaens, is ascribed to the Five Pâṇḍavas. Many hills and hill-ranges are called *Pañcha Pâṇḍava malai*, the last word being Tamil for "hill." The principal rock-cut temples at Mahâvalipuram, the "seven Pagodas," which belong to the early part of the seventh century A.D., have received the names of the five brothers and their sister Draupadî, and so have the rock cut remains at several other places. If one asks an uneducated villager for the local legend connected with any hill-fortress he almost always replies that it was "built by the Pâṇḍavas." Indeed it is not too much to say that everything in the country whose antiquity is such that its exact origin is unknown is ascribed to the heroes of the *Mahâbhârata*[7] and there is no doubt that popular tradition connects the Pâṇḍya Kings with the Pâṇḍava brothers of the ancient epic and has always done so. Thus the larger Sinnamanûr grant, which belongs to the tenth century A. D. speaks of early Pâṇḍyan kings as bearing the title *Pañchavan*, "one of the five"; but clearly shews that this was a mere title. Combined with the Vêlvikuḍi grant and the Madras Museum Plates, it furnishes us with a list of early Pâṇḍya sovereigns, which shews, during a period of about three centuries previous to A. D. 915, a regular succession of the crown from father to son (only in one case to a brother) for twelve generations. There is no trace here of any joint rule. The records merely shew that it pleased the ruler and his people to perpetuate the old "Five-Pâṇḍya" legend and that the king and possibly every member of the royal family, was called "Pañchavan." In no inscription with which I am acquainted is there the slightest hint of rule by any king other than the one mentioned in it. This is also the case generally with Singhalese and Chôḷa records dealing with Pâṇḍya kings.

The legend, no doubt, formed good material for the grandiose outbursts of courtiers. In two inscriptions of Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa I[8] the king is lauded for having, shortly before A. D 1084 completely defeated "the Five Pâṇḍyas." But this is poetry. The *Mahâvaṁśa* tells us that when Prince Parâkrama Bâhu of Ceylon, in the first half of the thirteenth

[7] Lest I should be thought by European readers to exaggerate let me quote a passage in Mr. V. Rangachari's paper on the Polygars (petty chieftains) of the extreme south in the last issue of the *Indian Antiquary* (*June*, 1914, *p*. 118)—"Most of these Tamil chiefs of Tinnevelly claim to have ruled their estates from the time of the Mahâbhârata or a Sivili Rajah"—a claim which he, of course, rejects as "absurd," though some of them certainly came into existence several centuries ago.

[8] At Tirukkaḷakunṟam and Chidambaram (*S. I. I. III.* 144, *note* 4; *and Ep. Ind.*, V., 104.)

century, was re-calling to the minds of the priesthood the glories of ancient days he told them of how King Vaṭṭâgâmini had routed "the five fierce Tamil tyrants in open battle."[9] This might be thought to refer to a combination of five joint Pâṇḍyas, but *it does* not. These five tyrants were five *successive* usurping rulers of Ceylon in the first century B. C., or thereabouts.[10] If it be argued that the use of the word "Pâṇḍyas" in the plural, sometimes found in inscriptions of neighbouring states, implies a joint-rule by several kings at the same time, I can only point out that these records also speak of "Chôḷas" "Râshṭrakûṭas" and other royal families in the plural; just as in Europe we read in histories of "Bourbons" or "Hohenzollerns."

The Pâṇḍya country was under an independent sovereignty till the end of the tenth century, and up to that date we only hear of one king ruling at a time. After this it was subject to the Chôḷas till the beginning of the thirteenth century though the dignity of the local royal family was maintained. Does any conclusive evidence exist to prove that the Pâṇḍya rulers after this date ever really established the extraordinary custom of a Government by five brothers or five joint kings? Mr. Swamikannu Pillai rests his argument on the overlapping of some reigns in the thirteenth century, and would of course quote the testimony of the Muhammadan historians and Marco Polo in support of it; to these due weight must be given.

First as to overlapping. Some of the reigns do overlap, but they also overlap in the Chôḷa kingdom and no one has ever suggested that the Chôḷa country was ruled by a sort of royal committee. I think that this overlapping can be reasonably explained by the analogy of Singhalese practice. We learn from the *Mahâvaṁśa* that each king of Ceylon appointed a Sub-King, who succeeded him at his (the King's) death, and then provided for the succession by again appointing a Sub-King.

If this were the practice in the Pâṇḍya realm it would be natural for each king's regnal year to be counted from the date of his appointment as Sub-king, not from that of his later anointment as Sovereign. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Hindu kings were enjoined by their religious authorities to retire from active work even while still in possession of all their faculties, and devote themselves to asceticism and preparation for the next life. Some of them may have done so. We require to know a good deal more before we can dogmatize on this subject; and the following Table is merely put forward as a suggestion, and because it would serve to account for the overlapping of reigns at least as well as, if not better than, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's Tentative Table of joint Five-Pâṇḍya rule in the 13th century. I am aware that there are difficulties and I do not insist on the correctness of the Table.

KING.	Date of accession.	Last known date.	Date of possible appointment of Sub-king.
Jaṭâv : Kulaśekhara	1190	1217	1216
Mâṟav : Sundara	1216	1237	
(?) Jaṭâv : Kulaśêkhara ...	1237-8	(?) 1238	
Mâṟav : Sundara	1238	(?) 1255	(?) 1251
Jaṭâv : Sundara	1251	1264	1253

(*Probably a very short reign of a "Mâṟav:" : king.*)

9 *Mahâvaṁśa LXXXII, v.* 23.

10 *Mahâvaṁśa, XXXIII.*

KING.	Date of accession.	Last known date.	Date of possible appointment of Sub-king.
Jaṭâv: Vîra	1253	1269	(?) 1257, or 1268
(*Possibly*) Mâṛav: Srîvallabha.	(?) 1257	(?) 1292	
(*Here probably reign of a "Jaṭâv:" : king.*)			
Mâṛav: Kulaśêkhara	1268	1308	1276
Jaṭâv: Sundara	1276	1293	1283
(*Probably*) Mâṛav: Vikrama...	1283	1291	
(?) Jaṭâv: Srîvallabha ...	(?) 1291	(?) 1316	(?) 1294
(?) Mâṛav: Sundara	(?) 1294		(?) 1296
Jaṭâv: Vîra	(?) 1296-97	1342	
(*Here probably reign of a "Mâṛav:" : king.*)			(?) 1303
Jaṭâv: Sundara	1303	(?) 1314	
Mâṛav: Kulaśêkhara	1314	1325	1315
Jaṭâv: Parâkrama	1315	1323	
Mâṛav: Parâkrama	1335	1352	
Jaṭâv: Parâkrama	1358	1372	

A co-regency of five equal rulers, if such a form of government can be imagined could by no possibility be successful except in time of profound peace; but in this very thirteenth century the whole of Southern India was violently agitated. Early in the century the Pâṇḍya king overthrew the Chôḷa domination and once again became independent. The Hoyśalas from Mysore pressed southwards and, occupying Kannanûr in force, intervened between the Pâṇḍyas and the now powerful Bâṇas for at least a quarter of a century—completely checking any Pâṇḍya advance in that direction. The Chôḷas lost almost all their dominions, and the Gaṇapatis of Oraṅgal became all-powerful in the northern Chôḷa country. The powerful Pallava Peruñjiṅgadêva warred against the Chôḷa and finally subverted that ancient kingdom by the year A. D. 1243; but he had to fight for his new throne, for the Pâṇḍya attacked him with at least some measure of success. The Pâṇḍya king also attacked the Hoyśala forces at Kannanûr and drove them out from that tract; but was himself repulsed by them and for a time forced to retire. There was a war between the Pâṇḍya and the Singhalese towards the end of the century which resulted in the Pâṇḍya forces carrying off the tooth-relic from Ceylon. [It is true that the *Mahâvaṁśa* (XC. v. 43) records that this act of aggression was carried out by the order of "the five brethren who governed the Pâṇḍyan kingdom", but the *Mahâvaṁśa* was a poetical production as well as a chronicle of events, and this allusion to the ancient legend may well be taken as an instance of poetical license and not as sober truth.] Later on the Pâṇḍya was at war with the Oraṅgal Gaṇapati, and at the close of the century the bitter strife between Sundara and Vîra Pâṇḍya for the throne of Madura led up to the Muhammadan raid of Malik Kafur in A. D. 1310.

If the Pâṇḍya realm was governed by five Pâṇḍya princes of equal authority what was the arrangement? Was there an actual partition of territory, each portion subject to an independent sovereign? Was there a sort of confederation? Or was the whole united kingdom governed by a sort of committee of five kings all residing at the capital?

No published inscription leads us to the conclusion that the kingdom was divided into five separate kingdoms. If this had been so we should have had distinct proof of the fact, each minor king's name being connected with his own minor kingdom, and this is not the case. Such names as have been found, *e. g., Kôrkai-âṇḍan, Tirunelvêli-Perumâḷ*, are titles of the one sovereign, or of a prince of the royal house.

The theory of five real "brothers" always ruling at one time throughout the 13th century may be set aside as an impossibility. Granted that such a state of things existed for a few years it is evident that it could not continue for long. When one of these died all the others would have had to resign in favour of some branch of the family lucky enough to possess five brothers willing to work together; and on the failure of one of these last a different group must be looked for. No kingdom could survive such shocks. If there were ever such a government of five it is certain that before many years the result would have been five independent realms. And even if they were not brothers was the succession a lineal one, the eldest son of each succeeding his father? If so we have again a condition leading to the establishment of separated kingdoms. We have proof that at one time the people would have none of it. Late in his life the Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara, probably he who came to the throne in A. D. 1268, either yielding to family strife or swayed by the tradition of ancient days, attempted to partition his kingdom, handing over portions of it to his younger brothers. But the country was in confusion and the people in distress, and realizing the futility of such a course the inhabitants began to migrate to other lands. The king thereupon gave way and resumed the supreme authority over all, when his people returned to their homes. (*See Inscription No. 46 of 1906, analyzed in A. R. E. 1907 § 27*). If this was the king I have proposed the date of this event would be about A. D. 1301.

But, it will be said, the theory is supported by the evidence of Wassâf, Marco Polo and others. Is this so?

Amîr Khusrû, who died in A. D. 1325, has left a full account of Malik Kâfur's expedition into Southern India, with the dates of his marches (*Sir H. Elliot. Hist. of India III. 85-92*). He states that there were two rival kings of Madura, Sundara and Vîra Pâṇḍya, struggling for the crown of the Pâṇḍya realm. He does not mention any other brothers or relatives as partaking of sovereignty in any part. Malik Kâfur arrived at Madura on 13th April A. D. 1311.

Rashîdud-dîn's Jâmiut Tawârîkh was finished in A. D. 1310. He mentions Sundara Pâṇḍya as having been king and says that his three brothers (three not four) had "obtained power in different directions". But we get the particulars better from Wassâf.

Wassâf, the last portion of whose work was carried down to A. D. 1328, says that the country of Malabar extended from Cape Comorin to Nellore[11]; he therefore includes in it most of the old Chôḷa dominions as well as those of the Pâṇḍya. He writes of the sovereign of Malabar as the "Dewar", in the singular number,—"A few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi, who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence *in some different country*". The Dewar's minister was a Muhammadan.

[11] In the three volumes of Nellore inscriptions published by Messrs. Butterworth and Venugopaul-chetty I can only find one Pâṇḍya record. This is Nellore Taluk No. 61 (*Vol. II, p. 830*). It is a grant made in the reign of Sundara Pâṇḍya, but the date is lost.

In A. D. 1293 this Dewar died. (This was the Sundara Pâṇḍya whose accession took place in A. D. 1276). He was succeeded by a brother. Seventeen years later (A. D. 1310) the king was "Kalesa" (Kulaśêkhara) and he was murdered by his son, etc. . . . .

The obvious meaning of these passages is that there was one, and one only, king of the Pâṇḍya country at the time mentioned, but that certain brothers of the king had set themselves up *against him* and attempted to establish their independence. If there had always been a joint-rule of five co-regents the story would have been told in a different way.

Marco Polo, who was only a visitor, certainly alludes to the Five-brother legend, but his description of what he calls the "Province" of "Ma'abar", equally with Wassâf's, shows that by that name he understood the whole of east coast to belong to the Pâṇḍya. He speaks of it[12] as "the great province of Ma'abar, which is called India the greater." After saying "you must know that in this province are five kings who are brothers" he tells us that "at the end of this Province *reigns one* of those five Royal Brothers, who is a crowned king, and his name is Sonder Bandi Davar". Read without prejudice we should understand by this that the Pâṇḍya realm proper (the "end of the province") was under the rule of one crowned king, Sundara Pâṇḍya, whose brothers, (in number four according to the old legend of which he had evidently been told) had established themselves *independently* in other tracts. Wassâf's Pâṇḍya brethren were, in number, four in all; Marco Polo, acquainted with the ancient story, confused the remote past with the present, and wrote of the "five kings who were brothers". Wassâf, a Muhammadan, a contemporary of the Pâṇḍya king's Muhammadan minister, and a resident in the country, was incomparably the better witness of the two; and he tells us that, during the confusion of the time the king's *three* brothers had made themselves *independent*. In this there is nothing unusual. [That Marco Polo included the old Chôḷa dominions in Malabar is plain from his Chapter XVII wherein he describes the tract about the city of Madras as included in it. He treats of "the place where St. Thomas is—I mean where his body lies—which is in a certain city of the province of Ma'abar", and so also in Chapter XVIII.]

It seems from Colonel Yule's treatise (*note to Book III, Chap. XVI.*) that the "Five Pâṇḍya" legend had penetrated even to China. He tells us that Pauthier's work (which I have not seen) gives extracts from Chinese sources shewing that in A. D. 1280 or later there were "five brothers who were Sultans" in Malabar.

Outside the scope of local inscriptions the above seems to be the only evidence in favour of a joint-rule of five Pâṇḍyas, and it only concerns one period of a few years towards the end of the thirteenth century. Only the strangers, Marco Polo and the Chinese author, give the number five. The Muhammadan historians of the time mention only four brothers, three of them in opposition to the king. No inscription of Southern India ever alludes to any government by a co-regency, an inconceivable state of things if the government during the thirteenth century had always been as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai supposes. The statement of the *Mahâvaṁśa* stands practically alone, and can be accounted for by the fact that that chronicle was written in verse and not in prose.

I think, therefore, that **we must hold the evidence to be overwhelmingly in favour of a single monarchy, and that the theory of a co-regency of five kings may be altogether set aside.** Such a theory presupposes a most improbable state of things and the evidence in its favour is practically *nil.*

With the above by way of introduction I proceed to give in some detail the results of my examination of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's published dates of Pâṇḍya kings; taking them sovereign by sovereign in the order given by him.

(*To be continued.*)

[12] (*Yule's Edition* 1903, *II.* 331; *Bk. III, Ch;* XVI.)

SOME REMARKS ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE UPANISHADS.

BY ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, S. J., BOMBAY.

(*Continued from p. 132.*)

Position of the caesura and number of mâtrâs of the syllables 5-7 in the Mahânârâyaṇa Upanishad.

<table>
<tr><th>Caesura after 4. syll.</th><th>Nr. of pâdas.</th><th>Caes. after 4. syll.</th><th>Nr. of pâdas.</th></tr>
<tr><td>| ⏑ ⏑ —</td><td>9</td><td>| — — ⏑</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>| — ⏑ ⏑</td><td>5</td><td>| ⏑ — ⏑</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>| — ⏑ —</td><td>1</td><td>| ⏑ — —</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>| ⏑ ⏑ ⏑</td><td>1</td><td>| — — —</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><th>Caesura. after 5. syll.</th><th>Nr. of pâdas.</th><th>Caes. after 6. syll.</th><th>Nr. of pâdas.</th></tr>
<tr><td>— | ⏑ ⏑</td><td>21</td><td>— — | ⏑</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>⏑ | ⏑ ⏑</td><td>3</td><td>— ⏑ | ⏑</td><td>2</td></tr>
<tr><td>— | — ⏑</td><td>2</td><td>— — | ⏑</td><td>1</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>Hence : Caesura after :</td><td>4. syll.
20</td><td>5. syll.
26</td><td>6. syll.
6</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>5. syll. two morae :</td><td>8</td><td>23</td><td>5</td><td>(36)</td></tr>
<tr><td>5. syll. one mora :</td><td>12</td><td>3</td><td>1</td><td>(16)</td></tr>
</table>

In this table the following data command our particular attention. In about one eighth of all the cases in question the caesura is pushed beyond the regular place after the fourth or fifth syllable.[17] In the old metre the quantity of one *mâtrâ* in the sixth syllable hardly ever varies ; here we see its place taken ten times by two *mâtrâs.* The anapaest which is usual in the syllables 5, 6, and 7 of the Vedic verse has once been replaced by an amphimacer. All this tends to prove a looser handling of the rigid Vedic form, if not faulty prosody. More important, however, appears the fact that the anapaest of the old line has given way to a dactyl in five lines with the caesura after the fourth syllable. If we now add to them the 21 dactyls in the lines with the caesura after the fifth and the two in verses with the caesura after the sixth syllable, we arrive at the sum total of 28 dactyls in syllables 5, 6, and 7. This fact reveals a modern tendency of the verse in the MNU.

A comparison of our data with those of other books of the later Vedic period will on the one hand, confirm chronological facts already known and, on the other, serve at least as a test of our method. In the MNU. the proportion between the long and the short fifth syllable is 36 to 16 ; in Aitareya Brâhmaṇa 20 to 12 ; in Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa XIV, 25 to 17 ; in Kaṭha Upanishad adhy. I. 107 : 59.[18] The average propor-

[17] Though this is nearly the same proportion as that found in the *Dhammapada*, yet we are hardly entitled to believe that the MNU. and the Dhp. are contemporary. For it may be doubted whether the evolution of metre took exactly the same course in Brahmanic and Buddhistic literature and whether the change was completed in the same length of time. Moreover, there are other metrical facts pointing to a different age of the two books.

[18] In the table ZDMG, XXXVII, p. 61, the figures of the lines "5. Silbe kurz" and "5. Silbe lang." have changed places by an oversight. See *Gurupûjâkaumudî* p. 11 note 9.

tion of this period, as far as it is known, would be 171 to 104. Hence these texts are surpassed in the prevalence of the long over the short fifth syllable by the MNU., which does not come up, however, to the *Dhammapada* the figures of which are 131 : 18. This is just what we expect in the case of the two Brâhmaṇas. For, as is well known, the oldest Recension of the MNU., bearing the name of the Draviḍas, forms a kind of supplement to the *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*. Hence it is only too natural that the Brâhmaṇas in general should be of earlier date than our text. Thus testimony is borne to the soundness of the method, whereas the chronological question is furthered by the fact that the MNU. shows a younger type of verse than the *Kaṭha Upanishad.* The priority of the latter has already been stated tentatively[19] on other grounds, here we have got a metrical proof for the same.

It is strange that in our book the caesura does not occur as commonly after the fourth syllable as it does after the fifth, the figures being 17 to 25. This is the inverse proportion of the texts compared above where the figures, representing the average, are 262 to 123. There is a point, then, where the modernising tendency of metre has not influenced the writer of the MNU. to an equal extent as it has the authors of other books of the same period.

A date far remote from the time when the correct verse of the *Ṛigveda* had been composed is pointed to by the careless handling of metre in many of the *pâdas.* Catalexis or hypercatalexis or even faulty prosody occurs in 1, 1c, 3b, 6a, c (only in MS. A correct); in 13. 2 : विश्वं भुतं° बहुधा जातं°; in some of the *pâdas* of 16. 4; in 22. 1 तपसा ऋषय!°; लोके धर्मिष्ठ.° Most of these verses could be mended by means of but slight changes. The metrical defects of 1. 6a (एवतं° instead of एवऋतं°) and 22. 1 (तपसा ऋषय: instead of तपसर्षय:) may be due to unphonetic spelling.[20] The part that appears least injured is the beginning of the line, the iambic-spondaic cadence there prevailing being kept throughout, except in 13. 2 बहुधा जातं;° 22. 1 तपसां देवा,° तपसषय:°, तपसा सपत्नान्;° 23. 1 मनसेन°. It has been pointed out above that in six cases original in the MNU. the caesura is after the sixth syllable. Hence it cuts the Vedic anapaest or the classic dactyl which is, or at least ought to be, formed by the 5th, 6th, and 7th syllables. Here are the instances: 1. 1c, 2d, 3c, (4c only in MS. E wrong) ; 4d, 5c (?), 22, 1 तपसा सपत्नान्°. But worst of all, there are currupt lines in our text which must have been spoiled by the compiler of the MNU. himself, since they appear in the sources from which they are taken in their correct form. This certainly proves "the great and universal confusion by which the prosody of this period is characterised." Thus in 2. 1c, 10. 7a the caesura is found after the sixth syllable being removed from its proper place in the original; 2. 1a has obliterated the iambic cadence at the beginning; 2. 3a, 4cd, 5a, 6b are also prosodically corrupt. For these blunders we can, indeed, make only the clumsiness of the author of the MNU. responsible, as the text is otherwise in comparatively good condition and, on the part of the author, no definite plan of these changes is discernible.

II. The lines of the Anushṭubh-Gâyatrî family.

There are about 110 anushṭubh and gâyatrî lines to be considered.[21] Neither the repetitions of former passages, nor, on the whole, stray verses and *pâdas*, nor borrowings from other texts have been included. Thus we omitted 17. 4 being a repetition of 3. 2;

[19] Cf. *Die Quellen der Mahânârâyana Up.* p. 40.

[20] Cf. *Altindische Grammatik* von Jakob Wackernagel, I § 26 7*aa* and c. with note.

[21] The affinity of the anushṭubh and gâyatrî line will justify their joint treatment. The first two *pâdas* of the gâyatrî are prosodically identical with those of the anushṭubh. Moreover, *pâdas* one and two are, as it were, enjambed, whereas *pâdas* two and three are, so to say, end-stopped. Finally in neither type of verse is the second part of the line of such a nature as to necessitate a definite shape of the first half line. Hence we may safely consider the first half line (two *pâdas*) independently of the rest of the line (*pâda* three or *pâdas* three and four) of both verse types, though these be of different length. In fact there are gâyatrîs to be found only in the third *khaṇḍa*; the reason why this line is used there see below, note 24.

14.4 which is similar to 14. 3 ; 2. 9, 10, being wholly parallel with *Baudhâyana Dharmaśâstra* and, in part, with *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyaśûtra* and *Kauśika Sûtra* ; 4. 7a, also to be found in *Vishṇu Smṛiti* and *Baudhâyana Dharmaśâstra* ; 16. 6 in *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛihyasûtra* and *Âpastamba Mantrapâṭha* as well. On the other hand, all the *mantras* of the third *khaṇḍa*, though partly parallel with another text, have been included, because in the original, the *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ* only sporadic *pâdas* are to be found. The following three passages are borrowings from our text and, hence, have been added : MNU. 4. 4ab which has gone over to *Sauparṇa Purâṇa* ; 11. 1, 2, 3 which has been taken over verbally by the *Mahâ Up.*, and 11. 6 which occurs, at least metrically equal, in the *Vâsudeva Up.*

It appears that about 15 lines are hypercatalectic, about 10 of them in the third *khaṇḍa* alone, about the same number catalectic, eight of them again in the third *khaṇḍa*. Some of these faults are due to the careless condition of the text in some manuscripts and might, on the testimony of other manuscripts, easily be mended ; 5. 8 seems to be corrupt everywhere.[22]

Now the change of the Vedic anushṭubh into the classic śloka affects chiefly the second foot of the first and third *pâda*, the shape of which consequently shows the historical position of a book. Judged by this criterion the lines of the anushṭubh-gâyatrî family would have to be grouped as follows :

	Second foot of 1st and 3rd pâda.	
A. Vedic form	⏑ — ⏑ ⏓	Number of *pâdas* : 26.
B. Classic forms		
a. pathyâ	⏑ — — ⏓	,, ,, ,, 58.
b. vipulâs etc.		
1. vipulâ II.	— ⏑ ⏑ ⏓	,, ,, ,, 5.
2.	— — — ⏓	,, ,, ,, 4.
3.	— — ⏑ ⏓	,, ,, ,, 4.
4. vipulâ IV.	— ⏑ — ⏓	,, ,, ,, 3.
5.	⏑ ⏑ — ⏓	,, ,, ,, 2.
6. vipulâ I.	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏓	,, ,, ,, 2.
7. vipulâ III.	| — — ⏓	,, ,, ,, 2.

There are then 26 old forms against 58 new ones. This makes a proportion of nearly 1 : 2. The lines examined by Oldenberg in *Ṛigveda* X. and *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* VII. show the proportions of 26 to 30 and 9 to 14 respectively. The anushṭubh line of the MNU. is, therefore, in a more advanced state than that of certain hymns of Ṛigveda X. and *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* VII.[23] Some surprise might be caused by a comparison of the verses in *Kaṭha Up.* adhy. I. with the verses of our text. From all we have seen so far, it follows that the Kaṭha Up. is prior to the MNU. And yet the first adhyâya of that text shows anushṭubh lines of a more modern type than the MNU., there being 39 new forms against a single old one.

Now this calls for a few general remarks. There can be no doubt that the metrical facts, being, as it would seem, more intrinsic to a literary composition, form a firmer basis

22 For metrical purposes we are to read : रजःस्वमा अन्तरिक्षे anyhow.

23 The vipulâs may safely be left out in the comparison, since, as a matter of course, only the regular old Vedic form and the pathyâ are the decisive points to start from. The vipulâs could at the utmost be taken into consideration, if the rules regulating the shape of the first foot were observed. This, however is not the case with *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* VII. Moreover, the result gained from the pathyâ remains, as far as the Ṛigveda is concerned, the same, even if we include the vipulâs on either side.

for the establishing of the chronology of a text than some grammatical form or *sandhi* rule. The latter after all may be due to a certain external bias, such as f. i. the common usage of the particular school to which the text belongs. There is, though, as far as we can see, no trace of such influence on metre. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that we are not to trust exclusively statistical figures obtained from metre which, though they be more reliable than merely grammatical evidence, yet are more subject to some chance influence than, say, the general trend of ideas in a book. And finally the laws of logic would require that chronological conclusions drawn from metrical evidence are not to be applied to the whole book, if only part of the verse has been inquired into. For the latter reason our case is not quite so bad as it might appear at first sight. For in the second *adhyâya*, fourth *vallî* of the *Kaṭha Up.*, there are 12 pathyâs to 4 Vedic anushṭubhs. A similar inequality of verse type is to be observed in the verse of *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* VIII., the lines of VIII. 21. 22 approaching the modern type, those of VIII. 23 revealing a more ancient character. Whether we are to infer from this alone a different age of the verse and the text, is, of course, quite another question. Here too as in the case of the trishṭubh-jagatî verse our *Upanishad* does not come up to the proportion of the *Dhammapada* where the Vedic form has almost wholly disappeared.

Examining these metrical facts we always assume a more or less steady evolution of the Vedic metre. This granted, we draw the final conclusion that our *Upanishad* was composed at a time nearer to the end than the beginning of the period of transformation, considerably later than certain hymns of *Ṛigveda* X, among which is the *Purushasûkta*, and later also than the verse of the *Śunaḥśepa* episode as related in *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* VII. The anushṭubh line, then, leads to the same results as the trishṭubh-jagatî type, and we find the common chronological order in this special case confirmed.[24]

The comparison between the numbers of the pathyâs (58) and the feet of the vipulâ shape[25] (12) shows that our text contains a relatively larger number of pathyâs than Ṛigveda X. 90. 1-15 ; 97 ; 135-137, and Aitareya Brâhmaṇa VII. The proportions are in Ṛigveda 30 p. against 37 v. ; in *Aitareya Brâhmaṇa* 14 p. to 26 v. Almost equal relative figures as by the MNU. are shown by *Kaṭha Up.* I, (39 p., 8 v.) and *Śâṅkhâyana Gṛihyasûtra* (30 p., 5 v.). The author of the MNU. followed in this the fashion of his time tending towards the pathyâ. But in this case too it may perhaps have been a breaking away from the ordinary rigid *pâda* and a looser handling of the metre rather than a definite plan to fashion a new type. And it would seem to be no more than a mere coincidence that his lines show almost the same proportion between pathyâs and vipulâs as Mâgha's poem does.

In the frequency of the various forms of vipulâs our text differs both from the Vedic texts mentioned above and the classical texts. Out of 13 vipulâs only 5 observe the laws regulating the shape of the first foot, as against eight which neglect them. Nor is this surprising, for it is not likely that the rules about the combination of the first and second foot should have been definitely settled at the time of our composition, and if the author of the Taittirîya Âraṇyaka X. had known them at all, they must have appeared to the philosopher as a minor detail. The same remark will serve as an excuse for the amphimacer in syllables 2, 3, and 4 of the second *pâda* in 3. 8, 15 ; 4. 4 ;[26] 15. 3 तद्ब्रह्म° and the anapaest in 5. 3a, used against the rules of classical prosody.

The scantiness of the material prevents us from drawing further conclusions ; those proposed here may perhaps serve to show the possibility and applicability of a method of relative chronology in the Upanishads and prove a starting point for further research.

[24] The use of the earlier gâyatrî (in MNU. *khaṇḍa* 3) which in later times was almost altogether superseded by the anushṭubh should not form an objection to this conclusion. The MNU. took the gâyatrî metre from the *Maitrâyaṇî Saṁhitâ* after which the third *khaṇḍa* has been compiled.

[25] The rules regulating the shape of the first and second foot not always being kept, the term vipulâ is used here in a wider sense.

[26] Correct only in MSS. AA[1] BCDE[1].

GAZETTEER GLEANINGS.

BY MAJOR C. ECKFORD LUARD M. A. (OXON.)

THE LAY OF PRINCE CHAIN SINGH.

THIS ballad is sung all over Malwa but especially in the Bhopâl Agency in Central India. It is a very good example of the popular method of recording history and contemporary events, which is to this day the ordinary way of disseminating a knowledge of important public matters. That these versions hold their own against our mode of accurate but scarcely as attractive accounts is not surprising.

The fact on which this is founded occurred in 1824. Chain Singh was the eldest son and heir of Râjâ Subhâg Singh of the Narsinghgaṛh State in the Bhopâl political Charge or Agency of Central India. Succeeding in 1795 Subhâg Singh became mentally unhinged in 1819, the administration being entrusted to Chain Singh, his father retiring from public life. Tod notes how he once met Subhâg Singh at Jodhpur. Chain Singh, who was a man of violent temper, in 1824 murdered his own minister, Rûp Râm Bohra, and Mr. Wellesley, then Resident at Indore, was instructed to remove him from the control of the State. Chain Singh, however, refused to submit when Mr. Maddock, the Political Agent, endeavoured to carry out the orders, and finally he had to make an attack on Chain Singh who had come to Sehore with a large following to protest. Chain Singh was killed in the fight and his cenotaph still stands within the limits of Sehore on the spot where he fell. Subhâg Singh, who had recovered somewhat, then returned to Narsinghgarh, dying three years later. If less circumstantial, the ballad is undoubtedly far more stimulating than the official account. The free translation endeavours to give something of the swing of the original.

OF PRINCE CHAIN SINGH, THE HEIR OF NARSINGHGARH.	KUNWAR CHAIN SINH NARSINHGAḌH KÂ.
Auspicious were the day and hour on which Chain Sinh was born,	Jis din paidâ hûâ Chain Sinh ghaṛî nek din kî,
When all the Brâhmans of the town were to the palace hailed,	Nagar bullâowa dîyâ Birâman bulâo mahal setî :
And with one voice declared the youth born under Pisces sign.	'Mîn Râs kâ janam Kunwar' kahtâ sabî setî.
An elephant and *pâlkî* sent his suzerain Malhâr Râo.[1]	Malhâr Râo-ne hâthî pâlkî dinî Kunwar setî.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain Sinh, of Subhâg Sinh the son.	Pargana likho Chain Sinh kâ, Beṭâ he Saubhâg Sinh kâ,
His grandad Hanwant Sinh, his uncle Achal Sinh Chauhân,	Potâ Hanwant Sinh kâ, Bhatiya Chauhân Achal Sinh kâ,
A Rângḍa chief of Narsinghgarh and lord of Kothḍî[2] State,	Rângḍa thâ Narsinhgaḍh kâ, sûrma haigâ Kothḍî kâ,
A mighty swordsman, one who ne'er had shewn his back in fight,	Khûb karî talwâr, khet nâhî chhoṛâ mardonkâ,
As Sûbah Chain Sinh served his lord, the Holkar Jashvant Râo.[3]	Jaswant Râo Hulkar kâ sûbah asant, Râo kî karî châkrî, Kunwar Chain Sinhre.
He bravely fought at Holkaṛ's side on Mehidpur's[4] lost field,	Mahatpur kî ûpar Kunwar-ne bajâyî talwâre :
And Malhâr Râo[5] an elephant and *pâlkî* gave in thanks. (lit. "publicly.")	Malhâr Râone hâthî, pâlkî baksh dîye chaude.

[1] *Malhâr Rao* : There is some confusion here, as there was no chief of this name in 1784, which is about the date of Chain Sinh's birth. It may refer to Malhâr Rao, an illegitimate son of Tukoji Rao, who was killed about 1797.

[2] *Kothḍî* : A *jâgîr* in the Narsinggarh State. [3] *Jaswant Rao* : The Indore chief of that name 1798-1811.

[4] *Mehidpur* : Battle fought on Dec. 19, 1817 by Sir T. Hislop against Holkar.

[5] *Malhâr Rao* (*Holkar*) Ruler of Indore 1811-1833.

I sing the lay of Prince Chain Siṉh, Chain Siṉh of Narsinghgarh.
A mighty warrior, one who ne'er left field till fight was won.

One Rûp Râm Bohara did the Prince as minister appoint,
But dazzled by such wealth and power his pride o'erweening grew.
Driven one day beyond control, the Prince in anger rose;
Out from its scabbard drew his sword and struck the Brâhman dead.
Then came his Brâhman friends before the Râjâ in his court:—
"Hear mighty Chief our solemn prayer, the Prince has slain our friend;
An you will not redress this wrong, then go we to Sihor."

I sing the lay of Prince Chain Siṉh: had he then ridden by,
Many I ween of those who spoke had ne'er again complained,

The plan was made and five or six went straight to Sihor's camp,
Where reaching Friday they their plaint to the chief clerk unfold :—
"Oh mighty one, the Prince our lord has slain our Brâhman friend :
Do you do justice or our plaint must to Calcutta go."
Meṇḍak Sâh'b[6] hearing straight way to his Munshî order gave :—
"*Chaprâsîs* two, *halkâras* four, send swift to Narsinghgarh.
There seize the Prince and quick to Kâshî town in exile take."
This order came to Narsinghgarh just as the sun arose.
The minister, and his officials, read and were afraid.
"Oh go not Prince to Sihor's camp," they now repentant cried.

Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ :
Khûb karî talwâr, khet ṉâhî chhoṛâ mardoṉ kâ.

Rûp Râm Bohare ko Kuṉwar ne rakhâ kâmdârî :
Dekh-kar dhan daulat badal gâî Bâman kî najre.
Ek din jab Kuṉwar ko ghussa âyâ marî talwâre ;
Mârâ kaṭṭi kâ hâth, tukḍe kardîye do châre.
Pânch sât ye milke Birâman chale kachherî ko, rapoṭ ye bole râjâ ko :—
"Khudâwand, Mahârâj, Kuṉwarne mârâ Birâman ko:
Tum karo hamâra niyâo, nâhî jâwe Sihor ko."

Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ :
Nâhî thâ ghoḍe par aswâr kâl kardetâ kainyoṉkâ

Pânch sât ye kar mansûba chale chhâoniko
Shukrwâr kî roj rapoṭ wâhâṉ bole Munshî ko :—
"Khudâwand, Mahârâj Kuṉwar ne mârâ Bâman ko :
Tum karo hamâra niyâo nâhî ham jâwe Kâlkate ko."
Meṇḍak Sâhib ne hukum dîyâ Sâhib Munshî ko :—
"Do chaprâsî, châr halkâre, bhejo Narsiṉh-gaḍh ko.
Kuṉwarjî-ko abhî pakaḍkar bhejo Kâshî ko."
Sâwâ paharâ din chaḍhâ kâgaj pâhuncha Narsiṉhgaḍh ko.
Kâmdâr sab luge bach ne lage pachhtâne ko.
"Kuṉwarjî, tum mat jâo Sihor-ko.

[6] *Meṇḍak*: Mr. (afterwards Sir) T. H. Maddock, Political Agent in Bhopâl, 1824-28. His headquarters where at Sehore, still the headquarters of this Agency.

But to his household Chain Sinh said "This letter! it is nought!	"Yahî wât ko kain mujâko bhejo kamdâr ko" Kunwar Chain Sinh jawâb dete bhai bandon-ko.
To Kâshî priests and traders go, 't would sore disgrace my race.	Kâshî jâte Brâhman, Baniye: nâhi lâjim hamko.
A Râjput chief of purest blood and lineage such as I,	Ham to Chhatri kî jât battâ lage mere kul ko.
"My Kâshî is the battle field where you or I must fall."	Hamârî Kâshî jâjam ûpar mâr mare tuz-ko."
Thus writing, swiftly to Sihor, his answer he despatched.	Phîr to itnā jawâb likh-kar bhejâ Sihor ko.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain Sinh, Chain Sinh of Narsinghgarh.	*Pargana likho Chain Sinh kâ :*
A mighty warrior one who ne'er left field till fight was won.	*Khûb karî talwâr, khet nâhî chhodâ mardon-kâ.*
Then did the Sâhib his first appeal swift to Calcutta send.	Pahalî arjî likhî Sâhib ne bhejî Kâlkatte ko.
A second letter asking aid he wrote to Khilchîpur.[7]	Dûjî arjî likhî Sâhib ne bhejî Khilchîpur ko.
A third he to Berasiâ[8] sped (fief of the chief of Dhâr).	Tîjî arjî likhî Sâhib ne bhejî Berasiâ ko.
And yet a fourth to Bhopâl town asking the Begam's aid.	Chauthî arjî likhî Sâhib ne bhejî Bhopâl ko:—
"Hear Friend Hakîm[9], send swift, I pray two guns and a brigade.	"Suno Miyân, bhejo, Hakîmjî, do tope châr paltanî, bhijâwo lad ne ko.
The Sûbah Sâhîb of Narsinghgarh is marching on Sihor."	"Ye Narsinhgadh kâ Sûbah âtâ he Sihor lene ko.
I write the lay of Prince Chain Sinh, Chain Sinh of Narsinghgarh.	*Pargana likho Chain Sinh kâ.*
A mighty warrior one who ne'er left field till fight was won.	*Khûb karî talwâr khet, nâhî chhoda mardon-kâ.*
First the Prince his mother saw, and bade her a fond farewell.	Pahlî "Râm Râm" karî Kunwar ne âpnî Mâtâ ko.
Next to his father Subhâg Sinh he paid a last adieu;	Dûjî "Râm Râm" karî Kunwar ne pita Saubhâg Sinh ko.
His third farewell was made at home unto his wedded wife;	Tîjî "Râm Râm" karî Kunwar ne âpnî istrî ko.
His fourth to mother Kâlikâ, famed goddess of the sword.	Chauthî "Râm Râm" karî Kunwar ne âpnî Kâlkâ ko.

[7] *Khilchipur*: A small State near Narsinghgarh.

[8] *Berasia*: A town in the district of this name. Till 1860 it belonged to Dhâr State, but was confiscated after the mutiny and made over to the Bhopâl State.

[9] *Hakîm*: A member of the interesting Bourbon family of Bhopâl (see *Bhopâl State Gazetteer*) This particular individual was Balthasar Bourbon, *alias* Shahzada Masîḥ (see *infra* note 16.)

A fifth salute to Bajraṉgbali,[10] lord of battle fields.
Then sought he out his war steed brave and paid him reverence.
Then called the men of Narsinghgarh, and thus to them he spake :—
" Listen Oh friends and brothers all unto my words to-day.
Who loves Chain Siṉh now let him fight and die along with me,
But who loves better home and ease, let that man stay away."
Eighthly the Prince appealed to Himmat[11] and Bahâdur Khân :—
" Oh friends, if e'er you lov'd Chain Siṉh stand firm now at his side. "
Then Himmat and Bahâdur Khân, Pathâns, with one voice cried :
" Long have we in your service ate the bread of sloth and ease :
Now if you want us we are here to give our lives for you,
Let him whom fate spares, see again the walls of Narsinghgarh."

I sing the lay of Prince Chain Siṉh, Chain Siṉh of Narsinghgarh.
A mighty warrior, one who ne'er left field till fight was won.

Then father, mother, wedded wife entreated him to stay :—
" Go not, O Prince of Narsinghgarh, we beg thee, to Sihor."
But Chain Siṉh said, " Too long have I here dwelt in sloth and ease.
Now in your service will I give my head if so decreed."
But as he saddl'd up his steed, one sneezed. " Go not, " all cried,
Till came his mother's message brief, " Depart, I trust in God."
The Prince set out, and halted first at Sakanwâḍî[12] town :

Panchwî " Râm Râm " karî Kuṉwar ne Bajraṉgbali ko.
Chhatî " Râm Râm " karî Kuṉwar ne âpne ghoḍe ko.
Satwî " Râm Râm " karî mardhe sab Narsiṉhgaḍh ko:—
Suno Miyân, sab bhaibandoṉ ko.
gise piyâra howe Chain Siṉh mâro mere saṉg ko,
gise piyare bâlbachche ko, râho âpne ghar ko."
Athwî " Râm Râm " karî Kuṉwar ne Himmat Khânjî ko :—
" Suno Miyân, Bahâdur Khânjî ko : jise piyara howe Chain Siṉh māro mere saṉg ko."
Himmat Khân Bahâdur Khân arj kare uṉko :
" Sir sātî kî khāî naukrî,
" jaiṉ sir dene ko;
Jiye bachenge anmilenge phir Narsiṉhgaḍh ko."

Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ:
Khâb karî talwâr, khet nâhî chhoḍâ mardoṉ kâ.

Mâtâ warje, pitaja warje, warje strî uṉko :—
" Kuṉwarjî mat jāwo Sihor ko."
Kuṉwar Chain Siṉh juāb dete, " Sir satê kî khāi.
Naukrî ab jaiṉ sir dene ko."
Chhinkat, ghoḍā kasa Kuṉwar ne, warjat aswāre.
Do achhar mâtâ ne likhe, " Mera wali Kartâre."
Phîr to pahalā kûṉch ye kîyā Kuṉwar ne, Sâkanwâḍî kâ.

[10] *Bajrangbali* : Hanumân, the warriors god.
[11] *Himmat and Bahâdur Khân* : The descendants of these men still hold a jagir in the State at Dhanora.
[12] *Sakanwaḍî, Barkheda bazar* : Villages on the road.

The Prince's tent was pitched, with Râjput lances planted near,	Bhâlâ gâḍha Rangdon kâ, derâ lagâ Kunwar-jî kâ.
And dancing girls were summoned to while the night away.	Phîr to nâch ṭhahrâyâ kanchnî kâ.
Marching the second halt was at Berasiâs village made.	Dûjâ kûnch kûjâ Kunwar ne mahâl Bersie kâ.
Still urging forward next they stayed at Barkhera-bazâr,[12]	Tijâ kûnch ye kiyâ Kunwar-ne bazâr Barkheḍâ :
Where close beside the old Pir's tomb the Prince's tent was raised.	Derâ lagâ Kunwarjîkâ nishân wâhân uḍtâ waliyon-kâ.
The fourth march ended at their goal, the station of Sihor.	Phîr chauthâ kûnch ye kiyâ Kunwar ne Sihor Chhaonîkâ.
The Râjput spear butts shook the ground: the English paled with fear.	Bhâlâ gaḍha Rangḍon kâ : hosh uḍgâyâ Phirangi kâ.
The Prince's tent was raised; once more the dancing girls were called.	Dera wâhân lagâ Kunwarji kâ nāch phîr ṭhahrâyâ kanchnî kâ.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain	*Pargana likho Chain Sinh kâ,*
Who with sword still in hand	*Kargâyâ nasar talwâr,*
Passed from the world as Râjput should leaving fair name behind	*Nâm rahgâyâ, rahgâyâ Rajpûté kâ,*
A mighty swordsman, one who n'er had turned his back in fight.	*Khûb karî talwâr, khet nâhî chhoḍâ mardon kâ.*
Mendak Sâhib a letter wrote and sent to Chain Sinh's tent	Menḍak Sâhib ne likh parwâna bhejâ dere ko,
Chaprâsîs two, *Halkâras* four the missive to him bore,	Do chaprâsi, châr halkâre pahunche dere ko.
And to the Prince with folded hands their coming they explained :—	Hâth bândh-kar arj karte Kunwar Chain Sinh ko :—
"The Sâhib has a letter sent to pray you come and call."	"Likh, parwâna bhejâ he Sâhib ne, bulaye bangle ko."
But Himmat and Bahâdur Khân, Pathâns, just then came in,	Phîr to Himmat Khân, Bahâdur Khân Paṭhân baiṭhe dene ko,
And drinking deep *kusûmbhâ* draughts they girded on their swords,	Kusumbhâ lage pîne ko, kamri lage jakaḍne ko,
And forth with Prince Chain Sinh they went across to see the Sâh'b.	Sang lîye Kunwar Chain Sinh jâkar pahunch bangle ko.
The Prince arriving Mendak Sâhib arose and placed a chair ;	Phîr Menḍak Sâhib ne uṭhâî kursî dinî Kunwarjî ko :
For Himmat and Bahâdur Khân two other chairs were set.	Dûjî kursî uṭhâî Sâhib ne dinî Himmat Khânjî ko
Then to the Prince he spoke employing sweet cajoling words :—	Tijî kursî dinî Sâhib ne Bahâdur Khânji ko
"O dearest Prince," but Himmat and Bahâdur Khân, Pathâns,	Phîr to mîṭhî mîṭhî baten karke samjhâte unko :—
	"Suno Miyân" Chain Sinh ko : phîr to Him-mat Khân, Bahâdur Khân Paṭhān, samaj gaye dil ko :—

Thought that beneath this sweetness bitter medicine must be hid,
And cried, "O Prince, do you return directly to your tent."
Then rose the Prince in fury and turned him to the Sâhib :—
"Listen friend Mendak, thou of monkey race, dishonest one,
Who think you am I to be thus with honeyed words cajoled?"
Seeing that he was anger'd spoke more pleadingly the Sâhib.
"Listen friend Chain Sinh, think not I would you to prison send,
But for this crime in Kâshî's town three months you must abide,
But elephants and horses as beseems your rank I'll send,
And monthly pay one *lákh* that you in Kâshi pomp may keep."
The Prince, his ire rising, placed his hand upon his hilt :—
"Hear Mendak Sah'b, my Kâshî on the field of battle lies,
Where we shall meet and one of us, or you or I, must fall,
Thou man of monkey race, thou Turk, thee will I slay and die."
Such rage beholding fled the Sâhib his inner room within.
Right on the Motî bungalow[13] the Prince his first shot aimed,
While on the troops the second shot was fir'd by the Pathâns.
Whereon, O friend, how swift they fled, how fell beneath their swords.
Back to their camp with Prince Chain Siṉh the two Pathâns returned.
Here turning to his men the Prince cried, so that all might hear :—
"Let him who loves his home and friends to Narsinghgarh return."
Then Himmat and Bahâdur Khân cried :—

"Haigā dûdh men kâlâ :
"Kunwarjî chalo dere ko."
Phîr to Kuṉwar ke dil meṉ g͟hussâ âyâ, kahine lage uṉko :
Suno Miyân, Sâhib Menḍak ko, to baṉdar kî jàt, be-imân,
Kiyâ samjhata he hamko?"
Phîr to itnâ g͟hussâ dekh kar Kuṉwar kâ arj kari uṉko.
"Suno Miyân Chain Siṉh ko, ki Ap mat jano ki ham apko kaid karenge :
Apne jo khûn kîyâ hai uske wâste ap tîn mahîne ke lîye Kâshî ko bheje jate ho.
Hâthî duṉgâ, ghoḍâ duṉgâ ap ko baiṭhne ko,
Lâk rupâî kâ mahînâ duṉgâ bheju Kâshi ko."
Phîr to Kuṉwar ko ghussâ âyâ kahine lage usko :—
"Suno Miyân Sâhib Menḍak ko," jo hâth dal talwâr ûpar,
Dekh hamârî Kâshî jâjam ûpar mâr mare tuj ko :
Are baṉdar mâr, mare tuzko, Turkaḍa mâr mare tuzko."
Itnâ g͟hussâ dekh Kuṉwar kâ bhâgâ kamare ko.
Phîr to pahalâ charrâ mârâ Kuṉwar ne Motî baṉgle ko.
Dûjâ charrâ mârâ Paṭhanoṉ-ne, uḍâî palṭan ko.
Suno Miyân! kâṭî palṭan ko.
Sang lîye Kuṉwar Chain Siṉh,
jûwâb dete bhâîbandon ko :—
"Jise piyârâ kutum kabîlâ jāwo Narsiṉh-gaḍh ko."
Himmat Khân, Bahâdur Khân Pathân arj karte uṉ ko :—

[13] *Moti baungalow* : Political Agent's residence.

"Hear us Oh Chain Sinh,
Long have we eaten in your house the bread of sloth and ease,
Now that you ask us we are here to give our lives for you.
Let him whom fate spares see again the town of Narsinghgarh."

I sing the lay of Prince Chain Sinh, Chain Sinh of Narsinghgarh
A mighty warrior one who ne'er left field till fight was won

Then sat they all within the tent quaffing *kusûmbha* strong,[14]
While the dancing girls were summoned to make them song and dance,
Mendak Sâhib now orders gave, and on the regiments came,
Till round the camp on all four sides they stood in serried rank
A second order Mendak gave and in pour shot and shell
The tents were rent and many a youth beneath them dying lay
Then came his *chaubdârs* to the Prince and pray'd, "Sire, save us all;
The bullets fly, the tents are down and we are sore beset."
Then Himmat and Bahâdur Khân came to the Prince's tent,
Drank long deep draughts of *kusâmbha* and girded on their swords,

While to the dancing girls the Prince gave thirty golden *mohars*,
And cried "O Jamnâ, may we live to see fair Narsinghgarh."

I write the lay of Prince Chain Sinh of Narsinghgarh
Had he been mounted on his steed how many had he slain.

A *nâgan*[15] roll of opium seized and ate the Prince, for strength.
Then grasping shield and sword he hurled himself upon the guns,
And Himmat and Bahâdur sprang like tigers to his side.

"Suno Miyân Kunwar Chain Sinh ko :—

"Sir sâtî ki khâî naukarî aye sir dene ko.

"Giye bachenge jâyâ milenge phîr Narsinhgadh ko."

Pargana likho Chain Shinh kâ :
Khûb kari talwâr, khet nâhî chhoḍa mardon-kâ.

Sâwâ ser kâ gholâ ghuluwâ baiṭhe dere ko kusûmbhâ lage pine ko :

Nâch ṭharâya dene ko
Phîr to Menḍak Sâhib ne hukum dîyâ sâḍî phaujon ko :
Chârou taraphse gherâ ḍâl dîyâ, gherâ liyâ un ko :
Dîyâ hukum phîr dîyâ, Menḍak ne sârî phaujon ko.
Châron tarph se golî girâph lage chalne ko :
Jawân lage marne ko, dere lage uḍne ko.
Chaubdâron ne phîr arj karî Kunwar Chain Sinh ko :—
"Châron taraph se golî girâph laga he chalne ko :
Are Andâtâ, châron taraph se ghera ḍâldîyâ gher lîye ham ko."
Phîr Himmat Khân Bahâdur Khân, Paṭhân, baiṭhe dere ko kamre lage jakaḍne ko, kusumbhâ lage pineko,
Tîs ashrafî nikâl Kunwar ne dinî kanchnî ko :—
"Jamunâ jiye bachenge ân milenge phîr Narsinhgaḍh ko.

Pargana likho Chain Sinh kâ,
Nâhî chaḍhâ ghoḍe par, kâl kar detâ kâikon kâ

Sâwâ hâth kî nâgan banâkar lîlî kaleje ko.

Uṭhâî ḍhâl, talwâr sîdhî chhak gaye topon ko.
Himmat Khân Bahâdur Khân Paṭhân sang lîye unko : sher ja pahunche topon ko.

[14] *Kusumbha* : the well known drink made from opium used by all Rajputs.
[15] *Nâgan* roll : *lit.* roll like a female cobra. A large roll of opium is so called.

The Subhadâr, with his first strong stroke, the Prince laid in the dust,	Phir pahalâ hâth jab mârâ kâṭ dîye Subhedâr ko.
And with the next the gunners, striving hard to load their guns.	Dûjâ hâth jab mârâ kâṭ diye golandâjoṉ ko.
Thus all the guns were seized and Mendak Sâhib fled in fear.	Chhîn lî sârî topoṉ ko : Menḍak Sâhib phir bhâgâ bangle ko.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain Siṉh he was a swordsman great	*Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ :*
The Company's troops in terror before his blade fled back	*Khûb kari talwâr morchâ mârâ Kompani kâ.*
Then Himmat and Bahâdur Khân turned on the foe their guns.	Himmat Khân Bahâdur Khân, Paṭhân ne tope pherî palṭan ko.
But at this moment was the Prince sore wounded by a ball	Gola phir lagâ Kunwar jî ko,
Fired by Hakîm Shâhjât Masîḥ,[16] Kâmdâr of Bhopâl.	Hakim Shâhjat Masîḥ, Bhopâl kâ.
Meanwhile the Pathâns first discharge had driven back the foe.	Pahlâ gûâṭ mârâ Paṭhânoṉ ne uḍâî palṭan ko.
So routing them on every side that none remained to fight.	Agli pichhli palṭan katî rang he mardon ko.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain Sinh of Narsinghgarh	*Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ :*
A mighty warrior one who ne'er left field till fight was won	*Khûb kari talwâr, khet nâhî chhoḍâ mardon kâ*
Then Himmat and Bahâdur Khân went up to Prince Chain Sinh :—	Himmat Khân, Bahâdur Khân, Paṭhân, ar kare un ko :—
"Hear Prince Chain Sinh the fight is won, come back to Narsinghgarh."	"Suno Miyân, Kunwar Chain Siṉh ko : jîtî laṛâî, chalo Chain Sinh, Narsinhgaḍh ko."
But turning to the two Pathâns simply he made reply :	Itnâ jawâb diyâ Kunwar ne donoṉ Paṭhânoṉ ko :—
"How can I ever thus disgraced dare look on Narsinghgarh ?"	"Dâg lag gâyâ mere tan ko. Ab kiyâ muṉh dikharo Narsinhgaḍh ko."
Thus answered he the two Pathâns no word more would he say,	Itnâ jawâb diyâ Kunwar ne donon Paṭhânoṉ ko ;
And drawing forth a dagger drove it fiercely to his heart,	Phir nikâl kamar se kaṭâr, mard ne mârî kaleje ko.
A blow so strong that through his back the blade came out behind.	Pâr hogâî sâre tan ko.
I sing the lay of Prince Chain Siṉh of Subhâg Siṉh the son :	*Pargana likho Chain Siṉh kâ, beṭâ he Saubhâg Siṉh kâ :*
His grand-dad Hanwant Siṉh, his uncle Achal Siṉh Chauhân :	*Potâ Hanwant Siṉh kâ, bhatiyâ Chauhân Achal Siṉh kâ :*
A Rângḍâ chief of Narsinghgarh and lord of Kothḍî State	*Rângaḍa thâ Narsinhgaḍh kâ sûrma haigâ Kothḍi kâ.*
A mighty swordsman one who left a worthy Râjput name.	*Khûb kari talwâr, nâm rahgayâ Rajpûti kâ.*

16 *Masîh, i. e.,* مسیح, a Christian; The Bhopâl Bourbon descendants are Roman Catholics. They had, and still have, two names one Bourbon, the other Musalman (*see* note 9).

CHAPTER X.

WITCHCRAFT.

Chetak is an art secretly learnt by women. It is a form of the black art. A woman well versed in the *mantras* of *chetak* can do any mischief she chooses. She can kill a child or turn any person into a dog or other animal by the power of her incantations. The *Chetakin* can remove all the hair from the head of a woman, or scatter filth, etc. in a person's house, make marks of crosses with marking nuts on all the clothes, or play many other such tricks without betraying a trace of the author of the mischief. The *chetakins* are able to mesmerize a man and order him to do anything they want. A *Chetakin* or witch cannot herself appear in the form of an animal.

They follow revolting forms of ceremonies. All witches who have learnt the black art meet at night once a month on the *Amavásya* day or no moon day of every month, at a burning ground outside the village. On such occasions they go quite naked, and apply turmeric and red powders to the body and forehead. While coming to the cremation ground they bring on their heads burning coals in an earthen pot called *Kondi*. At this meeting they repeat their *mantras*, and take care that none are forgotten. After completing the repetition of the *mantras*, they go round the village and return to their respective houses. They have no special haunts or seasons.

In the Kolhápur District the woman who is in possession of a *chetak* is called *chetakin*. The *chetak* is said to abide by her orders. It is believed to bring corn and other things from houses or harvesting grounds. It is seen only by its mistress the *chetakin*. The belief that the *chetakins* can turn a person into the form of an animal does not prevail in this district. They do not wander from one place to another. The *chetakin* has to go once a year to the temple of the deity from whom the *chetak* has been brought, and to pay the annual tribute for the use of that *chetak* or servant spirit.[1]

There are no witches in the Ratnágiri District. It is said that there are some at Kolwan in the Thána District. They are generally found among Thákars. Some of them come to the Ratnágiri District, but though no one can tell anything about their powers, ignorant people are very much afraid of them.[2] It is believed that they can turn persons into animals by means of their incantations. The person once charmed by their *mantras* is said to blindly abide by their orders. It is also believed that they can ruin anybody by their magic.

There are no witches at Rái in the Thána District. The woman who can influence evil spirits to do harm to others is called a *Bhutáli*. It is said that the *Bhutális* assemble at the funeral ground in a naked state on the full-moon day and on the *Amávásya*, or the last day of every month, to refresh their knowledge of the black art.[3]

A witch has dirty habits and observances. The chief sign for detecting a witch or *chetakin* is a foam or froth that appears on the lips of

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[1] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[2] School Master, Anjarle, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Rái, Thána.

her mouth when she is asleep. The only means to guard against her witchcraft is to remain on friendly terms with her, and not to hurt her feelings on any occasion. People generally keep a watch over the actions of a woman who is suspected to be a witch, and if she is found practising her black art, and is caught red-handed, people then pour into her mouth water brought from the shoe-maker's earthen pot or *kundi*. It is believed that, when she is compelled to drink such water, her black art becomes ineffective.[1]

In the Thána District it is believed that the skin round the eyes of a witch is always black, her eyes have an intoxicated appearance, her nails are generally parched and have a darkish colour, and the lower portions of her feet seem to be scraped. When any sorcerer gives out the name of such a *Bhutáli*, she is threatened by the people that, should she continue to give trouble in the village, her own black art or another spirit would be set against her; and she then ceases to give trouble.[2]

There are some sorcerers in the Thána District who can move a small brass cup or *váti* by the power of their magic. They can detect a witch by the movement of this vessel. When the brass vessel or *váti* reaches the house of a witch, it at once settles upon the witch's head. She is then threatened by the people that she will be driven out of the village if found practising her black art.[3]

In the Kolhápur District, when the people come to know of the existence of a witch in their village, they take special precautions at the time of harvest. They arrange to harvest a different kind of grain to the one selected for harvesting by the witch. After some time they go to the field of the witch, and discover whether there is a mixture of grain in her field. If they are convinced of the fact, they take further precautions. In order to avoid being troubled by the *chetak*, they keep an old, worn out shoe or sandal and a charmed copper amulet under the eaves at the main door of their houses, or make crosses with marking nut on both sides of a door. At some places *chunam* spots or circles are marked on the front of a house, the object being to guard against the evil effects of the *chetak's* tricks.[4]

[1] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Rái, Thána.
[3] School Master, Padghe, Thána.
[4] Ráo Saheb Shelke, Kolhápur.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL.

Offerings of cocoanuts, fowls or goats are annually made to the spirits that guard the fields. They are generally made at the time of beginning a plantation or the harvesting of a crop. When making these offerings, the farmers pray to the god to give prosperous crops every year. They prepare their cooked food in the field on the first harvesting day and offer it as *naivedya* (god's meal) along with the above mentioned offerings.[1]

At Bándivade in the Ratnágiri District, while commencing the sowing of crops, the farmers worship a certain number of bullocks made of rice flour and then throw them into the pond or river adjoining the fields. On other occasions, offerings of cocoanuts and fowls are sacrificed to the deities that protect the fields. Some people give a feast to the Bráhmans at the end of the harvesting season.[2]

Ceremonies in connection with ploughing, etc., are not observed for all the lands. But fields which are supposed to be haunted by evil spirits are worshipped at the time of ploughing, and the evil spirits are propitiated, cocoanuts, sugar, fowls or goats being offered to the local deities or *devachárs*. There is a custom of worshipping in the fields the heaps of new corn at the time of harvest, and this custom generally prevails in almost all the Konkan districts.[3]

At Fonde in the Ratnágiri District the *Shirar*, generally composed of boiled rice mixed with curds, is kept at the corner of a field at the time of reaping the crops. The *Shirar* is sometimes composed of the offerings of fowls and goats.[4] This ritual is also known by the name *Chorawa*.[5]

At Dásgáv in the Kolába District, there is a custom of carrying one onion in the corn taken to the fields for sowing, and placing five handfuls of corn on a piece of cloth before beginning to sow the corn. At the time of *Lávani* or plantation of crops a fair called *Palejatra* is held by the people, and every farmer breaks a cocoanut in the field at the time of plantation or *lávani* of crops. At the time of harvesting it is customary with many of the cultivators in the Konkan to place a cocoanut in the field and to thrash it with the first bundle of crop several times before the regular operation of thrashing is begun. At the close of the harvest the peasants offer cocoanuts, fowls or a goat to the guardian deity of the field.[6]

At Váda in the Thána District the ploughs are worshipped by the farmers on Saturday and then carried to the fields for ploughing. At the time of harvesting, the wooden post to which the bullocks are tied is worshipped by them, and at the close of the harvest the heap of new corn is worshipped and cocoanuts are broken over it.[7]

In the Kolhápur District the farmers worship the plough before beginning to plough the land. At the time of sowing the corn they worship the *Kuri*, an implement for sowing corn. At the time of *Ropani* or transplanting the crops they split a cocoanut, and worship the stone consecrated by the side of the field after besmearing it with red powders, and make a vow of sacrificing a goat for the prosperity of their crops. At the time of harvesting they also worship the heap of new corn, and after giving to the deity offerings of cocoanuts, fowls or goats they carry the corn to their houses.[8]

In the Konkan districts the village deity is invoked to protect the cattle. People offer fowls and cocoanuts in the annual fair of a village deity, and request her to protect their cattle and crops. They have to offer a goat or buffalo to the deity every third year, and to hold annual fairs in her honour. The procession of *bali* is one of the measures adopted for averting cattle diseases.[9]

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[1] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Bándivade, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Devgad, Ratnágiri.
[4] School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
[5] School Master, Ubhádánda, Ratnágiri.
[6] School Master, Dásgáv, Kolába.
[7] School Master, Váda, Thána.
[8] Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
[9] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.

When there was scarcity of rain the Hindus formerly invoked Indra, the god of rain, by means of *Yadnyas* or sacrifices, but such sacrifices are now rarely performed as they are very costly. The general method of ensuring rainfall in these days is to drown the *lingam* of the god Shiva in water and to offer prayers to that deity.[1]

The following rural rites are intended to ensure sunshine and to check excessive rain. A man born in the month of *Fálgun* (March) is requested to collect rain water in the leaf of the *Alu* plant, and the leaf is then tied to a stick and kept on the roof of a house. Burning coals are also thrown into rainwater after passing them between the legs of a person born in the month of *Fálgun*.[2]

In order to protect the crops from wild pig the people of Umbergáon in the Thána District post in their fields twigs of *Ayan* tree on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day (fourth day of the bright half of *Bhádrapada* or September) every year.[3]

In the Kolhápur District the deities Tamjái Tungái, and Wághái are invoked by the villagers for the protection of cattle. When the cattle disease has disappeared the people offer cocoanuts and other offerings to these deities. The potters and the Chudbude Joshis observe the following ceremony for causing rainfall. A *lingam* or phallus of Shiva made of mud is consecrated on a wooden board or *pát*, and a naked boy is asked to hold it over his head. The boy carries it from house to house and the inmates of the houses pour water over the phallus. The Bráhmans and the high class Hindus pour water on the *lingam* at the temple of the god Shiva continuously for several days. This is called *Rudrábhisheka*. It is a religious rite in which eleven Bráhmans are seated in a temple to repeat the prayers of the god Shiva.

In order to scare noxious animals or insects from the fields, the owners of the fields throw charmed rice round the boundaries of their fields. The figure of a tiger made of dry leaves of sugarcane is posted at a conspicuous place in the fields for protecting the crops of sugarcane.[4]

Great secrecy is required to be observed on the occasion of the special *puja* of Shiva which is performed on the first day of the bright half of the month of *Bhádrapada* (September). This rite is called *Maunya vrata* or silent worship, and should be performed only by the male members of the family. On this day all the members of the family have to remain silent while taking their meals. Women do not speak while cooking, as the food which is to be offered to the god must be cooked in silence.[5]

Newly married girls have to perform the worship of Mangala Gauri successively for the first five years on every Tuesday in the month of *Shráwan* (August), and it is enjoined that they should not speak while taking their meals on that day. Some people do not speak while taking their meals on every Monday of *Shráwan*, and others make a vow of observing silence and secrecy at their meals every day. All Bráhmans have to remain silent when going to the closet and making water.[6]

Certain persons observe silence at their meals during the period of four months (*Cháturmás*) commencing from the 11th day of the bright half of *Ashádha* (July) to the 11th day of the bright half of *Kártik* (November). Certain classes of Hindus observe the penance of secrecy in the additional month that occurs at the lapse of every third year.[7]

Silence is essential at the time of performing certain austerities such as *Sandhya*, worshipping the gods, and the repetition of the *Bráhma Gáyatri mantra* and other such *mantras*. Secrecy is specially observed when a disciple is initiated by his *Guru* or spiritual guide with the sacred *mantras* or incantations.[8]

Secrecy and silence are essential when learning the *mantras* on snakebite, on evil eye and the evil spirit of Vetál. All followers of the Shákta

1 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.
2 School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
3 School Master, Umbergáon, Thána.
4 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
5 School Master, Chinchani, Thána.
6 School Master, Dahánu, Thána.
7 School Master, Dábhol, Ratnágiri.
8 School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.

sect must worship the goddess (Durga) very secretly. Silence is also observed by people in welcoming to their homes and worshipping the goddess Párvati or Gauri in the bright half of *Bhádrapada* every year.[1]

At Váde in the Thána District, one day previous to the planting of rice crops the farmer has to go to his field even before day break with five balls of boiled rice, cocoanuts and other things. There he worships the guardian deity of the field and buries the balls of rice underground. He has to do it secretly and has to remain silent during the whole period. He is also forbidden to look behind while going to the field for the purpose.[2]

Secrecy and silence are observed when performing the rites of *Chetaks* and evil spirits or ghosts. Widow remarriages among the lower classes are performed secretly. The pair wishing to be remarried are accompanied by a Bráhman priest, and the marriage is performed away from the house. The priest applies red lead (*Kunku*) to the forehead of the bride and throws grains of rice over their heads, and a stone mortar or *páta* is touched to the backbone of the bride. The priest then turns his face and walks away silently.[3]

The *Holi* is a religious festival. It is annually celebrated in memory of the death of Kámdev the God of Love, who was destroyed by the god Shankar on the full moon day of *Fálgun* (March). The object of this festival appears to have been a desire to abstain from lust by burning in the *Holi* fire all vicious thoughts and desires. As a rule, females do not take any part in this festival.

In the Konkan districts the annual festival of *Holi* begins from the fifth day of the bright half of *Fálgun* (March). Boys from all the localities of a village assemble at a place appointed for the *Holi*. The place appointed for kindling the *Holi* is not generally changed. The boys then go from house to house asking for firewood, and bring it to the *Holi* spot. They arrange the firewood and other combustible articles around the branch of a mango, betelnut or a *Sávar* tree in the pit dug out for the purpose and then set it on fire. After kindling the sacred fire they take five turns round the *Holi* accompanied with the beating of drums and raise loud cries of obscene words. After this they play the Indian games of *Atyápátya* and *Khokho* and occasionally rob the neighbouring people of their firewood and other combustible articles. At the close of these games they daub their foreheads with sacred ashes gathered from the *Holi* fire. They consider these ashes especially auspicious and carry them home for the use of the other members of their families. This process is continued every night till the close of the fullmoon day. Elderly persons take part in this festival only during the last few days.

On the fullmoon day all the males of the village, including old men, start after sunset for the *Holi* spot, collecting on their way pieces of firewood from all the houses in the locality and arrange them in the manner described above. After having arranged the *Holi*, the officiating priest recites sacred verses and the *puja* is performed by the *mánkari* of the village. This *mánkari* or *pátil* is either the headman or some other leading person of the village, and to him belongs the right of kindling the *Holi* fire first. Some persons kindle a small *Holi* in front of their houses and worship it individually, but they can take part in the public *Holi*. In the towns the *Holis* of different localities are kindled separately while in small villages there is only one for every village.

At Vijaydurg in the Ratnágiri District a hen is tied to the top of a tree or a bamboo placed in the pit dug out for kindling the *Holi* fire. The fowl tied to the top of the bamboo is called *Shit*. A small quantity of dry grass is first burnt at the bottom of this tree when the Mahárs beat their drums. The *Shit* (fowl) is then removed from the tree after it is half burnt and taken by the Mahárs. The *Holi* fire is then worshipped and kindled by the Gurav. Worshipping and kindling the *Holi* and taking the *Shit* (fowl) are considered as high honours. Occasionally quarrels and differences arise over this privilege and they are decided by the village *Panch*.[4]

1 School Master, Chauk, Kolába.
2 School Master, Váde, Thána.
3 Ráo Sáheb Shelke, Kolhápur.
4 School Master, Poladpur and Vijaydurg.

After the kindling of the *Holi* the people assembled there offer to the *Holi* a *Naivedya* (god's meal) of *poli*—a sweet cake made of *jagri*, wheat flour and gram pulse. Cocoanuts from all the houses in the village are thrown into this sacred fire. Some of these cocoanuts are afterwards taken out of the sacred fire, cut into pieces, mixed with sugar and are distributed among the people assembled as *prasád* or favoured gift. Lower classes of Hindus offer a live goat to the *Holi*, take it out when it is half burnt and feast thereon.

On the night of the fullmoon day and the first day of the dark half of *Fálgun*, the people assembled at the *Holi* fire wander about the village, enter gardens and steal plantains, cocoanuts and other garden produce. Robbery of such things committed during these days is considered to be pardonable. Some people take advantage of this opportunity for taking revenge on their enemies in this respect.

The fire kindled at the *Holi* on the fullmoon day is kept constantly burning till the *Rangpanchami* day *i. e.*, fifth day of the dark half of *Fálgun*. Next morning *i. e.*, on the first day of the dark half of *Fálgun*, the people boil water over that fire and use it for the purpose of bathing. It is believed that water boiled on the sacred fire has the power of dispelling all the diseases from the body. People go on dancing in the village and sing songs for the next five days. They generally sing *Lávanis*, a kind of ballad, during this festival. Among these dancers a boy is dressed like a girl and is called *Rádha*. This *Rádha* has to dance at every house while the others repeat *Lávanis*.

The second day of the dark half of *Fálgun* is called *Dhulvad* or dust day when people start in procession through the village, and compel the males of every house to join the party. They thus go to the *Holi* fire and raise loud cries of obscene words throwing mud and ashes upon each other. They afterwards go to the river or a pond to take their bath at noon time and then return to their houses. The third day of the dark half is also spent like the previous one with a slight difference which is that cow dung is used instead of mud. This day is called *Shenwad* day. On the fourth day the Dhunda Rákshahasin (a demon goddess) is worshipped by the people, and the day is spent in making merry and singing obscene songs called *Lávanis*. The fifth day of the dark half is known as *Rangpanchami* day and is observed by the people in throwing coloured water upon each other. Water in which *Kusumba* and other colours are mixed is carried in large quantity on bullock carts through the streets of a city and sprinkled on the people passing through these streets. On this day the sacred fire of the *Holi* is extinguished by throwing coloured water over it. This water is also thrown upon the persons assembled at the *Holi*. The money collected as *post* during this period is utilised in feasting and drinking.

At Ibhrampur in the Ratnágiri District the image of cupid is seated in a palanquin and carried with music from the temple to the *Holi* ground. The palanquin is then placed on a certain spot. The place for thus depositing the image of the god is called Sáhán.[1] At Náringre there is a big stone called *Holdev* which is worshipped by the people before kindling the *Holi* fire.[2] After the kindling of the sacred fire the palanquin is lifted from the *Sáhán*, and carried round the *Holi* fire with great rejoicings. The palanquin is then carried through the village and is first taken to the house of a *Mánkari*, and then from house to house during the next five days. The inmates of the houses worship the deity in the palanquin and offer cocoanuts and other fruits and make certain vows. The palanquin is taken back to the temple on the fifth day of the dark half of *Fálgun* when on its way *gulál* or red powder is thrown over the image and on the people who accompany it.[3]

Among high class Hindus the thread girding ceremony of a boy is performed when he attains puberty. The girls are generally married at an early age, and when a girl attains puberty, sugar is distributed among the friends and relatives of her husband. She is then seated in a *Makhar*—a gaily dressed frame. Dishes of sweets which are brought by the girl's

[1] School Master, Ibhrampur, Ratnágiri. [2] School Master, Náringre, Ratnágiri.
[3] School Master, Ibhrampur, Ratnágiri.

parents and the relatives of her husband are given to her for the first three days. She takes her bath on the fourth day, accompanied by the playing of music and the beating of drums. Sweetmeats in dishes are brought by the relatives till the day of *Rutushanti* (the first bridal night). The *Garbhádán* or *Rutushánti* ceremony is one of the sixteen ceremonies that are required to be performed during the life of every Hindu. This ceremony is performed within the first sixteen days from the girl's attaining her puberty, the 4th, 7th, 9th, 11th and the 13th being considered inauspicious for this purpose. While performing this ceremony the following three rites are required to be observed. They are *Ganpatipujan* or the worship of the god *Ganpati*, *Punhyáhavachan* or the special ceremony for invoking divine blessings and *Navagrahashánti* the ceremony for propitiating the nine planets. The ritual of this ceremony is as follows :—

The husband and the wife are seated side by side on wooden boards to perform the above three rites. The *Kadali pujan* or plantain tree worship is performed by the pair. The sacred fire or *Homa* is required to be kindled. The juice of the *Durwa* grass is then poured into the right nostril of the bride by her husband. This is intended to expel all diseases from the body of the girl and to secure safe conception. They are then seated in a *Makhar*, and presents of clothes, ornaments etc., are made by the parents of the girl and other relatives. After this the husband fills the lap of the girl with rice, a cocoanut, five betelnuts, five dry dates, five almonds, five plantains and five pieces of turmeric. The girl is then carried to a temple accompanied by the playing of music. A grand feast is given to the friends and relatives at the close of this ceremony.

The Hindus generally make various kinds of vows in order to procure offspring or with some other such object, and fulfil them when they succeed in getting their desire. The following are the different kinds of vows made. They offer cocoanuts, sugar, plantains and other fruits, costly new dresses and ornaments to the deities, and give feasts to Bráhmans. Special ceremonies called *Laghurudra* and *Mahárudra* in honour of Shiva the god of destruction are also performed. Sweetmeats such as *pedhas* etc. are offered to the gods in fulfilment of vows. Some people make vows to observe fasts, to feed Bráhmans, and to distribute coins and clothes to the poor ; while others hang *toranas*-wreaths of flowers and mango leaves—on the entrance of the temple, and hoist flags over it. Rich people erect new temples to different Hindu deities. Some observe fasts to propitiate the goddess Chandika and worship her during *Navarátra* the first nine days of the bright half of *Ashvin* (October) and others offer fowls and goats to their favourite deities. Women make a vow to walk round the *Audumbar* or *Pipal* tree, and to distribute cocoanuts, sugar, *jagri*, copper or silver equal to the weight of their children.

Vows are made by people with the object of securing health, wealth and children and other desired objects such as education, etc. They are as follows :—

Performing the worship of Shri Satya Náráyan, offering clothes and ornaments to the temple deities, hanging bells, constructing a foot path or steps leading to the temple of the special deity.[1] Vows are also made to obtain freedom from disease or such other calamities. When any person in the family becomes ill or when a sudden calamity befalls a family an elderly member of the family goes to the temple of a deity and makes certain vows according to his means, fulfilling them as soon as the calamity or disease has disappeared.[2]

Vows are usually to perform acts of benevolence. These consist in distributing cocoanut mixed in sugar, giving feasts to Bráhman priests, observing fasts on Saturday, Tuesday and Sunday, offering clothes and ornaments to deities, building new temples and guest houses (*dharmshálás*), digging out new wells and in distributing clothes and food to the poor.[3]

At Khopoli in the Kolába District, people who have no children or whose children die shortly after birth make a vow to the Satwái deity, whose temple is at a short distance from Khopoli. The vow is generally to bring the child to the *darshana* (sight) of the deity and

[1] School Master, Fonde, Ratnágiri.

[2] School Master, Bankavli, Ratnágiri.

[3] School Master, Vijaydurg, Ratnágiri.

to feed five or more (married) Bráhman pairs. Such vows are fulfilled after the birth of a child. Some worship the god Satya Náráyan on a grand scale and others propitiate the god Shiva by the ceremony of *Abhisheka* (water sprinkling).[1] Some offer nails made of gold or silver to the goddess Shitala after the recovery of a child suffering from small pox. Eyes and other parts of the body made of gold and silver are also occasionally offered in fulfilment of vows. People abstain from eating certain things till the vows are fulfilled.[2]

Vows are made in times of difficulties and sorrow. The person afflicted with sorrow or misfortune prays to his favourite deity and promises to offer particular things or to perform special ceremonies, and fulfils his vows when his desired objects are attained. The ceremonies commonly observed for these purposes are the special *pujás* of Satya Náráyan and Satya Vináyak. Native Christians make their vows to their saints and Mot-Mávali (Mother Mary) in the taluka of Salsette.[3]

There is a shrine of the god Shankar at Kanakeshwar a village on the sea side two miles from Mitbáv in the Ratnágiri District. Many years ago it so happened that a rich Mahomedan merchant was carrying his merchandise in a ship. The ship foundered in a storm at a distance of about two or three miles from Kanakeshwar. When the vessel, seemed to be on the point of sinking the merchant despairing of his life and goods, made a vow to erect a nice temple for the Hindu shrine of Kanakeshwar if he, his vessel and its cargo were saved. By the grace of God the vessel weathered the storm and he arrived safely in his country with the merchandise. In fulfilment of this vow he erected a good temple over the shrine of Shri Shankar at Kanakeshwar, which cost him about rupees six thousand. This temple is in good condition to the present day. Many such vows are made to special deities. When the people get their desired objects they attribute the success to the favour of the deity invoked, but when their expectations are not fulfilled they blame their fate and not the deity.[4]

In the Konkan districts there are some persons who practise black art of several kinds such as *Chetak*, *Járan*, *Máran* and *Uchátan*. *Chetak* is a kind of evil spirit brought from the temple of the goddess Italái of the Konkan districts. It is brought for a fixed or limited period, and an annual tribute is required to be paid to the goddess for the services.

Another kind of black art widely practised in the Konkan districts is known by the name of *Muth márane*. In this art the sorcerer prepares an image of wheat flour, and worships it with flowers, incense, etc. A lemon pierced with a number of pins is then placed before the image. The sorcerer begins to pour spoonfuls of water mixed with *jagri* on the face of the image, and repeats certain *mantras*. Meanwhile, the lemon gradually disappears and goes to the person whose death it is intended to secure. The person aimed at receives a heavy blow in the chest and at once falls to the ground vomiting blood. Sometimes he is known to expire instantaneously. The charmed lemon, after completing its task returns to the sorcerer, who anxiously awaits its return, for it is believed that if the lemon fails to return some calamity or misfortune is sure to occur to him. For this reason the beginner desiring to be initiated into the mystery of this black art has to make the first trial of his *mantras* on a tree or a fowl.

Females are also initiated into the mysteries of *Jádu* or black art. Such women are required to go to the burning ground at midnight in a naked state, holding in their hands hearths containing burning coals. While on their way they untie their hair, and then begin the recital of their *mantras*. There they dig out the bones of buried corpses, bring them home, and preserve them for practising black art.

There is a sect of Hindus known as Sháktas who practise the black art. The Sháktas worship their goddess at night, make offerings of wine and flesh, and then feast thereon.

[1] School Master, Khopoli, Kolába.
[2] School Master, Poladpur. Kolába.
[3] School Master, Bassein, Thána.
[4] School Master, Mitbáv, Ratnágiri.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PANDYA MONARCHY.

(MR. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI'S THEORY.)

BY ROBERT SEWELL.

(*Continued from p.* 176.)

Jaṭavarman Kulaśêkhara I.

(*Accession, fixed by Kielhorn,* 30 *Mar. to* 29 *Nov. A. D.* 1190.)

(*No. 103 of 1908.*)[13] The only details given here, besides the king's (3rd) regnal year, are the solar month and day (5 Mithuna) and the week-day (Sunday). These tally for 30 May, A. D. 1193. As this king is known by other inscriptions to have begun to reign in A. D. 1190 the date, though wanting the tithi and nakshatra, may well be accepted. But if so his **accession took place on some day between 31 May and 29 Nov. 1190 A. D.,** to which period Mr. Swamikannu has now succeeded in reducing Kielhorn's longer limit. This fact might well have been entered in his List on p. 165.

Jaṭavarman Vîra Pâṇḍya.

(*A new king proposed by Mr. S. Pillai.*)

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai asks us to assume the existence of a new king, never as yet heard-of, with accession on a day between 18 Aug. A. D. 1189 and 15 April 1190, on the strength of the two following inscriptions. We know of a king of that name (Kielhorn's "E") whose reign began some day between 11 November A. D. 1252 and 13 July 1253.

(*No. 144 of 1903*). Examining the date for the reign of the latter (known) king I find that the details would suit 9 Sept. A. D. 1255 if the nakshatra had been, not, as given, No. 17 Anurâdhâ but No. 18 Jyêshṭhâ. This defect is serious because, since no week day is stated, we have nothing to go on except that the day was the 7th śukla tithi in the solar month Kanyâ, and in every year there must be such a combination. Consequently I should pronounce the date to be "irregular,"[14] unless we assume that a mistake of 12 hours had been made by accident, the 17th nakshatra being quoted instead of the 18th. Is Mr Swamikannu Pillai's date any better?

He fixes it as 17 August 1192, a day on which, though the moon was certainly at mean sunrise in the given nakshatra Anurâdhâ and the tithi was, as given, the 7th śukla the solar month was not Kanyâ, as stated, but Siṁha. This involves a mistake not of 12 hours, as in the date I have given above, but of 10 days. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date cannot be maintained any more than mine. Of the two mine is much the better.

(*No. 352 of 1906*). This date quotes the 13th regnal year of Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya, the solar month Mêsha, Sunday, a tithi in the first lunar fortnight, and the moon in Uttara Phalgunî. Trying it for the 13th year of the known king of that name (accession 1252-53) I find that on Sunday 29 March A. D. 1265, which was 5 Mêsha, Chaitra śukla 11 was current at mean sunrise. The moon was at that moment in Pûrva Phalgunî and only passed into the given Uttara Phalgunî 20 minutes before mean sunrise on Monday. If I had been publishing this date I should have accepted it as genuine, stating my belief that a mistake had been made in the quotation of the nakshatra. Śukla 11 in Chaitra is

[13] These numbers refer to the annually published catalogue of inscriptions copied by the office of the Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Government of Madras, and issued with the Report of that Department.

[14] This term is applied to any date on which all the given details do not exactly correspond.

a sacred day, being the *Kâmadâ êkâdaśi*. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, however, thinks that the day was Sunday, 15 April A. D. 1201. On examining this date I find that it was certainly a Sunday in Mêsha on which day at sunrise the 11th śukla tithi was current, but that it has a precisely similar defect to the one above; *viz.*, the moon was in Pûrva Phalgunî and not in the quoted Uttara Phalgunî at sunrise. She passed into the latter nakshatra later in the day. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai admits this.

But it has a far more serious defect than this. It flatly contradicts his own supposititious date for this new king's accession, because if such a king, with accession as he supposes, really existed the date 15 April 1201 could not fall in his 13th regnal year, but was the first day of the 12th year. Consequently his second date, defective in itself, contradicts his first date, which was also defective. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has noticed this also, proposing the alteration of the number of the regnal year. The dates *may*, as I have shewn, both belong to the reign of the Vîra Pâṇḍya who, as we know from Kielhorn's Nos. 31 and 32 and my No. 69,[15] all three of them perfect and regular dates, came to the throne in A. D. 1252-53. If it should be argued that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's two dates ought, on epigraphic grounds, to be assigned to a date earlier than that reign I can only say, with due submission to the authority of experts, that the difference is one of only sixty years while the Madras epigraphist found a difficulty in deciding the point in one case where the difference was one of ninety-five years. (*See below—remarks under "T. Kulasekhara II"*) **I hold the existence of this proposed new king to be totally unproved at present.**

Maṛavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I.

(*Accession, 25 June—4 Sept. A. D. 1216*).

(*Nos. 362 of 1906, and 133 of 1907*). I concur with the author as regards these two inscriptions. They are complete and regular. The result is to narrow the doubtful period of accession to a day between 25 June and 4 September A. D. 1216. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai fixes the latest possible day of accession as 19 July 1216, and in two places specially marks this as a discovery of his own. He does not tell us on what it is based. No published inscription that I have yet seen confirms it, certainly not either of his two new ones. From the results of five other records Kielhorn fixed the accession as on a day between 29 March and 4 September A. D. 1216. **The latest possible date must remain as 4 September, unless Mr. Swamikannu Pillai can shew reason for the change.**

Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara II.

(*Accession between 16 June and 30 September 1237, or between 16 June 1237 and 15 June 1238 A. D.*)

This king's date, if he existed as is not improbable, was not one of those determined by Prof. Kielhorn. I have already suggested the possibility of the reign. (*vide Epig: Ind: XI*, 261).

(*No. 62 of 1905*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has omitted to notice that the tithi quoted in this inscription was an expunged (*kshaya*) one, and therefore not only would it never have been connected with the civil day, but that day itself was an unlucky one (*See remarks above p.* 167). In other respects the details certainly coincide with the date 30 September A. D. 1238. On that day the 5th kṛishṇa tithi was current at sunrise; the 6th, which is the inscription-tithi, began about 50 minutes after sunrise and expired before sunrise next day.

[15] *Epigraphia Indica* VII. pp. 10-11, X. p 139.

With one correction, *i. e.*, supposing that the nakshatra Mṛigaśiras had been erroneously quoted instead of the next one Ârdrâ, the details would suit Thursday 10th October 1191, falling in the given regnal year of the earlier king of that name; and as these two dates are only separated by 47 years it would be difficult to decide on palæographic grounds to which king the record belongs. The trained Madras Government Epigraphist informed me, in the case of the next following inscription, No. 135 of 1910 when I was doubtful whether it belonged to the year 1239 or 1334 A. D. (separated by 95 years), the details of the date being correct for either of those years, that he found it difficult to decide the point after a careful examination of the characters, but inclined to the earlier date. It would probably therefore be still more difficult to decide, on epigraphic grounds alone, whether an inscription belonged to A. D. 1191 or 1238.

(*No. 135 of 1910*). I have already published this date in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI, p. 261. I gave the alternative dates just mentioned, *viz.*, in A. D. 1239 and 1334, and pointed out that if, on epigraphic grounds, the former was considered the correct one we should have the name of a new Pâṇḍya king with accession between 16 June 1237 and 15 June 1238. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has arrived at the same conclusion as myself regarding the earlier date, but does not allude to the alternative (later) one. On the supposition that the Epigraphist has now satisfied himself that the record did not belong to so late a date as A. D. 1334 we may accept the date 15 June 1239 as fixed. But if any doubt remain on that point we must withhold final decision. There is an absolute coincidence of all the given details also with Wednesday 15 June A. D. 1334.

(*No. 135 of 1908*). The details of this date are very meagre. Such as they are they perfectly suit the date 9th April 1213 which fell in the given (23rd) regnal year of the known Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara whose accession took place in 1190. But Mr. Swamikannu Pillai rejects this date on epigraphic grounds in favour of a date, 10 April 1259, which is exceedingly imperfect. We are only given the information "16 Mêsha" and "Anurâdhâ," and for this date the details given contradict one another. For in the year which he considers to be the correct one the solar day 16 Mêsha would not have been properly and by custom described as "the day of Anurâdhâ" but "the day of Viśâkhâ"; though the moon certainly entered Anurâdhâ shortly before sunset. The tithi current at sunrise was the second of the dark half of Nija Chaitra. There seems to be no ceremonial reason why Anurâdhâ should be mentioned as the nakshatra of the day. As there is only an interval of 46 years between 1213 and 1259 the difficulty of settling the matter merely by the form of the characters must be insuperable. We cannot accept this date as evidence either way, but of the two that in A. D. 1213 works out correctly while that in 1259 works out incorrectly.

The existence of this new king, therefore, must still remain somewhat doubtful, though admitted to be quite possible. If the Madras Epigraphist is quite certain that No. 135 of 1910 cannot belong to so late a date as A. D. 1334. I am prepared to accept it as certainly belonging to A. D. 1239, and in that case would accept the imperfect No. 62 of 1905 as corroboratory. But we want better proof.

Mâṛavarman Sundara Pâṇḍya II.

(*Accession fixed by Kielhorn 15 June A. D. 1238 to 18 Jan. A. D. 1239.*
Doubtful period now reduced to 13 July to 7 Dec. A. D. 1238).

This king is already known to us from other reliable inscriptions. The period within the limits of which he must on one day have ascended the throne is the only question at issue. This point I shall consider presently.

(*No. 130 of 1908*). This date has been published by Prof. Jacobi (*Epig: Ind: XI. p. 135, No. 84*), and as such I examined it and found his conclusion unimpeachable. It corresponds to 7 December 1239, and proves that the king's accession could not have occurred later than 7 December 1238. Mr. Swamikannu concurs in the fixture for the date.

(*No. 169 of 1895*). I find the author's conclusion for this inscription perfectly correct. The date corresponds to 6 January 1249, and the regnal year must be read "11" and not "10". The accession-date is not affected by it.

(*No. 616 of 1902*). On the civil day fixed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai as corresponding to the given details, *viz*: 12 July A. D. 1255, the given tithi, week-day and solar month certainly came together. But the moon is stated in the text to have been in the nakshatra 15 Svâti, whereas it should have been given as 14 Chitrâ according to ordinary custom; for she was in Chitrâ till about 48*m*. before mean sunset, when she entered Svâti; and as the given 7th śukla tithi of Âshâḍha ended about 2*h*. 32*m*. after mean sunset, that tithi was only connected with Svâti for 3*h*. 20*m*. during the middle of the 24-hour period concerned. I can see no reason why the usual custom should have been departed from in this instance. A 7th śukla tithi is specially auspicious for donations only when it is connected with a Sunday, or a Tuesday with the moon in Rêvati (in the lunar months Pausha or Mâgha), or when the moon is in the first quarter of Hasta, or when it coincides with a saṁkrânti, or when it belongs to one of certain lunar months in which the given lunar month Âshâḍha is not included. Neither of these conditions was present in this case. (*See Mr. S. Pillai's "Ind: Chronology," p. 48 of text*). It is of course, possible that "Svâti" was engraved, for "Chitrâ" owing to a simple mistake having been made by the computer or copyist, and on that ground it may be argued that the date should be accepted.

If accepted we note that the regnal year is stated as the 17th, and this proves that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 13th July 1238; for if he had acceded to the throne as early as 12th July in that year the day of the date 12th July 1255, would have been the first day of his 18th year. Hence, instead of the limits fixed by Kielhorn from the dates examined by him, *viz*: 15th June 1238 to 18th January 1239, **we should now have for this king's accession a day between 13th July and 7th December 1238,** determined by the dates 616 of 1902 and 130 of 1908. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gives us this period as 3rd July to 1st December 1238, but apparently this assertion is based on certain other inscriptions which he tells us that he has examined, but which have not yet been published. We must wait for these before we make any change. To publish, as he has done, accession-dates without having placed his proofs before the public is a course which cannot be permitted to pass without challenge.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I.

(*Accession, fixed by Kielhorn, 20 to 28 April A. D. 1251*).

(*No. 260 of 1906*). The date fixed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai as corresponding to the description is doubtful in two respects. He asserts that it corresponds to 6th November A. D. 1256 but admits one error in the description; namely that that day was not in the given seventh regnal year but in the sixth. The second defect in it is that on that day, though it was a Monday and the moon was at mean sunrise in Mṛigaśiras, as stated in the text, the quoted 3rd kṛishṇa tithi was *kshaya*, or was expunged from the daily reckoning. It began about 1*h*. 51*m*. after mean sunrise and ended about 43*m*. before the next sunrise. The Monday therefore would have been associated with the 2nd and the Tuesday with the

4th kṛishṇa tithi. If (as I have suggested above in my remarks on the date 62 of 1905 under the heading "Jaṭâvarman Kulaśêkhara II") a solar day on which occurs a kshaya tithi is unlucky, that particular day would have been avoided as a favourable time for a royal grant, and the kshaya tithi itself would not have been associated with it in the calendar.

Working the given details for the seventh regnal year as stated in the text I find that all the details are correct for 26th November 1257 except the nakshatra. This is in three places wrong, the moon being in Pushya and not in Mṛigaśiras; and this defect is so great that it cannot, in my opinion, be passed over safely.

I cannot allow that a date in which the wrong regnal year is quoted and which quotes a kshaya tithi is a satisfactory one. But, accepted or not, it does not affect the known facts of this king's accession.

(*No. 218 of 1901*). This date in the original quotes the 7th regnal year, the solar month Mêsha, the 1st kṛishṇa tithi and the nakshatra Rôhiṇî. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai admits that the day which he puts forward as corresponding, *viz*: 27th April 1256 A. D., would have properly been stated as in the 6th regnal year, the solar month Vṛishabha and the 1st śukla tithi, so that nothing remains of the original but the nakshatra Rôhiṇî. A solution slightly better would be 17th April 1257 A. D., which was in Mêsha, with the moon in Rôhiṇî, as given in the text, the regnal year being the 6th and not the 7th, and the wrong lunar fortnight having been stated. This involves a mistake of three days in the regnal year. The title given to the king certainly seems to shew that it belongs to the reign in question, but the date appears to be irregular. At any rate the author's solution is inacceptable.

(*No. 275 of 1901*). I concur with the author in this case. No other date will suit the description except the one given by him.

(*No. 322 of 1911*). I also concur with him here. We may accept the correction from "*śukla 11*" in the original to "*śukla 12*". The record quotes incidentally the 15th year of the Chôḷa King Peruñjiṅgadêva; but if, according to present information obtained from six inscriptions, this king's accession took place between 9th May and 30th July A. D. 1243, the present date, 23rd May, 1260 actually fell in his 17th or 18th year. Is the reading "15th" year quite certain? This point should be examined, because the result might perhaps very considerably reduce the doubtful period of Peruñjiṅga's accession.

(*No. 677 of 1909*). I published this date in *Epig. Ind.* Vol. XI, (p. 255, No. 101), having been assured that the quoted regnal year was the 11th; and found the result unsatisfactory. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has now discovered that the original record of the regnal year should be read "13" instead of 11. Accordingly I tested the date again from that standpoint, and agree with him that, granting "Makara" to be an error for "Mîna", it corresponds to Wednesday, 5th March A. D. 1264.

(*No. 125 of 1903*). The only available details for this date, setting aside mere conjectures, are the 7th śukla tithi in the 14th regnal year, with the moon in Punarvasu. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai fixes it as 25th March A. D. 1265. This was the day on which the Mêsha saṁkrânti occurred. It coincided certainly with the 7th śukla tithi, but the moon was in Ârdrâ (No. 6) not in (No. 7) Punarvasu at mean sunrise. She entered Punarvasu about 4*h*. 50*m*. later, and the day would have been named after Ârdrâ. Equally suitable, perhaps rather more so, would be 4th April A. D. 1264, with which day, 11 Mêsha, the 7th śukla tithi and Punarvasu were jointly connected. Here we should certainly have

to change the 14th (quoted) into the (correct) 13th year of the king; but the astronomical details given suit this date exactly. As the details given are meagre the date cannot be relied on.

I find myself in agreement with the author in three out of his six dates. **The accession period remains unchanged, and as determined by Prof. Kielhorn.**

Vîra Paṇḍya (Kielhorn's "E").

(Accession 11th Nov. 1252—13th July 1253 A.D.).

(Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya.)

(Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's new king, with accession 15th May—19th June A. D 1254.)

I take these inscriptions of Vîra Pâṇḍya together, as it will be seen in the end that I cannot find any good reason for accepting Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's assertion that they prove the existence of two distinct sovereigns, one, acceding to the throne in A. D. 1253, called by the title "Mâṟavarman" and one, acceding in A. D. 1254, called by the title "Jaṭâvarman." It appears to me quite possible that all the inscriptions belong to one king whose title was "Jaṭâvarman", and that the engraver of the record No. 395 of 1909 carved the title "Mâṟavarman" in error. Such a mistake is by no means unusual. Prof. Hultzsch has shewn (*S. I. I. III, 204 ff.*) that whereas the official title of the Chôḷa king Râjâdhirâja II was "Râjakêsari" he is in four inscriptions called "Parakêsari"; and the Chôḷa king Râjarâja II, whose official title was "Parakêsari" is in one inscription called "Râjakêsari."

(No. 395 of 1909). Prof. Kielhorn's two dates Nos. 31, 32, (*Epig. Ind. VII, pp. 10, 11,*) are each perfect and regular; and they prove the existence of a king named Vîra Pâṇḍya, whose accession took place on a day between 11th November 1252 and 13th July 1253 A. D. The inscriptions give no dynastic title. I also subsequently published (*op. cit. X, p. 139, No. 69*) a perfect and regular date of the 17th year of a Vîra Pâṇḍya with the dynastic title of "Jaṭâvarman" which corresponded to 8th August 1269 and in my opinion belonged to the reign of Kielhorn's Vîra Pâṇḍya, the regnal year being correct. I considered this sufficient proof that the dynastic title of this king was "Jaṭâvarman." I also published (*op. cit. XI, p. 266, No. 117*) the date which is now republished by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai (*No. 395 of 1909*). It is perfect and regular and it confirms the former ones in all respects as regards the king's accession, but it gives him the dynastic title "Mâṟavarman." This seemed to me to be a mistake for "Jaṭâvarman," at any rate the evidence was evenly balanced up to that point. Subsequent study of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's inscriptions confirms me in my opinion that the king's title was "Jaṭâvarman" and that the "Mâṟavarman" of No. 395 of 1909 was an error of the engraver.[16] Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's belief, however, is different, as I have shewn above,

[16] Here in England, I have no means of knowing what is the descriptive formula applied to the king in this inscription. I hope that the Madras Epigraphist will enlighten us on this point; for if it should be found that the short account of the king's exploits often given in these records is given here, and is similar to that stated in some of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's inscriptions (*e. g.*, Nos. 134 of 1908, 435 of 1906, 402 of 1907) that fact would go strongly to prove that the Vîra Pâṇḍya of No. 395 of 1909 ("Mâṟavarman") and he of the other inscriptions ("Jaṭâvarman") were one and the same person, the title in No. 395 having been engraved in error. These exploits are as follows:—"He took Îlam, Koṅgu, and, Sôḷamaṇḍalam" *i. e.*, Ceylon, Chêra and Chôḷa), "performed the anointment of heroes at Perumbâṟṟapuliyûr" and apparently introduced into his army "Kannaḍiyan horsemen", *i. e.*, a regiment of cavalry from the Kanarese country. The inscription mentioned in the text, which I call "my No. 69", states that the king conquered "Koṅganam," took the river Kâvêrî (*i. e.*, defeated the Chôlas) and performed the anointment of heroes at Puliyûr; and this statement proves him to be the same king as the Vîra Pâṇḍya of the three records noted above.

though he agrees with me as to the date of the inscriptions. Three of his eight inscriptions (Nos. 435 of 1906, 402 of 1907, and 128 of 1908) support my view, while the other five, four of which all come from the same temple, also do so if it is allowed that a mistake of one regnal year was accidentally made in each. The mistake in the group of four may be explained by the engravers of the last three following an initial error in the first so that I may claim actually to make only two corrections in the regnal years of all these eight inscriptions in order, by so doing, to make the whole of them confirmatory of the accuracy of my view of the case. I shall now briefly review these eight new inscription-dates upon which Mr. Swamikannu Pillai relies. His calculations are correct as to the civil days.

(*No. 142 of 1894*). "4th" regnal year of Jaṭâvarman Vîra. 14th May 1258. I hold that "4th" regnal year is an error for "5th," and that the king in question is Kielhorn's "E" (accession in A. D. 1253).

(*No. 129 of 1894.*) From the same temple. "4th" regnal year, for "5th"; 5th August A. D. 1257. But here, as in former instances noted above, a *kshaya*, or expunged, tithi is quoted, the reason for which does not appear. As regards the number of the regnal year I assume that it is correctly read as "4th" though I observe that the Epigraphist has classed the figure as doubtful. Should it be really "5th" the inscription, if acceptable, directly supports my contention.

(*No. 136 of 1894*). From the same temple. "6th" regnal year, for "7th"; 11th July A. D. 1259. The solar month incorrectly stated as "Kanyâ" instead of "Karka." Hence the date is not a perfect one.

(*No. 151 of 1894*). From the same temple. "7th" regnal year, for "8th", 12th November A. D. 1260. The tithi and week-day are not mentioned.

(*No. 134 of 1908*). From another place. "10th" regnal year for "11th." 1 June A. D. 1264. Again no mention of tithi and week-day. If I am correct in my revision of the regnal year this date proves that this king could not have begun to reign earlier than 2 June 1253. Using it for his own purposes Mr. Swamikannu Pillai should have observed that the earliest possible accession-day of his new king would be 2 June 1254, whereas he has stated that earliest day as 15 May of that year.

(*No. 435 of 1906*). 14th regnal year. 4 July A. D. 1266. This date directly supports my case, giving the latest possible day for accession of the king as 4 July 1253. Accession on 5 July of that year would cause 4 July 1266 to be in the 13th year. To make it suit his case Mr. Swamikannu Pillai would have to alter the number of the regnal year.

(*No. 402 of 1907*). 14th regnal year. 19 June A. D. 1267. The day corresponded with the 11th krishṇa tithi of Nija Jyeshṭha, which was the day called "Yoginî êkâdaśî" and a festival day. But the moon only entered the given nakshatra after about 6 hours had elapsed from mean sunrise; so that by common custom the day would have been connected with the nakshatra next earlier. If this correction be allowed this date must be taken as supporting my case, and as shewing that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 20th June 1253. Such a correction is in accordance with Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's own processes.

(*No. 128 of 1908*). 22nd regnal year. 29th April, A. D. 1275. This date is perfect and regular and directly supports my case, the given day falling in the 22nd year of the Vîra Pâṇḍya who came to the throne in A. D. 1253.[17] He is styled "Jaṭâvarman." In order

[17] The "E" of Prof. Kielhorn's List (*Epig. Ind. IX.* p. 227.)

to make the record suit the reign of his new supposititious king Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has had to assume that the number of the regnal year was wrongly engraved and should have been the "21st" year. (This inscription is the same as Prof. Jacobi's "No. 91" noticed below).

I now turn to Prof. Jacobi's dates of Vîra Pâṇḍya (*Epig: Ind: XI pp. 137-38, Nos. 90 to 94*).

(*No. 90*) 6th regnal year. The date is perfect and regular for 28 September A. D. 1302, as decided by Prof. Jacobi; but, with one alteration, supposing the "6th" tithi to have been engraved in error for the "8th," it corresponds exactly to 6 September A. D. 1258, which was in the 6th regnal year of the known Vîra Pâṇḍya (accession in 1253 A. D.). Prof. Jacobi considers that it belongs to a hitherto unknown Vîra Pâṇḍya whose accession was in A. D. 1295, but the regnal year given does not support such an assumption.

(*No. 91*). This is Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date No. 128 of 1908 (*see above*). 22nd regnal year. Prof. Jacobi's date for this is 3 May A. D. 1318, but he admits that, if so, it contains two errors, moreover the regnal year would be wrong for the reign of his supposed king. It however exactly suits,—unchanged,—the reign of Kielhorn's Vîra Pâṇḍya ("E") and is a perfect and regular date, the civil day being 29 April 1275. To make it suit his theory Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has to alter the number of the regnal year.

(*No. 92*). This date of the 44th regnal year corresponds to Prof. Jacobi's fixture of the civil day, *viz.* 2 December A. D. 1339, and points to the reign of a king whose accession took place, on a day between 3 December 1295 and 2 December 1296. For this day the date is regular and exceptionally perfect. It does not coincide with a day in the given regnal year of the king (or kings) of the same name whose inscriptions we are discussing; and therefore, *for present purposes*, must be set aside.

(*No. 93*). The date here given appears to belong to a later king of the same name. It contains historical allusions proving this to be the case. (*See below, my remarks on No. 119 of 1908 (the record in question) s. v. Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya with accession in A. D.* 1296).

(*No. 94*). The number of the regnal year here appears to be doubtful, but the date perfectly suits the day determined by Prof. Jacobi, *viz.*, 16 June A. D. 1342. For present purposes we are not concerned with it.

To sum up the case. It is no part of my duty positively to assert that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is mistaken, but I insist that my theory is quite as good as his, and that the evidence before us is insufficient to prove that there were two Vîra Pâṇḍyas, the later coming to the throne a year after the earlier. On that evidence, founded on all these inscriptions put together, it is permissible to maintain that the **existence of a Jaṭavarman Vîra Pâṇḍya with accession in A. D. 1254 is not proved, while the accession-period of Kielhorn's Vîra Pâṇḍya, whose dynastic title was "Jaṭâvarman," is limited to the days between 20 June and 4 July A. D. 1253.**

Mâṛavarman Srîvallabhadêva.

(*A new king proposed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai with accession between 4 and 10 September A. D.* 1257).

We are asked to accept as proved the existence of this new king on the strength of three inscription-dates, one of which, the Pudukôta inscription, appears to have not as yet been critically examined by the epigraphical officers.

(*No. 110 of 1900*). The date perfectly corresponds to 25 June A. D. 1278. But, since the day of the solar month is not quoted, precisely the same combination of details would be reproduced in a year perhaps 30 or 35 years distant from A. D. 1278. If careful palæographic examination results in a declaration that it probably belongs to that year the fixture may be accepted. If accepted we have a new king whose reign began between 26 June 1257 and 25 June 1258 A. D. Is this confirmed by the other records quoted ?

(*No. 539 of 1904*). The text here specifies the 5th śukla tithi of Siṁha, Wednesday with the moon in Kṛittikâ. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai fixes the day as "probably" 3 September 1292, which would fall in the given 35th regnal year. But to do this he has to make two emendations, reading the "5th krishṇa tithi of Kanyâ" instead of the "5th śukla tithi of Siṁha." This is rather too sweeping for the situation. It is not as if this were a date proposed as confirmatory of the reign of king whose existence has already been conclusively established. To establish the existence and date of accession of a king hitherto unknown we must not rely upon imperfect or incorrectly stated inscription-dates.

(*The Pudukôṭa inscription*). 35th regnal year. The text mentions the solar month Kanyâ, the 15th śukla or paurṇami tithi, Monday, with the moon in Rêvatî. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai decides that this corresponds to Monday, 10th September A. D. 1291. The date however is imperfect, as the author admits. That Monday would have been coupled with Uttara Bhadrapadâ, in which nakshatra the moon stood at sunrise. The moon entered Rêvatî only a little before sunset. I can trace no reason for departure in this case from the usual custom of naming the day, as before stated this inscription has apparently not as yet been examined by the epigraphical expert.

Neither of these two last dates are satisfactory, and therefore, if we are to build up our history on a solid foundation, it must be held that the first one stands alone. The correct course to adopt is not to insist on the existence of this king on the strength of this meagre evidence, but to **pronounce his existence possible and await confirmation.** In his Annual Report for 1907, § 26, the Epigraphist mentions a fragmentary inscription of a Śrîvallabha (No. 456 of 1906), which it would be well to examine, but as he gives no date for this record it may belong to a different period altogether.

Māṛavarman Kulaśêkhara I.

(*Accession fixed by Kielhorn 2-27 June A. D.* 1268.
Doubtful period reduced subsequently to 10-27 *June.*)

This king is already well-known. Kielhorn established his accession-period as 2-27 June A. D. 1268. I was able (*Epig : Ind : X, p.* 141) to reduce this to 10-27 June. I do not know why Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gives it on p. 171 as "12 *May* to 27 June." In the List which he gives on p. 165 he states the earliest day as not 12 May but 12 *June*, and gives this as his own discovery, marking it with an asterisk. But none of the dates which he publishes affords any warrant for this change, nor does not any inscription with which I am acquainted.

(*No. 598 of 1902*). The given date appears to me intrinsically wrong, for a 2nd śukla tithi cannot in any circumstances, I think, be connected with a moon in Anurâdhâ during the solar month Kanyâ. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai states that the coincidence can take place in unusual circumstances; he may be right, but I should like an explanation. During the month Kanyâ the sun's true longitude must be between 150° and 180°. During a 2nd śukla tithi the moon's distance from the sun must be between 12° and 24°. Hence the least possible true longitude of the moon during that tithi in Kanyâ must be

(150°+12°) 162° and the greatest possible must be (180°+24°) 204°. By the *Brâhma Siddhânta* the moon enters Anurâdhâ at 210° 49′ 20,″ while by the equal-space system and that of Garga she enters it at 213° 20.′ It appears to me therefore that the combination is impossible. However that may be this date is imperfect. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai corrects "Kanyâ" to "Tulâ," and thus finds the corresponding day to be 19 October A. D. 1278. With this change his calculation is quite correct.

(*No. 126 of 1910*). I published this date in Vol. XI of the *Epig: Ind:* (*p. 263, No. 112*). We both agree in the day, and find the date perfect and regular. It corresponds to 21 September 1281.

(*No. 123 of 1910*). An irregular date which must be set aside.

(*No. 124 of 1910*). I published this date in Vol. XI of the *Epig: Ind:* (*p. 263. No. 113*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai arrives at the same conclusion as myself. We fix the day as 27 November 1295. The date is a perfect one.

(*No. 734 of 1909*). This date is admittedly irregular. Even if we allow Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's sweeping change of the 6th solar month Kanyâ into the 9th Dhanus we should still have to account for the day being wrongly coupled with the 10th instead of with, as it should be, the 9th krishṇa tithi. The lunar month was Mârgaśirsha and I can find no ceremonial reason for a departure from the ordinary custom. The date should not be quoted as definitely established.

(*No. 506 of 1904*). My calculation agrees with the author's. The date is 10 May, 1299.

(*No. 46 of 1906*). Do. do. do. do. The date is 10 September 1301.

(*No. 288 of 1903*). I am unable to accept the author's conclusions with regard to this date. It is a troublesome one because the regnal year is exceedingly doubtful. The Epigraphist pronounces the first figure "4" to be questionable, and has subsequently stated that the second figure, which he read as "9," may be "1". I have tried, unsuccessfully, all the years possible with these uncertain figures. I found the nearest approach to the details stated in the text to be in the 21st regnal year, when the solar month, tithi, and nakshatra agree together, but the week-day is different, *viz.*, Sunday, and not, as given, Wednesday. If this change be allowed the date would correspond to 27 March, 1289; and perhaps this is the correct solution. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date, 27 March, 1308 is inacceptable for two reasons. First, he makes this day fall in the 41st year which is incorrect. This king's 41st year *began* in June 1308. Consequently 27 March of that year fell in the 40th regnal year; and the last figure of the given regnal year cannot, it appears, be read "0". Secondly, at sunrise on 27 March 1308 the moon had already passed out of the quoted Rôhiṇi and was in Mrigaśiras. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai thinks that calculation for *true* sunrise and local time may have proved the moon to have been in Rôhiṇi. I differ from him here. Taking into account the latitude and longitude of the place (Madras), and converting mean to true time I calculate that the moon passed out of Rôhiṇî and into Mrigaśiras 15*m.* 18*s.* before true sunrise in Madras local time, on the Wednesday in question.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya.

(This is a new king proposed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, with accession in A. D. 1270. Are his existence and date conclusively proved by the inscription-dates on which the author relies? I take each in turn as before).

(*No. 680 of 1909*). I published this date in Vol. XI of the *Epig: Ind:* (p. 254, No. 93), finding it irregular. It is irregular; for it gives 11 śukla in Vṛishabha on a Monday with moon in Pushya, and the moon cannot be in Pushya on an 11 śukla in Vṛishabha. The author proposes to correct "11" into "5," which would meet all requirements. As to the result of this he is quite right. So stated the date, 22 May 1273, would be perfect and regular. But it must be borne in mind that in this instance the proposed change is not the change of one figure into another, but the substitution of a whole word for another whole word. The record has, in letters, "*êkâdaśî*", and we have to change this to "*pañchamî*". I therefore agree with the author that this date is not satisfactory. If it were accepted we should have the accession-period from 23 May 1270 to 22 May 1271.

On the other hand I look on the date which he proposes alternatively, *viz.*, 4 April 1278, as inadmissible. That day would properly be called "10 śukla in Mêsha" with the moon in Magha. We cannot go so far as to assume that that is the day meant by the given description "11 śukla in Vṛishabha, Pûrva Phalguni"; which he considers just possible.

(*No. 303 of 1909*). I published this date in *Epig: Ind:* Vol. XI, (p. 254, No. 99) finding it irregular. This it is intrinsically, for on a śukla 10 in Mina the moon cannot be in Hasta, as the record states. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai supposes that "Mina" may be an error for "Vṛishabha"—but the two names are very unlike. With this change he finds the given combination to have existed on 24 May 1276. He also supposes that there was a second mistake, the 7th regnal year being quoted instead of the 6th; the date thus found being in the 6th year of his new king according to the date of accession which he deduces from the other records quoted by him and noticed below. A date which requires two alterations to bring it into conformity with a theory cannot be depended upon to prove the existence of a king of whom hitherto we know nothing.

(*No. 411 of 1908*). This is Prof. Jacobi's No. 83 (*Epig: Ind:* XI, p. 134). He pointed out that if "śukla 8" in the date were considered a mistake for "śukla 9" the details given would suit Friday, 6 December A. D. 1258, which was in the given 8th year of the king hitherto known as Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya I, whose accession was in A. D. 1251. For the reign of the second king of that name, as known to us, he made an unfortunate mistake and worked for the 18th not 8th year. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai finds the given date exactly correct for Friday 23 December 1278, and I agree. For this day the date is regular, and it is also a perfect date. According to this the accession must have taken place on a day between 24 December 1270 and 23 December 1271, and, allowing No. 303 of 1909 (above) to pass, we should have the accession period as between 24 December 1270 and 24 May 1271. But we must bear in mind that with the one reasonable change of "śukla 8" to "śukla 9" it would also correspond to 6 December 1258; while, with a change, presupposing a mistake in the original, of the 8th to the 3rd regnal year his date in A. D. 1278 would regularly belong to the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara II.

(*No. 667 of 1909*). I published this date in *Epig: Ind:* XI, (p. 257, No. 105), shewing that it was perfect and regular for 17. Jan. A. D. 1285, and expressing my opinion that probably it belonged to the reign of the known Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya, whose accession was in 1276, a mistake having been made in quoting the 8th regnal year instead of the 9th. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai sets this aside and insists on our acceptance of the date he has assigned, namely 5 Jan. 1278. But equally with my

fixture his date has a defect; for the moon was not at sunrise on that day in the quoted nakshatra Rohiṇî, but was in Kṛittikâ. She passed into Rohiṇî only about 7 hours *after* sunrise, and I know no reason for any departure from the usual custom in this case. (*See my note in the Introduction—"The nakshatra of the day."*)

(*No. 319 of 1909*). I published this inscription in *Epig: Ind:* XI, p. 255 (No. 100), and found it irregular for the given 8th regnal year of either of the known Jaṭâvarman Sundaras. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai decides that the day was 26 May 1278. It is true that the given week-day, tithi and solar month coincide with that day; but at mean sunrise the moon was in the 7th nakshatra Punarvasu and not in the 8th Pushya as given. She passed into Pushya about 4½ hours after mean sunrise. According to the author this does not matter, and if he is correct his conclusions cannot be gainsaid. (*See remarks under the last inscription.*) Granting the date perfect it only remains to be quite certain that the regnal year has been rightly read, since the date would fall in the 2nd year of the known Jaṭâvarman Sundara whose accession was (probably) in August 1276. The date if accepted for the new king does not affect the period of accession already found.

(*No. 305 of 1909*). I published this inscription in *Epig. Ind.* XI, p. 256, (No. 103). The given details are the 8th regnal year,[18] Monday, on a day not stated of the dark fortnight in the solar month Mithuna, the moon being in Uttara Bhadrapadâ. All these are correct for the 8th year of Jaṭâv. Sundara I, coinciding with 27 May 1258, but by the equal-space system of nakshatras, which I think was then in use, the moon entered the given nakshatra about an hour after mean sunrise. By the system of Garga and the *Brâhma Siddhânta* the details given are correct in all respects for that day. If, as laid down by Mr. Swamikannu, it does not invalidate a date that the given nakshatra should be one into which the moon had entered not at sunrise but at some later moment, I fail to see why he should have set aside this date and conclusively declared it to correspond to a different one, *viz.*, 13th June 1278. He gives no reason. I have nothing to say against his date, which is certainly perfect and following his own reasoning, regular. My only point is that it may belong, equally well, to the reign of Jaṭâv: Sundara I, and therefore it should not be used as *proof* of the existence of a new king. If, however, it be accepted for this new king his accession date remains as already found.

(*584 of 1902*). The given details are the 10th regnal year, the solar month Dhanus, śuk: 2, Sunday, and the moon in Pushya. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is correct in saying that this date cannot belong to the reign of either of the other known Sundaras; and it has to be altered completely out of shape to make it suit the reign of his new king. By changing "Dhanus" to "Makara", "śukla 2" to "bahula 2" and the 11th "regnal year to the 10th" regnal year, he makes the details all correct for 29th December 1281. But these alterations are too sweeping. The date as given is thoroughly irregular and should be set aside. Instead of which the author makes it of such historical importance that he relies upon it as establishing the earliest possible date of the reign of his new king, *viz*: 29th December 1270. I cannot allow this to pass unchallenged.

(*315 of 1909*). I published this date in *Epig: Ind:* Vol. XI, (p. 256, No. 102) declaring it irregular for the reign of either of then known kings. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai finds it correct for 3rd February A. D. 1283. I agree with his calculations, but it is not a perfect date. Certainly the quoted tithi was current for nearly 19 hours on the quoted Wednesday, and the moon was in the quoted nakshatra for nearly 15 hours of that day. Nevertheless it was the Thursday not the Wednesday that was called after that nakshatra and was connected with that tithi. And no ceremonial reason is apparent for such a change of nomenclature. If accepted, as seems reasonable, the date would be in the

[18] I am assured that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original.

13th year, as quoted, of the new king. But it would also fall in the 7th regnal year of Jaṭâv: Sundara II.

(*418 of 1909*). I published this inscription in *Epig*: *Ind*: Vol. XI (p. 258 No. 106) stating that with one apparent defect it corresponded to 26th February A. D. 1289. This defect is precisely similar to that pointed out as existing in the inscription last noted. The quoted tithi and nakshatra really belonged by custom to Sunday 27th February, but the tithi was current for part of Saturday 26th and the moon was in the given nakshatra for part of that day. With this reservation I gave the corresponding day as the Saturday. I maintain this date as the correct one merely in order to point out to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that it stands on precisely the same plane as No. 315 of 1909 which he insists on our accepting as settled. Why not, then, allow this one to be settled as I suggested? It falls in the given 13th year of Jaṭav. Sundara II.

However, I admit that his date, corresponding to 6th March 1283, is perfect and regular one. The only question would be whether a mistake was made in the regnal year which is quoted as the "13th". The day (6 March, A. D. 1283) would fall in the 7th year of Jaṭâv: Sundara II, or in the given 13th year of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's new king of the same name.

(*No. 191 of 1901*). This, I think, is a new date, never previously published. The details given are the 14th regnal year, solar month Âḍi, Monday, Hasta. The tithi is not given. These details will not correspond regularly with any day in the 14th year of either of the known Jaṭâv: Sundaras, nor indeed with any in the 14th year of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's king. To make the date suit his purposes he alters the regnal year from "14" to "15", seeing that in the 15th year of his new king the details correspond to Monday 9th July, 1285. They do so. But with a defective date (wanting the tithi) to begin with and an arbitrary change of regnal year to follow, this inscription cannot be accepted as historical proof. While I have said that the details do not *regularly* suit any day in the 14th year of either of the known Jaṭâv: Sundaras, the date might, on Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's principle, be held to correspond to 30th June 1264. On that day, which was 4 Âḍi and a Monday and in the given 14th regnal year of Jaṭâv: Sundara I, the moon entered Hasta about 19*h*. 36*m*. *after* mean sunrise. The inscription should be examined to ascertain if there is any further clue; *e. g.*, many of the 1st Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya's records begin with the words "*Samasta jagad-âdhâra*."

(*308 of 1909*). I published this inscription-date in *Epig. Ind.* XI, (p. 259, No. 108) and pronounced it regular, corresponding to 25 August A. D. 1292, which was in the quoted solar month Siṁha, in the quoted regnal year, 17th, of Jaṭâv: Sundara II (accn. 1276) the tithi being the 11th śukla (the numeral is obliterated in the text, but the śukla fortnight was given), with the moon in the given nakshatra, Uttara Ashâḍhâ, by all systems. Its only imperfection is in the obliteration of the word or figures of the tithi. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai states that the last akshara of the number is to be read—*mi*, and if this is quite certain the number might be 5, 6, 8, 9, or 10, and not 11. For my figure 11, the last akshara ought to be—*śi*. Even if he is correct the akshara might have been engraved in error; and I see no sufficient reason in this for declaring the date, otherwise perfect, to be incorrect.[19] What about his fixture? He states it to be 6th September 1288. Now that day was not in the 17th year of his king, as given, but in the 18th. Secondly, the solar month was not Siṁha as given, but Kanyâ, (the author mentions it as in Siṁha but this is not the case). Thirdly the nakshatra which would regularly have given its name to that day by the equal-space system was Purva Ashâḍhâ,

19 If anyone should consider this as going too far let me call attention to No. 680 of 1909, above, in which case Mr. Swamikannu Pillai changes not one syllable only but a whole, clearly engraved, word *êkâdaśi* into *pañchami* to suit his theory.

and not, as given, Uttara Ashâḍhâ,[20] though the latter began about 7½ hours after mean sunrise. His tithi, 9 śukla, would be correct (9th = *navami*). So that the date which he proposes to substitute for mine is exceedingly defective. There is no comparison between the two. And I continue to believe that the inscription in question may belong to the reign of the Sundara Pâṇḍya who came to the throne in August 1276.

To sum up the case for and against Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's contention that a king named Jaṭâvarman Sundara began to reign 29th December 1270 to 5 Jan. 1271. [Let me once for all state that we cannot possibly accept the date on which he relies, *viz.*, 29th December 1270. At the best the accession period was 24th December 1270 to 5th January 1271.] This king being a new one, not before heard-of, we require solid proof of his existence. What is the proof? He offers us eleven dates of which he declares six to be regular and the rest fairly regular, but all corroborative. I take first the "regular" dates, six in number.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's "regular" dates are (I omit the number of the year as they cannot be confused) Nos. 411, 667, 319, 305, 315, 418. Three of these, *viz.*, Nos. 667, 319 and 315 quote a nakshatra as giving its name to the day, which nakshatra by regular custom gave its name not to that day but to the following day. The remaining three I admit to be regular. In the case of No. 305 I had proved the date to be equally regular for a day in the reign of a king already known; and in the case of all the other five the dates may, if we suppose a mistake to have been made in each case in the number of the regnal year, belong equally to the reign of a known king. So that none of these six dates can be held as quite conclusive of the truth of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's theory. (If it should be thought that I am stretching a point by suggesting an alteration, or correction, of the regnal year, I may reply by pointing out that, in thirteen cases Mr. Swamikannu has, in his article under consideration, done the same thing.)

The dates which the author considers as corroborative although irregular are Nos. 680, 303, 584, 191 and 308. The first two are in themselves intrinsically irregular. He proposes to regularize each of these by a drastic change, namely, by supposing that whole words, not merely numbers, were erroneously engraved by mistake. No. 584 he regularizes by altering three out of the five details given, two of these being, like the last, changes of entire words. No. 191 is in itself an imperfect date, the tithi not being given, and he regularizes it by changing the number of the regnal year. In doing so he has not observed that it might be held as correct for the given year of another king whose reign has been already well-established. No. 308 is not in itself a perfect date, but it is quite regular for another reign. He rejects this last date in favour of one which he regularizes by changing the regnal year, but has made the mistake of declaring that his date falls in the given solar month, whereas this is not the case.

Any impartial enquirer must, I think, be now convinced that **the existence of this new king Jaṭâvarman Sundara with accession in 1270-71 is not at present conclusively proved.** There may have been such a king, or may not. What we want is two dates, perfect in themselves and found regular when standing unaltered, corroborating one another, and corresponding with some day prior to August 1276; so that no arbitrary change of the stated regnal year could possibly connect them with the reign of the Jaṭâvarman Sundara who ascended the throne in that year. At present we have only two days offered to us by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai prior to August 1276, namely Nos. 680 and 303, and each of these is imperfect. If two such perfect dates can be found then several of the present ones may certainly be held as corroborative; but standing by themselves alone the evidence these offer is insufficient.

(*To be continued.*)

[20] "Uttara Ashâḍhâ" would be correct by the systems of Garga and the *Brâhma Siddhânta*, but I believe that these were not in use.

AGNISKANDHA AND THE FOURTH ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA.

BY PROFESSOR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, MADRAS UNIVERSITY.

IN a series of interesting notes which Mr. F. W. Thomas is contributing to the pages of the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, this word in the second sentence of the fourth Rock-Edict of the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka occurs as number 6 on pages 394 and 395 of 1914. Examining the views of Senart, Bühler and Prof. Hultzsch, Mr. Thomas gives it as his rendering of Aśoka's *Aggikhaṁda* that it means nothing else than bon-fire.

This rendering may be accepted as correct in a general sense ; but it is capable, I think, of a more particular interpretation as a peculiar kind of bon-fire. There is a kind of bon-fire which is of peculiar appropriateness to festivities of a holy character. In temples in South India there is a particular 'festival of lights' celebrated on the full moon of the month of Kârtika (Solar). This is common with a difference of a day to both Śiva and Vishṇu temples alike. A tree trunk, usually cocoanut or palmyra according to locality, is planted in the ground decorated artificially with buntings and festoons, more or less elaborately according to the means. The shape given to it is generally that of a car. As soon as the lamps in the temple, often many thousands in large temples, are lighted after it is dark, this tree is set on fire. This is called in Tamil *Sokkappanai*, in popular parlance *Sokkappânai*. This is composed of two Tamil words *Sokka* the adjective and *panai*. The first may be rendered either pretty or decorated, and the latter palmyra. This festival is celebrated in commemoration of the victory of Vishṇu Tṛivikrama over the Emperor Bali, whom the former sent into the nether world, having taken up the earth and heaven in two of the "three feet of earth granted to him."

It seems to me that Aśoka's Aggikhaṁda is exactly the Tamil Śokkappanai.

There are references in the Tamil classics to palmyra trunks having been made use of for beacon-lights in parts. A tall tree trunk was planted with a big lamp of fresh clay on top. Such a one is referred to in the *Paṭṭiṇappâlai* in reference to the city of Puhâr at the mouth of Kavery River. A similar big lamp but without the palmyra trunk is lighted on the Kârtika day on the top of the hill at Tiruvaṇṇâmalai, which I am told is seen for many miles around.

If the third century analogue of this palmyra lamp (and this seems only too likely before Aśoka got into the habit of planting pillars which eventually developed into the *dhvajastambhas* or flag staffs of modern times) be what Aśoka refers to by the term *Aggikhaṁdha*, which the Shâhbâzgarhi version makes *Jyôtiskandha*, what then is the meaning of the second sentence of the fourth Rock Edict ?

Taking the Girnâr version of the Edict as the standard for the purpose, the first three sentences make the statements that for centuries ill-treatment of God's creatures, want of affection towards relations and want of affectionate reverence towards Brâhmaṇas and Śramaṇas have been the order of things. With the adoption of the *dharma* by Aśoka all this gave way to a better order of things ; the beat of this great ruler's drums is lo! really the sound of the *dharma* ; the sights to be seen under this ruler are the sights of cars, elephants, fire-trees and such other holy sights ; in consequence of these the evil practices of the people have given place good to such a degree as was never before witnessed. This seems to be the logical order of the ideas. The particle *aho* (what wonder?) in itself contains a predicate. The beat of drums calling a war muster is only a call to assemble for the celebration of a holy festival. The *vimâna*, elephants, fire-trees and other divine forms

are what would be seen in place of the war-chariots, fighting-elephants, fire-trees and other death-dealing implements of war.

Vimâna, in its origin, implies an old-world Zeppelin; but processional cars are so called from a fancied similarity of form, these being always constructed on the pattern of the flying-cars of the gods. Hence the name *vimâna* for the tower of the inner-shrines or the sancta of temples. These took the place of war-chariots.

Hasti (elephants) are in the one case merely processional and in the other fighting.

Agniskandha (fire-trees) the festival-trees described above in the one case and combustible material prepared and ready to be lighted and thrown at an enemy or into his camp &c., in the other.

Divyâni rûpâṇi (forms of gods) are holy sights as opposed to the terrible sights of fighting-men and war.

According to the nature of the deity in particular temples and on particular occasions, all the paraphernalia indicated by these terms are to be seen in festival processions in the larger temples of South India to-day. That these were exactly the features of festivals in the early centuries of the Christian era is in evidence in the twin Tamil classics the *Silpâdhikâram* and *Maṇimêkhalai*, in both of which is given a rather elaborate description of a festival to Indra. This is a festival lasting for 28 days in all, and seems the one indicated in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kâlidâsa in the *Sloka* :

Puruhûta-dhvajasy-aiva tasy-ônnayana-paṅktayaḥ || Nar-âbhyutthâna-darśinyô nananduḥ saprajâḥ prajâḥ ||

(Canto. IV. ślôka 3)

His (Raghu's) subjects with their children were delighted at the accession of the new monarch as people looking with upturned eyes at Indra's flag do.

The actual form of the *dhvaja* (flag) described in the *śloka* may explain the particular mention of elephants in the edict.

Gajâkâraṁ chatustaṁbhaṁ puradvâri pratishṭhitam || puraḥ kurvanti śaradi Puruhûta-mahôtsavam ||

This is the flag which had the figure of Airâvata (Indra's white elephant),[1] painted on it and was kept in the temple of Kalpataru (the tree that gave whatever was wished for) that was hoisted at the beginning of the festival. The festival to Indra was announced to the people by beat of drum taken from the shrine dedicated to *Vajra*, Indra's thunderbolt. The beginning and end of the festival were announced to the elephant itself at the shrine of Airâvata (the elephant of Indra). This intimation is understood to be in token of a request to bring Indra from his heaven.[2] The drum was mounted on the back of an elephant which carried it round the town announcing the festival and enjoining upon the inhabitants to do what had to be done by way of decoration. The whole town was to be in festive trim. Houses of assembly and halls of learning had to be suitably equipped, each in its way for the occasion. Temples beginning with that of the three-eyed Śiva to that of the guardian deity of the market-place had to put on festival array. What is pertinent in all this to the question in hand is that this elephant carrying the big-drum itself was accompanied by 'warriors with bright swords, cars, horses and elephants,' the four proverbial elements of an army.

[1] It must be noted that the white elephant is in a way sacred to the Buddha also.
[2] *Silappadhikâram*, Bk. V., pp. 141-146.

Oḷiruvâṇ maravarum têrumâvum
Kaḷiruṁ sûḷdarakkaṇ muraṅiyambi

(*Maṇimêkhalai* I, pp. 68-69)

On the 28 days that this festival was in progress at Puhâr at the mouth of the Kavery not only was it that Indra came down from heaven to preside at the festival, but all the *dêvas* in attendance on him also descended to earth, leaving the *svarga* empty of its people.

"*Tîvakachchânti śeydarunaṅnâḷ*
Âyiraṅgaṇṇôṅ ṛannôḍâṅguḷa
Nâlvêṛudêvaru nalattahu śirappir
Pâlvêru dêvarumippadippaḍarṅdu
Mannan Karikâl vaḷavaṇiṅgiyanâḷ
Innahar pôlva toriyalbinadâhi
Ponnahar variḍâppôduvareṅbadu
Tonnilaiyuṇarṅdôr tuṅiporuḷâdaliṅ"

(*Maṇimêkhalai* I, 36-43)

On the occasion of propitiation of the thousand-eyed Indra for the benefit of this land, along with Indra will descend into the city of Puhâr the four different orders and the various classes of *dêvas* as well, leaving the heaven of Indra (Amarâvati) empty of the *dêvas* just as this city was when the illustrious Karikâla left it.

This passage contains the idea embodied in the *divyâni rûpâṇi* of the edict. These *dêvas* in their various degree will find more or less adequate representation in the festive paraphernalia of temples and festivals. From this it will be clear that the *divyâni rûpâṇi* need be neither more nor less divine than the other items specified. The passage of the edict under discussion can then be rendered thus :

"But now, in consequence of the adoption of the *dharma* (law of morality) by Devanaṁpriya Priyadarśin, the sound of the drum is, lo! but the sound of the *dharma*, the spectacle presented to the people, processional cars, elephants, bon-fires and others, the representations of the *dêvas*.

That is, the drum that sounds is no more the war-drum, and the spectacle presented is no more the merciless destruction of God's creatures both in war and in the chase. As a consequence of this change in the conduct of the king, the subjects reverse their previous evil practices to the opposite good one in accordance with the proverbial *Yathâ Râja tatâ prajâḥ* (as the king so the people). This is what exactly is stated in the sentence following. In the edict :—*Yârîsê, &c.*

The following two verses which Mallinâtha quotes in his comment on the verse 3 of Canto IV of the *Raghuvaṁśa* would go to indicate that the festival to Indra is an old institution ; and the way in which the two Buddhistic Tamil works treat of this would indicate that this was a cosmopolitan festival in which every one joined.

Êvam yaḥ kurutê yâtrâm Indrakêtôr-Yudhiṣṭhira
Parjanyaḥ kâmavarshî syât tasya râjyê na saṁśayaḥ

Yudhiṣṭhira, whoever in this manner takes Indra's flag in procession, in his kingdom clouds will pour down, as much as is wished for, of rain. Of this there is no doubt.

Chaturasraṁ dhvajâkâraṁ râjadvârê pratishṭhitam
Âhuḥ Sakra-dhvajaṁ nâma paura-lôkê sukhâvaham.

What is quadrangular, in the form of a flag, fixed in front of the palace gate, that they call Indra's flag; it bears on it the happiness of the inhabitants of the city;

The first is from the *Bhavishyôttarapurâṇa.*

These explanations in regard to the nature of the festival, the allusion that Kâlidâsa makes to it as though it were a thing familiar to all, the eclat with which the two Tamil poets describe it and the explanation that the 12th century A. D. Tamil commentary and the later Mallinâtha are able to give of its details go to establish the popularity as well as the long vogue of the festival. It would not be surprising if this itself, or something akin to it, had been in existence in Aśoka's time and if he himself had contributed to rid it of any element of grossness. Any way there is no mistaking the light that this festival to Indra throws upon the edict under consideration. If this should in the least contribute towards the elucidation of the particular sentence in the edict, the Tamil poets deserve to be gratefully studied.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE GOD OF MADURA.

BY V. VENKATACHALLAM IYER, NELLORE.

(*Continued from Vol. XLII, page 72.*)

V.

IN the reign of this monarch, Ugra-Pâṇḍya, it came to pass that for a second time the land suffered from famine and scarcity. On this occasion Indra was not to blame, for, the want of rain resulted from a certain collocation of the planets. The king appealed to his father, the god in the temple, for relief from the distress. But he appealed in vain. For, the god confessed himself powerless to control, much less to vary, the eternal and immutable laws of planetary motions. He told the prince, however, that there was an abundance of treasure stowed away in some recesses of Mount Meru; that the prince might take it if he could, and by largesses out of it alleviate the sufferings of his subjects.

The king made up his mind to venture on the enterprise. He left Madura and steadily marched northwards. He passed through the Dekhan. He went up to Benares, where he bathed in the Ganges. He proceeded further north, crossed the Himalayas and passed through the several *varshas* or districts, which lay between the abode of snow and Ilâvṛita-varsha, in the centre of which Mount Meru towered his height. By forced marches, the king came to close quarters with the mountain.

The campaign was begun in earnest. After some progress made, the mountain-god was summoned to audience. He, however, proved refractory in the first instance. The Pâṇḍya was exasperated. He discharged the *sendu* or ball against the haughty crown of the mountain. This, the reader will recollect, was the third of the divine weapons which the king as crown-prince had received from his father, the god. The mountain was shaken to its foundations. The divinity of the mountain-god could not withstand the attack. He came down humbly. He appeared before the Pâṇḍya with four heads, eight hands and a white umbrella in one of his hands. He wished to know all that was wanted of him.

The king badly wanted the treasure of which the mountain-god kept charge. This was readily yielded up. The Pâṇḍya took as much as he cared to have. The mountain-god was now free to air his height as before. The king returned to Madura, with all possible expedition. The people were relieved and comforted and, when the year came round, rains fell with tropical copiousness.

After a long and prosperous rule, Ugra-Pâṇḍya passed away and became unified with his father, the god of the temple.

[Mount Meru is the central conical mountain of Hindu mythology. In the Hindu system it has replaced the central cosmic tree of earlier mythic conception. It is fairly developed in other systems also. Ideas once in vogue are never allowed to die out in the East. Thus we find that the notion of the cosmic tree exists in the *Purâṇas* side by side with that of the cosmic mountain. This tree has passed in the *Purâṇas* into the *akshaya-vaṭa,* later, localised at Gaya in Hindustan. It answers to the *Ygg-drasil* of Norse legend. The Sun, the Moon and the stars revolve round this central mountain. They have their roosting places in its caverns. The Sun and the Moon emerge for their daily rounds from opposite sides of Meru. The *sendu* thrown by the Pâṇḍya at the top of Meru is the burning globe of the Sun, as stated already. The white umbrella with which the mountain-god showed himself to the king is a cognisance of the Sun-god. It is the epitome of the Sun-lit firmament, the umbrella-shaped overhanging canopy. The four heads of the mountain are the four heads of the Sun...... the four Equinoctial and Solstitial positions. The eight arms of the mountain-god are the eight cardinal points. The central mountain, as localised in Zoroastrian appropriation, answers to Mount Elburz, which has supplied much of the detail of the description of Meru in Purâṇic orography.]

VI.

Ugra-Pâṇḍya left a son Vîra-Pâṇḍya who succeeded his father on the throne.

The Brahmans of old learnt the *Vedas* by rote from oral tradition, without caring to inform themselves of the meaning of what they repeated, much as they do at the present day. In the forest of Naimishâraṇya dwelt two Ṛishis, Kaṇva and Garga, who felt a great desire to learn the meaning of the *Vedas*. They found no one in that part of the continent competent to enlighten them. They happened to come across a wandering Brahman hermit, a great devotee of Śiva, who gave them to understand that the true meaning of Vedic lore could be expounded only by Dakshiṇamûrti, a god who had his seat at Madura, to the south of the big temple. He added that this god could not be propitiated except by a long course of prayer, penance and austerities. The Ṛishis accordingly went through this course and all three of them set out for Madura.

They reached the place in due time. The god condescended to appear to them in the guise of a Brahman Seer, at his seat under a tree known in the vernacular as *kallâlamaram.*

The Seer said to the pilgrims that, if they wished to hear him expound the *Vedas,* they must go with him to the great temple, for he would do no lecturing except under the presidency of the god there. Thither, accordingly, they all repaired, and the Seer proceeded with his exposition. The sum and substance of the *Vedas* was, as expounded by him, no more than the manifestation of Śiva in diverse forms of knowledge of a more or less esoteric character.

When the exposition was finished, the god Dakshiṇamûrti disappeared having become one with the presiding god there.

This event occurred in the reign of Vîra-Pâṇḍya.

[The substance of the exposition as outlined in the *Purâṇa* betrays the ignorance on the part of the Śaiva-siddhântins of the contents of the *Vedas,* which really exhibit nothing to the purpose. The Śaiva-siddhântins appear to have held, in common with the bulk of the masses, erroneous notions of the matter which is to be found in the *Vedas.* The exposition of Vedic lore as ascribed to the god Dakshiṇamûrti contains in outline all the creed and dogma of the *Śaiva-siddhânta.* The attempt to represent the creed of the *siddhânta* as the sum and substance of *Vedic* teaching was to claim for it the same divine sanction of revelation as also the same sanctity. Dakshiṇamûrti is a form of Śiva. He is the Dictaean Jupiter and the *kallâlamaram* is the sacred Cretan *ficus.*]

VII.

In the period when Abhisheka-Pâṇḍya ruled, the gods Indra and Varuṇa (Poseidon) had a disputation about the relative merits of some of the greater gods. Indra informed Poseidon that the god of Madura was the greatest among the divinities, and that his worship sincerely and devoutly performed secured to the votary all that he wished for. Poseidon had long been afflicted with a colic. It had defied the healing art of Aesculapius and the remedial efforts of Eshmûn. He wished to know if the god of Madura could cure him of this organic trouble. Indra assured him that the god could certainly do it. Poseidon took it into his head to claim the notice, or test the prowess, of the god of Madura by doing something out of the way. He raised a storm at sea, and sent the waters inland to submerge the country up to and beyond Madura. The king of the land at once proceeded to the temple and prayed to the god to avert the catastrophe. The god of Madura had four clouds nestling in his hair-tufts. He commanded them to go out and drink up the whole flood. They did so, and Poseidon had to go back beaten.

He was, however, not minded to take a defeat with anything like composure. As the lord of the waters he had seven giant clouds under his command. He sent them abroad with orders to drink up the waters of all the seven oceans and discharge the same in persistent rain on the town of Madura, so that all the buildings, the temple included, should be levelled down to their foundations. The clouds obeyed. The gates of the firmament were opened and the rains fell in torrents and incessantly, with hail-stones of the size of pumpkins. It was impossible to live in this state of things. It looked as if the deluge had fairly started. The king prayed to the god of Madura to save him, his people and his country from the cataclysm.

The god sent out his four clouds to spread themselves over the city like an umbrella and prevent the rain from descending into Madura. The ruse succeeded. No one could say where all the rain went, but not a drop descended on the city. Poseidon, this time, was willing to admit himself beaten. He acknowledged to himself the undoubted superiority of the local god. It behoved him to make amends. He went into the city and walked the way bare-footed to the temple. When he had proceeded no farther than the tank of the golden lotus flowers, he understood that his colic left him, he hoped . . . for ever. He was surprised at the marvel. He repaired to the temple. He rendered homage to the god and addressed a fervent prayer begging for forgiveness of his trespasses. The All-merciful admitted him to grace. Poseidon, before he left, made a presentation of a pearl-necklace for the service the god of Madura.

[It was pointed out in the first course of these sketches that there is reason to believe that the earliest capital of these Dravidian tribes was placed somewhere on the coast and that seismic disasters coupled perhaps with political and administrative exigencies suggested the shifting of the capital farther inland. The persistent tradition, repeated in this tale, of an inundation by the waters of the sea, is otherwise unintelligible, and it is impossible to associate any such disaster with the present location of Madura. The name, Abhisheka-Pâṇḍya, of the king is suggestive. He was probably the first to be anointed and crowned and to assume the insignia of royalty.]

VIII.

Thiruppuvanam was a place of Siva worship in Pâṇḍyanâd. Everything there was regarded as only a form of Siva. In that place dwelt a courtesan, young and beautiful . . . . the fairest of her sex and age. She was sincerely devoted to the worship of Siva. She

danced frequently in the temple and added an intense devotion to the bond of duty. She spent all she acquired in the way of her calling on religious charities, in the name of the great god. She felt drawn irresistibly towards the god. She conceived a passion for him. She developed a strong desire to set up in the temple a molten image in gold of the god she so dearly loved. But she had not the means. How should her desire . . . . the one sacred purpose of an otherwise undesirable life . . . . come to be accomplished ?

The god took pity on her. One day he appeared to her in the form of an ascetic, and said to her :—" My child, put everything metallic, brass, copper, iron, into the melting-pot, whatever you can lay your hands on, and you shall find it all turned into gold."

After giving this direction, the ascetic disappeared. The old nurse scoffed at the idea. The neighbourhood derided. But the woman knew better, for was it not the god that condescended to appear unto her to deliver his message in person ? She had faith in the ascetic and in his recipe. That night she went to work in obedience to the precept she had received. On the morrow she was in raptures when she rose to find that the alchemy was successful and a liquefied mass of shining gold formed the contents of the pot.

The image was cast. It was so handsome and so like the god that the poor girl lost her heart or her wits and was tempted to kiss the Xoanon on both the cheeks. The warmth of the osculation left indentations on the metal. The god, however, does not appear to have resented the liberty. But the sequel is dull and uninteresting. For we are not told that her devotion met with a good fortune similar to that which attended the efforts of Pygmalion at Paphos with his statue of Venus, the account of which has been rendered for English readers by Dryden's muse.

The image was duly installed in the temple. But it has changed with the times and has since assumed a form more appropriate to the sinful iron age.

IX.

During the reign of Kulottuṅga-Pāṇḍya, a stranger to the district, who was hard-pressed for a living, went to settle at Madura. He was a skilled swordsman. He taught pupils to make a living. He was a married man, and his spouses were sincere devotees of Siva. Among his pupils, one Siddhan qualified as the best. In due time, Siddhan opened a rival school. He was wickedly disposed and harboured envy against his old teacher. He cast about for means to damage the reputation of his former *guru* and went so far as to tempt the virtue of the *guru's* wife. She was a very chaste woman, and was known and honoured as such in the neighbourhood, though she was poor and humble. The advances of Siddhan were repudiated with scorn, but his attentions proved intolerable. She hoped that the man would behave better, and intended that her husband should not be made aware of it, as she feared that heavy retribution would be meted out to the erring man. She had great faith in her own courage, and she believed she had a friend in the last resort in the god whom she adored. She was ultimately obliged to appeal to this friend. Her prayer was heard. The god came down in the assumed form of her husband. He called out Siddhan to a duel. They fought with swords. In the end the miscreant, Siddhan, was vanquished, and the disguised god cut him to pieces limb by limb. This done, he disappeared. The on-lookers were lost in wonderment. They believed it was the old *guru*. Later, however, they met him and found him quite innocent of all that had happened. On comparing notes, they discovered that it could have been no other than the god of Madura who had condescended to champion the cause of the wronged woman.

[This fable puts one in mind of the ill-advised contest of Marsyas with Apollo, which ended so fatally for the finder of Athena's flute. At the end of the contest, Marsyas was flayed alive by Apollo. The mutilation of Siddhan's body is evidently an Egyptian touch.]

X

Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya unwittingly caused a case of manslaughter. On one occasion, returning from the chase, he let his horse go at full gallop in the dark. A Brahman youth happened to lie sleeping in the wilderness at the foot of a tree. How he came to be there and to make that place his dormitory has not been explained. The horse lighted on his body, and continued his gallop. The king did not notice it, but the man died instantaneously. When this came to be known, the king was sorely grieved, and did his best to make amends for it so far as money would go. But that would not go a long way. To purge himself from the sin he spent much of his time in prayer and penance. He observed many fasts, made several largesses and went through diverse religious ceremonies. But the Furies laid hold of him and the *brahmahatyâ* tormented him. He appealed to his god—the god of Madura—for relief, who assured him that he would be rid of his trouble on a future day, when, in the pursuit of his hereditary foe, the Chola, he should enter Thiruvidaimaruthur and worship the god in the temple there. The speciality of the god there was that he worshipped himself. Thiruvidaimaruthur is a celebrated place of Śiva worship in the Tanjore district. What had been foretold came to pass in due course of time. The Pâṇḍya entered the temple through the eastern gate. As he went in, he felt that the Furies left him. He duly worshipped the god in the temple. When the service was ended, the god vouchsafed to caution him against returning through the eastern gate: for, at the portals there, the Furies were waiting for his return. The king profited by the advice and passed out at the western gate. He stayed some days at Thiruvidaimaruthur, spending his time in the worship of the god. He built the great western tower and made other considerable benefactions to the temple. He took leave of the god of Thiruvidaimaruthur and returned to Madura, where he at once reported himself to his own god.

The deity was much pleased with the king's devotion and wished to know what he could do for the Pâṇḍyan. The latter submitted that he would esteem it as the greatest blessing of his life if he were privileged to see face to face the author of evolution holding his Court in *Śiva-lokaṁ*. The god was pleased to grant the boon. He commissioned his usher, the bull Nandi, to conjure up a vision of *Śiva-lokaṁ* for the benefit of the king and to show him all the wonderful sights of that world. Accordingly, all in a moment, the whole of *Śiva-lokaṁ* was unfolded to the eyes of the wondering Pâṇḍyan. The 'Apis' acted as his cicerone.

He saw there groups of the blessed, drinking ambrosia and taking their ease in flowery arbours and in the cool shades of nectar-dripping trees. He saw there rivers of gold and meadows of emerald. He saw the palaces of the several greater and lesser gods: the mansions of the Dikpâlas, the seats of Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Rudra: and several other things not available for mortal eyes to behold. Above all, he saw his chosen god enthroned in a central position with his partner by his side and waited on by all the gods, angels, Ṛishis and the hosts. He was almost entirely lost in bliss. It was too much for mortal nerves. The bull perceived this and the vision disappeared. Varaguṇa-Pâṇḍya found himself again in the temple sanctum in the presence of his god.

[The temple at Thiruvidaimaruthur is the Inferum. It is the seat of Osiris. The Pâṇḍya who had sinned had to pass through this realm and atone for the manslaughter before he could be admitted to grace and the regions of light.

The god in this temple worshipped himself, as, into the region of Hades, other gods and angels did not and ordinarily could not go.

The souls of mortals pass into the dominion of Hades only through the portals of death. They make their entry into that unknown region through the eastern gate. When the Sun sinks below the horizon in the west, he makes his appearance as the rising Sun in the orient of the nether world. It is even so with the souls of the departed, which pass out through the west and enter Hades through the eastern gate. Thither they are conducted by the Furies, which stand outside to prevent the egress of the sinners once they have gone inside.

The original notion about the experiences in Hades was uninfluenced by the virtue and vice of the life lived here on the earth. But this was manifestly unjust. In later ages a conception grew up of separate compartments in Hades, one for the good and one for the bad. A higher development was to separate the two groups entirely and place them in different localities.

The blessed were sent to some islands in the regions of light, while the sinners were consigned to the lethal surroundings of the Inferum. Such was the belief of ancient nationalities.

But it cannot be predicated of any one that he was so pure and righteous that there was not some flaw or irregularity in his life-work ; nor that he was so bad that there was not some redeeming feature in all that he did or suffered.

While the former could not escape some tribulation or discipline in purgatory, the latter is not consigned to eternal perdition. The former, therefore, has to pass through Hades for expiation before he is qualified for admittance into the 'isles of the blessed.'

The Pâṇḍyan had to satisfy the law and had to pass through the temple of Thiruvidaimaruthur before the grace descended on him and he was privileged to behold (in the vision) his admission into *Siva-lokam*. The god of Madura, as his name suggests is the god of light, and he of Thiruvidaimaruthur presided over Hades.]

XI.

In the period when Kirtibhûshaṇa-Pâṇḍya ruled over the kingdom, the deluge supervened. The Tamil districts, Pâṇḍynâd included, were submerged. All living creatures were wiped out. After the waters were drained back into the ocean or sunk into the earth, the races were again re-created.

Vamśaśekhara-Pâṇḍya was the first monarch of the new creation.

The deluge had obliterated all traces of the boundaries of the city. The king was not able to discover the marks on the line of which the new walls to be raised were to be carried. He prayed to the god of Madura, who directed a serpent which was always wound up round his wrist to go down and delineate the boundaries.

The serpent wriggled out and proceeded eastwards, until he reached a certain point, where he stationed himself. He then elongated his tail to an enormous degree and carried it in a sort of circle round the old line of the city walls. When the delineation was completed, he got the tip of his tail into his mouth. The new walls were raised on this perimeter.

[This deluge was a local appropriation, something like Deucalion's. The alignment of the city's limits by the agency of the serpent is an adaptation of the symbolism of the

serpent as associated with the Thoth of Egypt and Phoenicia. In Dean Stanley Faber's *Origin of Pagan Idolatry* (1794 A. D.) we find the following:—"The Egyptians symbolised the world by a circle and placed in the centre of it a hawk-headed snake, denoting the world by the circle and by the snake the Agathodemon. Eusebius says that Taut (Thoth) was the reputed inventor of serpent-worship. Hence the hieroglyphic of the serpent and the egg was probably ascribed to him. This hieroglyphic looked very much like the Greek θ. It is probable that the form of the Greek letter θ was borrowed from this hieroglyphic: that the name of the letter itself as well as the name of the corresponding Hebrew or Phoenician letter 'Teth' is but a variation of Thoth or Taut."

The egg symbolised the universe and the serpent (the creator or demiurge) wound himself round it.

The symbol of the egg enfolded by the serpent was understood by the Phoenicians (Sanchoniatho in Cory's *Fragments*) as the union of Chaos and Ether. This union resulted in the creation of all things.

Thoth was the inventor of all handicrafts. He was the divine architect and presided over the construction of cities and towns. Any one who looks at the Hebrew alphabetic character Teth will be satisfied that it is an exact graphic representation of the figure described by the Madura serpent.

The claim may be extravagant but the intendment is clear that Madura is the universe in epitome and it is enfolded by the god in the form of his deputy the serpent.

Two of the thousand names of the great goddess in Sanskṛit have to be explained with reference to this symbolism. तकाररूपा : तत्रूपा They both mean the same thing, to wit, 'She of the form of the letter' त 'Ta', 'She of the form of तत् 'Theth'. The great mother in the serpent form entwines the mundane egg.

It would not be possible to account for the idea underlying these names by a reference to the form of the letter in Nâgarî or other local script. It can only be explained satisfactorily by going back to the Teth of Hebrew and the θ of Greek.]

XII.

Once upon a time, the god Somasundara was pleased to discourse to the goddess on the import of the Vedas. The goddess as might be presumed, was absent-minded or inattentive. The god took offence. He pronounced a curse that she should be born as the daughter of a fisherman. The goddess was sorely troubled and begged him to promise a speedy redemption from this state of degradation. He granted that the curse would be at an end when he should claim her in her new birth as his wife.

The sons of the goddess were naturally enraged at the treatment to which their mother was subjected. Siddhi-Vinâyaka, thinking that the Vedas were to blame, made a bundle of the cadjans and threw them into the sea. The younger son, Kumâra rushed in and pulled out a cadjan book from the hands of the god—that from which he had been expounding to the goddess—and threw it after the bundle removed by Vinâyaka.

The god was irate and wished to curse his first-born son, Siddhi-Vinâyaka. But he restrained himself, as he knew very well that any curse pronounced on this god would redound on the one who uttered it.

(To be continued.)

The goddesses Bahucharàji (or Bechràji) and Ambàji are sometimes worshipped for the sake of safety during childbirth. The ceremony of Nàndi-Shràddha which was performed when Ràma was born is sometimes gone through at the birth of a child.[1]

The deities of the forest reside in groves of trees or near the *Piludi* tree, to which their devotees must go in order to fulfil their vows.[2] These deities do not receive any formal worship. But they are noted for the cure of certain diseases, and the groves which they haunt are frequently visited by afflicted persons. These deities are installed in those places where they have manifested their powers.[3]

There is a belief that if unmarried persons touch *sindur* or red lead, a cobra deity of the forest, Kshetrapàl, takes them in marriage. But the danger can be averted by vowing to dedicate *khichaḍi*, red lead, a *dokado** and some fruit to this god at the time of marriage.[4]

1 The School Master of Jodia.
2 The School Master of Kolki.
3 Mr. K. D. Desai.
4 The School Master of Kolki.
* A ball of molasses and sesamum seeds mixed together.

CHAPTER III.

DISEASE DEITIES.

Such diseases as cholera and small-pox are believed to be brought on by the wrath of the Màtàs or Devis caused by neglecting to offer the usual oblations. In order to propitiate them, Bràhmans are engaged to recite the *Chandipàth* and to offer *havans* (sacrificial offerings). Very often the festival known as *ujani* is observed, in which all the villagers go outside the village to take their meals, and return home in the evening after witnessing the *àhuti* (the offering of cocoanuts to the sacrificial fire).*

Another belief personifies the diseases as *malin* or evil spirits who are fond of human prey. To ward them off, a *dhàrà-vàdi*, or stream of milk, is poured out in the village or a magic thread is passed round. The chariot† of the Màtà is driven through the village with the same object.[1]

There is a popular tradition that in ancient times cholera was subjugated by king Vikrama, and was buried underground. Once upon a time the British excavated the place in the belief that treasure was concealed there, and thus cholera was released. After many soldiers had fallen victims, the disease deity was at last propitiated by an oblation, and was handed over to the Bhangis (or scavengers).[2]

This association of the Bhangis with cholera is present in most of the beliefs current about the disease. There is a story that once upon a time a number of students had put up in a house by which a Bhangi was in the habit of passing frequently. He daily used to hear the students reciting the sacred texts and this produced in his mind the desire to become a Sanskrit scholar. For this purpose, having concealed his low birth, he went to Benares and by diligent study, soon became a *pandit*. He even married a girl of high caste. But his imposture being at last discovered, he burnt himself to death, and his ashes gave rise to the disease known as cholera.[3]

At the present day, if the epidemic breaks out, the Bhangis are often suspected in some way or other of having brought it about. It is said that they make statues of the flour of *adad* (phaseolus radiatus) and after piercing them with needles and pins, either throw them into the wells which are daily used by the villagers ‡ or bury them in a spot over which the people frequently pass. The whole affair is managed very secretly and at the dead of night. The slightest rumour of such proceedings causes a tumult in the village, and the Bhangis are then in danger of being severely handled by the enraged villagers.[4]

1 The School Master of Luvaria.

2 The School Master of Jodia.

3 The School Master of Kotda-Sangani.

4 The School Masters of Jodia, Dadvi, and Songadh.

* *Vide* Question 19.

† A small wooden car five or six inches long is covered over with a piece of cotton cloth and the wooden image of a Màtà—Khodiàr or Kàlkà—besmeared with red lead is placed upon it. This *rath* or chariot of the Màtà is then passed through the village on the shoulders of a low-caste person, who begs corn from door to door and afterwards places the image at the gates of the neighbouring village. From thence it is removed by the people of that village to the next village and so on till it reaches the sea.—Mr. K. D. Desai.

‡ Sometimes the statues of *adad* flour are besmeared with red lead and afterwards are boiled in dirty water. The whole of this preparation is then thrown into wells, the waters of which are used for drinking in the village.—The Schoolmaster of Songadh.

Another method by which the Bhangis are supposed to bring about cholera is to sprinkle the blood of a black cow on the image of Hanumàn. The god is deeply offended at the insult, and in consequence spreads cholera in the neighbourhood. For this reason, offerings are burnt before Hanumàn in order to stop an epidemic of cholera.[1]

Bhangis are also supposed by some to accomplish the same result by the help of *malin* or evil deities who are first gratified by the offering of victims.[2] One of such deities is Ràmdepir, to whom *bali-dàn* (offering of a victim) is made by the people, through the medium of Bhangis, for the prevention of cholera.[2]

An outbreak of cholera offers a good opportunity to the Bhangis, who extort dainties and small sums of money from the people. Persons attacked by cholera often seek the services of a Bhangi and promise him liberal gifts if they are cured. The latter generally treats his patients by tying a magical thread round their elbows.[3]

It is said that the Bhangis have to present an offering to their *malin* or evil goddess every third year, and that, in so doing, they kill a black animal before the goddess. They then place an iron pan full of sesamum oil on the fire, and suspend the body of the animal above it. It is believed that as many human beings will fall victims to cholera as the number of the drops of blood that fall from the body of the animal into the iron pan.[4]

Another deity whose wrath is supposed to be responsible for the breaking out of cholera is Mahàmàri Devi.[5] The worshippers of this goddess are Bhangis. She is believed to send forth cholera when her oblations are stopped,[6] and her favour is regained by renewing the offer of these oblations. Sometimes the *Navachandi* sacrifice is performed at the principal village-gates, and the *chandipàth* is recited at the other gates. A number of Bràhmans and virgins are also feasted, and presented with garments. A magic cotton thread is passed round the village and a *dhàrà-vàdi*, or stream of milk, is poured out. The *bhuvàs* go round the village playing upon the harsh unpleasant *danklan*. A goat is then taken to the temple of the Màtà, and the *bhuvàs*, after cutting out its tongue, dip their hands in its blood and strike them against the doors of the temple. The goat is then killed and similar blood-marks are made upon every door in the village as well as on the village-gates, where an iron nail is driven into the ground with an incantation. A lime is then cut, and an oblation is offered to the Màtà. Such a process is believed to stop the progress of the epidemic.[6]

Other deities connected in popular belief with cholera are the goddesses Visuchikà[7] and Chandikà.[8] Visuchikà is conciliated by burnt offerings : the recitation of the *chandipàth* wins the favour of Chandikà. There is also a giantess named Karkatà who is supposed to be responsible for cholera. She is said to have sprung from the sweat on the forehead of Brahmà and to reside in the *chandra mandal* (or lunar sphere).[9]

One of the remedies adopted to stop an epidemic of cholera is to propitiate Shiva by the performance of *Rudrayàg*,* *Mahàrudra*,* *Shatachandi*,* *Homahavan* and by bestowing gifts on Bràhmans and other holy

1 The School Master of Dadvi.
2 The School Master of Chhatrasa.
3 The School Master of Jodia.
4 The School Master of Mendarda.
5 The School Master of Movaiya.
6 The School Master of Vanod.
7 The School Masters of Devalia and Vasavad.
8 The Shastri of Jetpur Pathshala.
9 The School Master of Charadwa.

* These are different sacrifices, the first two in honour of Shiva, the third in honour of the goddess Chandi.

men.[1] Sometimes vows are observed with the same object in honour of a minor local deity named Lala Hardev.[2] Another method of driving off the disease is to convey it to the body of a goat or a ram, or a he-buffalo, and to drive the animal out of the village.[3]

Small-pox is believed to be the act of the goddess Shitalà Màtà, who spreads the disease whenever she is desirous of having victims.[4] Thus, in cases of small-pox, the patient very often receives no medical treatment, the only remedies adopted being directed towards the propitiation of the Màtà.* A number of vows are taken in the Màtà's name, to be fulfilled after the patient has recovered. Many people accomplish their vows before the Shitalà Màtà at Kalavad in Jàmnagar. A vow to visit this place after the patient's recovery, and to abstain from certain things till the day of the visit, is taken by the mother of the affected person in case of a severe attack. But almost every village contains a temple of Shitalà Màtà, and those, who cannot go to Kalavad, vow in the name of the local Màtà.[4] One of such vows is to go to the temple of the Màtà with a burning hearth on the head.[4] Such a vow is generally undertaken by the patient's mother.

Ordinarily in a case of small-pox, the patient is not allowed to bathe till he is completely free from all traces of the disease. A bath is then given on a Sunday, a Tuesday, or a Thursday, with water which has been heated by being placed in the sun. An image of Shitalà Màtà is set up in the house near the water room, and the patient worships the image after the bath. The image is drawn in cowdung with two cotton seeds to represent the eyes. An offering of *kulera* † and curds is made to the goddess. Five virgins are invited to dinner, and are served with cold food. All the members of the household also partake of cold food. On the 7th or the 13th day of the bright half of a month the patient is taken to the temple of Shitalà Màtà, when a cocoanut is broken in the presence of the goddess. Half of the cocoanut is brought home, the other half being carried away by the Màtà's attendant. Some people place a new earthen vessel filled with water near the goddess. Silver eyes, which may be worth anything between half an anna and half a rupee, are dedicated to the Màtà.[4]

The first visit to the Màtà should take place on a Sunday or a Tuesday. The things vowed to the goddess are dedicated on this occasion. It is also necessary to go to the goddess again on the next Tuesday or Thursday after the first visit. This time only water and red lac are offered.[5]

During the course of the disease no low-caste person and no woman in her monthly course is allowed to cast his or her shadow on the patient.[4] The women in the house are prohibited from combing their hair, or churning curdled milk, or indulging in sexual intercourse. Such acts are believed to cause extreme displeasure to the Màtà, who then causes some limb of the patient to be affected. Branches of *nimb* leaves are suspended over the doors of the house, and also round the patient's bed. The same leaves are used to fan the patient.[4]

[1] The School Master of Ganod.
[2] The School Master of Dhànk.
[3] The School Master of Dadvi.
[4] The School Master of Jodia.
[5] Mr. K. D. Desài.

* The patient is often entirely made over to the Màtà and is again purchased from her at a nominal price of a rupee and a quarter. —Mr. K. D. Desài.

† A mixture of the flour of *bajri*, ghi, and molasses.

When a child suffers from the disease, it is often weighed against dates, which are first dedicated to the goddess, and then distributed amongst the poor.[1] The child is taken to bow down before the goddess after nine or ten days from the date of attack, and the mother of the child offers several things to the Màtà, among which are grapes, sugar, a pinch of flour, a small earthen bowl full of water, and a blank sheet of paper.[2]

Different things are dedicated to the goddess according as the disease affects one part of the body or another. For instance, flour of *bàjrà* or *juvàri* is offered in case of bronchitis; silver models of the human eye when the disease affects the eyes; a *goras* (a black earthen vessel full of curds) in case of morbid heat; a piece of black paper, in high fever, and salt if there is an itching sensation.[3] The Màtà is said to live on cold food and to be very fond of things which have a cooling effect such as fruits, sugar, etc. The same things are given to the patient as food.[4]

To secure the protection of Shitalà Màtà for their children, women annually observe the vow of *shili sàtem* on the 7th day of the dark half of *Shràvan*. On this day the Màtà is said to visit every house and to roll herself on the hearth. No fire is, therefore, lighted in the hearth on this day: for if the Màtà comes and is scorched by the fire she is sure to bring misfortune on that household. For this reason, a number of dainties and all the food necessary for the day is prepared on the previous day. On the day of *shili sàtem*, *juvàri* seeds are spread on the hearth, and after being sprinkled with red lac, a cowdung bowl containing a plant called *vaṇa* is placed upon them. The women of the house bathe with cold water and take only one meal during the day. They further abstain from sewing and embroidering during that day. Sometimes a Bràhman is engaged to recite the *Shitala shloka* from a book called Rudrayàmal.[5]

The following legend is related of *shili sàtem*. A certain woman once forgot to extinguish the fire in her hearth on *Ràndhan Chhetha* (lit. cooking sixth), *i. e.*, the day previous to *shili sàtem*. On the next day, the Màtà was scorched in the stomach when she came to roll herself on the hearth. In extreme anger the goddess cursed the woman saying that her only son would be burnt to death; and immediately the boy died. In her anguish the unfortunate mother confessed her fault to a friend, who advised her to go to the jungle and entreat the Màtà to give back her son. She found the goddess rolling in distress under a *bàbul* tree. The woman slowly approached her, and began to comb out the Màtà's hair. She then placed her son in the Màtà's lap and entreated the goddess to revive the boy. The Màtà felt much relieved by the woman's attentions and blessed her saying that her bosom should be as quiet as her own head. Immediately, at these words, the boy revived, to the intense joy of his mother.[6]

Women whose relatives have recovered from a dangerous attack of small-pox observe a vow on every *sàtem*, *i. e.*, the 7th day of the dark half of every month. They first bathe with cold water and, after offering an oblation of *kulerà*, take their meals only once during the day. This food has to be prepared on the previous day.

Shitalà Màtà is described as riding an ass in a nude state with the half of a *supadun* (a winnowing fan) for an umbrella and with a swing in one hand, and a broom in the other.[7] But more usually the Màtà is represented by a mere trunkless head* in

[1] The School Master of Jodia.
[2] The School Master of Sayala.
[3] The Deputy Educational Inspector of Hàlàr.
[4] The School Master of Zinzuwada.
[5] The School Masters of Dhànk and Ganod.
[6] The School Master of Vanod.
[7] The School Master of Ganod.

stone, besmeared with red lead. This is said to be the head of Babhrivàhan, the son of Bhìma* the second of the Pàndavas by a Nàg mother. At the time of the Great War, he was sent by his mother from his residence in the *pàtàl* (the regions below this world) to assist his father, and as he did not know the Pàndavas, he was asked to join the weaker side. On coming to the earth he first met with Krishna who took a promise from him to lop his own head off. In return, Krishna promised him that he would be immortal, invisible and worshipped by all, and the head was set up on the flag of the Pàndavas. This head began to trouble the Pàndavas after their victory, and could only be quieted by the promise of Krishna to have him recognised as a deity with unlimited powers. This head afterwards came to be known as the controller of small-pox. How the head of the male Babhrivàhan came to be identified with Shitalà Màtà, it is difficult to explain.[1]

There is a tradition that a Kunbi once recovered his eyesight, lost in an attack of small-pox, by worshipping Shitalà Màtà, and by vowing not to tie his lock of hair till his blindness was cured.[2]

It is said that the powderlike substance which falls from the scabs of small-pox cures cataract if applied to the eyes.[2]

Daksha Prajàpati once celebrated a great sacrifice, but did not invite his son-in-law Shiva. The latter was extremely enraged at the insult, and eight sorts of fever were in consequence produced by his breath at that time.[3] According to another story *zàr* or fever was created by Shiva in order to assist the demon Bànàsur in his contest with god Krishna, and it can be cured by the recitation of a piece called Ushàharan, from the *Harivansha.*[4] Some persons attribute fever to the wrath of Vishnu, and declare that it can be avoided by the recitation of *Vishnu-sahasranàma.*[5] Others believe it to be due to the anger of Shiva, and say that it can be cured by pouring a stream of water over the image of Shiva, by offering *bel* leaves (*Aegle marmelos*) to him, and by reciting the *Mrityunjaya mantra* in his honour.[6] Others again ascribe it to the displeasure of the gods Hari† and Har,† saying that the heat is caused by the wrath of Shiva.[7]

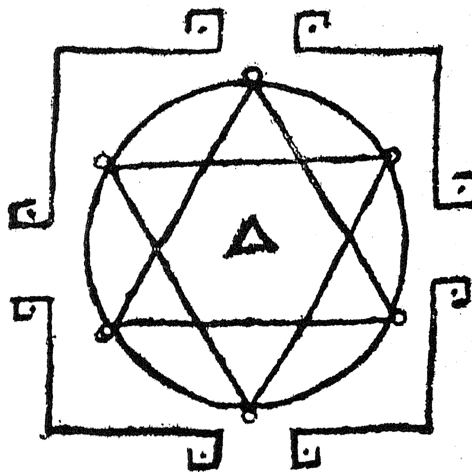
The following are some of the remedies adopted in cases of fever:

(i) The recitation of sacred hymns in honour of the gods.

(ii) The worship of Narsinh.‡

(iii) Rudràbhishek—pouring a stream of water on the image of Shiva with the recitation of verses in his honour.

(iv) Drawing the *jantra* of Mrityunjaya (*lit.* Death-conquering, an epithet of Shiva), as shown below.



[1] Mr. K. D. Desài.
[2] The School Master of Jodia.
[3] The School Master of Sanka.
[4] The Mistress of Rajkot, Civil Station Girls' School.
[5] The School Master of Ganod.
[6] The Shastri of Jetpur Pathshàla.
[7] The School Master of Charadwa.

* Babhrivàhan was not the son of Bhima, he was the son of Arjun by Chitrangadà, a princess of Manipur.
† Names of Vishnu and Shiva respectively.
‡ The half-man and half-lion incarnation of Vishnu.

(v) Tying a magic thread round the arm.[1] On a Sunday or a Tuesday a woollen thread or a piece of five-coloured silken thread is taken to a *bàvà* or a *jogi*, who mutters a few mystic words, and makes seven knots in the thread. The thread is treated with frank-incense, and then tied round the arm.[2]

Periodical fevers are believed to be under the control of certain spirits. There is a story connected with almost every sort of fever, and it is believed that a person who listens to such a story is cured of fever.[3] The following legend is connected with *ekànterio*—intermittent fever occurring on alternate days. Once a Bania, on his way to a village, came across a banyan tree where he unyoked his bullocks and went to a distance to seek for water. Ekànterio (the spirit controlling intermittent fever) resided on this tree, and when the Bania had gone sufficiently far he stole from behind the tree and carried away the Bania's carriage together with his family. The Bania was much surprised to miss them on his return, but he soon found out the author of the trick, and pursued Ekànterio. That spirit however would not listen to the Bania's entreaties to return his carriage, and the matter was at last referred for arbitration to Bochki Bai. The latter decided in favour of the Bania, and confined Ekànterio in a bamboo tube. He was released on the condition that he would never attack those persons who listen to this story.[4]

There is a flower garden to the west of Jodia where there is a tree called *ghelun* (mad) tree. Vows in honour of this tree are believed to be efficacious in curing fever.[4]

It has been already said above that such epidemic diseases as cholera or the plague are supposed to be the result of the sinister practices of the Bhangis. There is a belief that the Bhangis sometimes prepare an image out of the flour of *adad* (phaseolus radiatus) and pierce it with needles, and it is said that for every hole made in the image one human being falls a victim to some epidemic disease. Such an image is sometimes placed in an earthen vessel and buried underground in a public way so that every passer-by treading on the spot where it is buried may be attacked by some disease. Or it is thrown into the well which is most used by village people, with the object that all persons drinking water from the well may perish by the disease.[5]

The Bhangis are also accused of causing an epidemic by means of boiling the ear of a buffalo and the flesh of an ox together in one vessel, it being believed that the virulence of the disease varies in proportion to the extent to which the boiling proceeds. This process is supposed to cause a disease among cattle also.[6]

Another belief is that the Bhangis charm seeds of *adad* and cloves by repeating magic incantations over them, and afterwards strew them on a highway in order that those who step on them may be attacked by cholera or some similar disease.[7] One motive suggested for such action is that they are thereby likely to receive their garments, which would be used for covering the bodies.[8] Also at the outbreak of such an epidemic, clothes, cocoanuts, ghi, molasses, wheat flour, etc., are offered by the people to the Bhangis, who in return give a *dorà*, a piece of thread, of black wool to be worn by the afflicted persons.[9]

But apart from such beliefs, the appearance of an epidemic is also attributed to other causes. There is the usual belief that it is caused by the diminution of virtue and the increase of sin among people and the

1 The School Master of Dhànk.
2 The School Master of Zinzuvàda.
3 Mr. K. D. Desài.
4 The School Master of Jodia.
5 Mr. K. D. Desài.
6 The Deputy Educational Inspector of Gohelwad.
7 The School Master of Rajpara.
8 The School Master of Jasdan.
9 The School Master of Rajpara.

consequent wrath of the gods, who are only propitiated by the people again reverting to righteous ways and by the performance of sacrifices in their honour.[1]

There is also a belief that the sixty-four Joganis, when they are desirous of victims, cause baneful epidemics among mankind, the remedies in such a case being such as offering a goat or a he-buffalo to them, or the observation of an *ujàni* in their honour.

The following tale is related regarding an occurrence said to have taken place not long ago in the village of Verad. The headman of the village who was a Rajput by birth but who had lost his caste owing to irregular conduct with a woman, died of fever, and as he was an outcaste his body was buried instead of being cremated. Soon after, a number of persons in the same village happened to die of the same fever and the people conjectured that the late *patel's* corpse must be lying in its grave with its face downwards chewing the *khahan* (? perhaps *kaphan, i. e.* the cloth in which a corpse is wrapped). Many thought that the health of the village would not be restored until the corpse was replaced in the correct position with its face upwards and unless the *khapan* was taken out of its mouth. But none ventured to do so, being dissuaded by the fear of meeting with a worse fate.

But although they did not open the grave yet they arranged for certain vows to be taken in honour of the dead man, and that put a stop to the disease.[2]

Another story from the same place is that when small-pox once raged furiously in that village, the people of the place celebrated a magnificent feast of dainties prepared of wheat-flour, ghi, molasses, rice and pulse, and afterwards the Dheds of the village lopped off the head of a dead he-buffalo, burying it at the spot where the feast was held.[3]

The remedies adopted for the abatement of epidemic diseases have already been mentioned above, the most common being the winding of a cotton-thread, the pouring out of *dhàràvàdi, i.e.*, milk, in the village, and the taking of the *rath* of the Màtà in a procession beyond the village boundary, the epidemic being supposed to be expelled in the *rath*. In the last case, after the *rath* has been taken to the neighbouring village, a charmed peg is sometimes driven into the ground near the village boundary to prevent the epidemic from crossing back again.[4]

Mention has already been made of the deities which protect the cattle and to whose displeasure diseases among cattle are attributed. It is said that such diseases are very common during the *vishi* of Shiva. A cycle of twenty years is called a *vishi*, three such cycles making a complete *samvatsar* of sixty years. Each of such *vishis* is presided over and named after each of the three gods of the Trinity, Brahmà, Vishnu and Shiva. The *vishi* of Brahmà is characterized by protection and creation, that of Vishnu by growth and that of Shiva by destruction, the last often bringing on such calamities as plague, famine and diseases among cattle.[5]

The following are some of the remedies practised by the village people in the case of certain cattle-diseases.

In the case of such diseases as *movà kharavà* or the like, there is a practice of burying a plough near one's gates, which is afterwards covered with dust gathered from three streets and is worshiped with a branch of a tree, a plate of iron and red lead. This ceremony has to be performed either on a Sunday or a Tuesday, and the man who performs it has to remain naked at the time.[6]

For the cure of *valo* (a diseas[illegible] the throat is inflamed), pieces of the stalk of *kukad-vel* (a kind of creeper) are tied

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[1] The School Master of Kotda-Sangani.
[2] The School Master of Devalia.
[3] The School Master of Devalia.
[4] The School Master of Sanka.
[5] The School Master of Ganod.
[6] The School Master of Dhànk.

KOLLIPAKA.

BY LEWIS RICE, C.I.E.

A PLACE of this name, and one evidently of some importance, is mentioned in inscriptions, chiefly in connexion with the wars of the Chôlas against the Western Châlukyas in the 12th century. But, so far as I am aware, it has not hitherto been identified.

A record at the Tanjore temple, of the 6th year of Râjêndra Chôla (1018 A. D.), says that he conquered Kollippâkkai, whose walls were surrounded by *Suḷḷi* trees or bushes (SII, ii, 90). A similar statement is made in a record at Nandigunda, in the Nanjangûḍ tâluq of Mysore (EC, iii, Nj 134), whose date is the Śaka year 943 (1021 A. D.). In this the name is Kollipâke. It occurs again in a record at Taḍi Mâlingi, in the Tirumakûḍal Narsipur tâluq of Mysore (EC, iii, TN 34), of the same king's 10th year. This being in Tamil, the place is again called Kollippâkkai. Yet another, of his 12th year, on the Tirumalai hill in North Arcot (SII, i, 95) repeats the same. In a revised version (EI, ix, 233) the phrase 'surrounded with *Śuḷḷi* trees' is rendered 'surrounded with brushwood.' In support of this, the *Dictionnaire Tamoul-Français* is quoted, which gives for *Śuḷḷi* a meaning—'*broutilles, menu bois sec pour brûler*,' and it is suggested that this was perhaps done by the besieging Chôla army when setting fire to the city. But there is no mention of its being burnt until more than 20 years later.

The next mention of the place is in a Haḷa Kannaḍa record at Bhairanmaṭṭi, in the Bijapur District of Bombay (EI, iii, 230). It states that in the Śaka year 955 (1033-4 A. D.) the Western Châlukya king Jagadêkamalla (Jayasimha II) was reigning *Kollipâkeya biḍinoḷ*, in the camp or residence of Kollipâke. Somewhat later, a record of 1045 at Belgâmi, in the Shikârpur tâluq of Mysore (EC, vii, Sk 323), of the time of the Western Châlukya king Trailôkyamalla (Sômêśvara I), gives to a governor under him the titles—'guardian of Kollipâke' (*Kollipâkeya kâvam*) as well as 'door of the south region' (*dakshiṇa-diśâ-kavâṭam*). The latter would seem more appropriate to the place.

We then come to Tamil records of 1046 A. D. at Gangavârapaḷḷi, in the Dêvanhaḷḷi tâluq of Mysore (EC, ix, Dv 75), and at Maṇimaṅgalam, in the Conjeeveram tâluq of Madras (SII, iii, 51), of the time of the Chôla king Râjâdhiraja. He, in a war against Âhavamalla (the Western Châlukya Sômêśvara I), is said to have caused Kollippâkkai of the enemies to be consumed by fire.

Then follows a Telugu record at Chebrolu, in the Bâpaṭla tâluq of Kistna District (EI, vi, 233). It is of the Śaka year 1049 (1127 A. D.), the 9th year of Vikrama Chôla. A feudatory of his, named Nambaya, is styled 'lord of the city of Kollipâka' and was governor of the Six Thousand country on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇavennâ river.

The last mention is found in copper plates at the British Museum, obtained by Sir Walter Elliot in the Chingleput tâluq of Madras (EI, iv, 1). They are of the time of the Vijayanagar king Sadâśiva Râya, and are dated in the Śaka year 1478 (1566 A. D.). They are composed in Sanskrit, and record a grant of 31 villages, made at the request of Râma Râja, the ruler of the Karnâṭa kingdom, on behalf of a prince named Koṇḍarâja, to a great sage Râmânuja, for the worship of the god Vishṇu and the support of his devotees.

A good portion of the plates is occupied with details of the villages, and among these is named Kolpâka, described as *grâmam pratîtam cha manôharam,* famous and beautiful.

Until now I had been disposed, merely on hearsay, to identify it with Ujjini, on the Mysore-Bellary border, one of the five *simhâsanas* of the Lingâyats. But I had not been able to visit the place to verify this. The question, however, seems at last to have arrived at a solution in a recent issue of the *Times of India* newspaper (14th April). Special interest attaches to an account given in it of a visit to what is called 'Kolipak—the Benares of the South', and there seems little doubt that it must be the place referred to in the foregoing records. It is said to be a fairly big village, situated 'about 4 miles to the north-west of Aler, a station on the Bezwada line of the N. G. S. Railway, and 42 miles from Secunderabad, in the Jâgîr of Nawâb Behram-ud-Daulah Bahâdûr.'

An ancient Jain temple there of the Svêtâmbaras has lately been restored with liberal expenditure by Mr. Heerachand Poonamchand, an enterprising and wealthy Jaina Sowcar of Secunderabad. The temple is said to have been founded in the 7th century by a 'Râja Shankar of the Châlukya dynasty.' A number of stone slabs, bearing fragmentary inscriptions in Sanskrit characters, were unearthed during the reconstruction. They are said to be not earlier than the 14th century, and to relate to former restorations of the temple. They have now been built into the walls.

To the south-west, across a narrow channel of water, is a large Siva temple of Sômêśvara, where also there are inscriptions, from which it is estimated to be about a thousand years old. South-east, inside the village, is a Vishṇu temple of Vîra Nârâyanasvâmi. The people believe it to have once been a Saiva temple, but it has been Vaishṇava since at least the 11th century, as is evident from a stone inscription found within of the Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI. Passing on eastward, a small Hanuman shrine is met with, and on the bank of the dried up stream is a fluted monolith column with a square base inscribed, having in relief at the bottom the figure of a 'Jina with *chauri*-bearers.' Various shrines are scattered about, mostly Saiva. One, which is resorted to by the tailors, has behind the *linga* a stone statuette of a bearded person with high dress. This image has, carved by his side, a pair of scissors!

Last is a solitary column on the mound in the tank, about 25 feet high, with a long inscription on the four sides of its square base. One side is hopelessly abraded: those that are legible indicate that it was a *kîrti-stambha* erected in 1125 A. D. by Sômêśvara-Dêva, son of the reigning sovereign, the illustrious Vikramâditya of the Châlukya dynasty. Kollipâka is said in it to be a *râjadhâni* or capital, and was probably the residence of the heir apparent. During four generations of the Châlukya kings of Kalyâṇa it seems to have retained its importance, and in the 14th century formed part of the kingdom of Pratâpa Rudra, the most illustrious of the Kâkaṭiya sovereigns of Warangal.

The place is about midway between the old capitals Warangal and Golkoṇḍa, and I think enough evidence has been collected to show that it is of special historical interest. It is to be hoped that an effort will be made in the Archæological Department to obtain trustworthy copies of the various inscriptions said to exist there, which seem calculated to throw light on many obscure points.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASOKACHALLA.

BY S. KUMAR, M.R.A.S., CALCUTTA.

In the issue for November, 1913, of this *Journal*, Mr. Râmaprasâd Chanda has contributed a note on the *Age of Śrî-Harsha*, in which among other things, he has tried to prove that the king Aśokavalla (*sic*, for Aśokacalla) of Sapâdalakṣha cannot be placed at an earlier date than the latter half of the thirteenth century. So that, assuming the approximate date of the fall of Lakṣhmaṇasena, as he understands the expression *Lakṣhmaṇasenasyâtîta-râjya* to mean, to be 1200 A. D., he concludes that the two records of Aśokavalla (*sic*) dated 51 and 74 in the *atîta-râjya* era of Lakṣhmaṇasena, are to be assigned to 1251 and 1274 A. D. respectively. This conclusion turns upon the date of Lakṣhmaṇasena. Mr. Chanda assumes that the records are dated 51 and 74 years respectively after the fall of Lakṣhmaṇasena, *i. e.*, the initial year of this era was the year of his fall. I have already tried to point out the fact that an inauspicious event had never been commemorated by the institution of an era.[1]

By a comparison of the almanacs and the copper plate-grant of Śivasiṁha of Mithilâ, General Cunningham came to the conclusion, though not an accurate one, that the initial year of Lakṣhmaṇasena's era falls in the year 1106 A. D., and that these records being referred to the above era would point to 1157 and 1180 respectively. The error in this calculation was due to the fact that too much reliance was placed on data, which, owing to some unknown mistake in calculation, did not actually agree with one another. General Cunningham himself felt much diffidence in counting the result he thus arrived at as absolutely correct.

Prof. Kielhorn in the 19th volume of this *Journal* has definitely ascertained from various data, which it would be needless to repeat here, that the initial year of the era of Lakṣhmaṇasena falls on 1119-1120 A. D.

Prof. Kielhorn has also referred to a passage in the *Akbarnâma* of 'Abu'l-Faḍl, to which his attention was drawn by Mr. Beveridge in the course of his preparing a translation of the work for the *Bibliotheca Indica*, which indisputably supports his views. It is this :—

"It is also apparent that within the imperial dominions diverse eras are followed by the people of India. For example, in Bengal, the era dates from the beginning of the reign of Lachman Sen, from which date till now 465 years have elapsed."[2]

Now, if this statement be correct, and undoubtedly 'Abu'l-Faḍl was well-informed about the current local date, the number of years mentioned in the passage in *Lakṣhmaṇa-saṁvat*, added to 1119-1120 would be 1584-1585 A. D., *i.e.*, A. H. 992-993 roughly. This takes us to the latter part of Akbar's reign, the period during which this part of the *Akbar-nâma* was written.

Further ground is afforded by the next passage :—

"In Gujrat and the Deccan the Śâlivâhana (*sic*, for Saka) era prevails of which this is the 1506th year. Deducting 465 from 1506 we get 1041, the approximate date in Saka era of the accession of Lakṣhmaṇasena."

This view is also further strengthened by the sentence occurring next to the one quoted above :—

"In Malwa and Delhi, etc., the era of Bikramajît (*sic*, for Vikramâditya) is current, of which there have been now 1641 years."

Now, 1641 − 465 = 1176 in Vikrama Saṁvat corresponding to 1040-41 Saka year. So that, 1176-1177 V. S. would be equivalent to 1119-1120 A. D., the year of Lakṣhmaṇasena's

[1] *Ante*. XLII, 186.

[2] Bev. *Trans*. (*Bib. Ind.*) II. 21-22.

accession to the throne of Bengal and the initial year of his era which after his death came to be designated as his *atîtarâjya* era.

There seems to be no difference whatever between the expressions *Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat* (*i. e.*, Lakshmaṇasena's era) and *Lakshmaṇa-senasyâtîtarâjya* era. The *pûrvanipâta* of the word *atîta* in the compound *atîtarâjya* is rather significant. The word *atîta* is treated in this compound as unimportant, if not altogether meaningless, and has no syntactical relation with what follows the compound. The attention is generally arrested by the word *râjya*. We cannot interpret *atîtarâjya* as meaning *râjye atîte sati*. What would be apparent to one who is acquainted with Sanskrit is that it refers to the beginning of a regnal period which has already come to an end.

In course of time, as Prof. Kielhorn rightly observes, such phrases as *atîtarâjya* are apt to become meaningless, and probably it was already so, in the case of *Lakshmaṇasenasyâtîta-râjya*, when the inscriptions in question were incised. Instances are not rare of the use of such meaningless and redundant phrases. In Bendall's *Catalogue of Sanskrit Buddhist Manuscripts*, p. 70, a manuscript is dated *Śrîmad-Vikramâditya-devapâdânâm-atîta-râjye saṁ* 1503. One acquainted with the materials hitherto collected for a history of the Pâla dominion in Bengal would be reminded of such *atîta-râjya saṁvats* used in inscriptions and colophons of manuscripts executed during the period.

Mr. Chanda refers to *Dânasâgara* as the landmark in the Sena chronology, and bases his theory on the date of composition of this work. He has brought forward also other literary evidences for substantiating the theory advocated by him. They include among others the *Adbhûtasâgara*, which is said to have been written by Vallâlasena.

The manuscripts quoted above have already been examined in detail in the *J. A. S. B.*, 1913, pp. 274-276. The manuscripts quoted in support of the theory are only modern copies. We are of opinion that the *Dânasâgara* and the *Adbhutasâgara*, probably never formed parts of the original works of Vallâlasena. Instances are not rare of works composed by unknown scholars and attributed to some luminaries in spheres other than literary. In the case of these works, perhaps the name of a king no longer alive, who figured not altogether unworthily in the contemporary political history of the land, was perhaps put down as their author in order to ensure their popularity. These manuscripts cannot also be supposed to have escaped clever and ingenious interpolation by shrewd and unscrupulous Brahmans. Vallâlasena could not have spoken about himself as *Nikhila-chakra-tilaka*, or as *Gauḍendra-kuñjar-âlâna-stambha-vâhur-mahîpatiḥ*. In attributing these works to Vallâlasena, probably the authors either out of carelessness did not antedate their works so as to make them synchronous with the regnal period of Vallâlasena, or had no exact idea of the Śaka year which would come within the lifetime of the sovereign. Any way, their composition was certainly undertaken long after Vallâlasena's death, and at a period when people would not care much for the exact synchronism of events or the historicity of the achievements of an idealised sovereign, when a popular idol had already been removed from the real matter-of-fact world and historical accounts about him had been giving way to legends. To return to our arguments, evidence based on modern copies of manuscripts only cannot be matched against the testimony of contemporary epigraphic records, and in the present case, this piece of literary evidence is not based on any reliable authority.

In the light of such facts as enumerated above, Prof. Kielhorn was probably right in not changing the dates of the Gayâ inscriptions of Aśokavalla (*sic*) in his *List of dated Inscriptions of Northern India*. The conclusion drawn by Mr. Chanda that the era of Lakshmaṇa-

sena began with his fall in 1200 A. D. is rather untenable. In April, 1911, an inscription was discovered on the base of an image of the goddess Chaṇḍî at Dâlbâzâr in the town of Dacca[3]. The inscription is dated year 3 in the Lakshmaṇasena era. In it, the absence of such expressions as *gata* or *atîta* definitely proves that the inscription was incised during the regnal period of Lakṣhmaṇasena, so that the era on which so much has been discussed and so many wise and ingenious theories have been propounded was certainly initiated on the installation of Lakṣhmaṇasena. That Lakṣhmaṇasena came to the throne in 1119-1120 A. D. has been definitely proved by the corroboration of 'Abu'l-Faḍl. The use of the Lakṣhmaṇa-saṁvat 74 in the inscription of Aśokavalla (*sic*), also definitely shows that in the 74th year of the era, Gayâ and the surrounding country were in possession of the Senas of Bengal. If the conclusion that Lakṣhmaṇasena came to the throne in 1119-1120 A. D. be correct, then he could not have lived till 1200 A. D., which is regarded by Mr. Chanda as the approximate date of his fall. In the Madhainagar copper plate grant (*J. A. S. B.* 1909) it has been hinted that Lakṣhmaṇasena, when still a *kumâra*, led an expedition against the Kaliṅgas. This must have been when he had already attained his youth and was capable of leading an expeditionary force into a foreign land. So that, this was when he might be assumed to be at least 20 years of age. Now, as he was called to the throne afterwards, it would not be altogether absurd to assume that he must have been at least 22 years of age when he was invested with the regnal authority. Then in 1200 A. D. Lakṣhmaṇasena should have attained 22 + 81 = 103 years, which is almost a physical impossibility and even against all supposition.

Neither do we know of a second era instituted in 1200 A. D. in commemoration of the Turkish raid; and if any were instituted, the death of Lakṣhmaṇasena taking place earlier, it would not be styled *Lakṣhmaṇasenasyâtîtarâjya* era. So the argument in favour of the inauguration of a new era in commemoration of the fall of Lakṣhmaṇasena in 1200 A. D. does not seem to be valid. Facts and reason equally point to the possibility of promulgating an era on the occasion of his accession, which took place when he has already attained his manhood in 1119-1120 A. D., and in absence of a second era we may safely believe, at least in the present state of our knowledge of the materials for the history of Bengal, that the *atîtarâjyasaṁvat* of Lakṣhmaṇasena is the same as the *Lakṣhmaṇa-saṁvat.*

Next comes the Nirvâṇa year of 1813. This is a bit more complicated. There is a good deal of difference in the opinions hitherto held with regard to the initial year of this era. According to the chronicles of Ceylon and Burma, the *Nirvâṇa* took place in 544 B. C. But referring to the accession of Aśoka, which took place 218 years after the Nirvâṇa, an error of 66 years would be apparent. In fact, in Northern India the true date of the Nirvâṇa was lost sight of at a very early period. Hieun-Thsang gives an account of wide divergence in the opinions held with regard to the initial year of this era, which ranged from 250 to 850 B. C. According to Fa-Hian it was in B. C. 770, or thereabout. Again, from the data of the *Purâṇas*, we see that Aśoka came to the throne between 311-312 years after the Nirvâṇa. With such wide disagreement in premises, there cannot be any definiteness in conclusion. Mr. Chanda, following Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909, 1911 and 1912), concludes that an era starting from B. C. 544, an innovation of the Ceylon Buddhists of the 11th century, was adopted by the Burmese and imported in the inscription of Aśokavalla (*sic*). Well, the chance of such borrowing in the case of the inscription of Purushottama, a chief of Northern India (Kamâ country) is far too rare; and the more so, in the case of an innovated era of the 11th century which, perhaps, did not attain, so soon, such a wide popularity as would impart

[3] *J. A. S. B.* 1913, 290.

to the supposition of Dr. Fleet and Mr. Chanda even the appearance of plausibility. Dr. Bhagwánlâl Indrajî[4] thought that the Pegu era of B. C. 638 was adopted in this inscription. This supposition would perhaps be nearer to the mark, but it is a singular instance of borrowing, and up till now no inscription has been found with a parallel instance of date borrowed from Burma or Pegu. The suggestion of Dr. Bhagwânlâl Indrajî has been rejected by Dr. Fleet, who has launched another surmise which fails to carry conviction. To us it appears that the Burmese era of B. C. 544 is as bad a supposition as the Pegu era of B. C. 638.

The conclusion of Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1909) that there must have been two Aśokavallas (*sic*) reigning in Sapâdalakṣha in the latter half of the 12th century does not appear to be well-grounded. The inscription No. 1 dated the year 1813 of the Nirvâṇa era does not, he says, mention that its king "Aśokavalla" (*sic*) was a Buddhist. But it states that "Purushottama," a king of Kamâ (Kumaon) country, seeing that the religion of Buddha was in decadance, sought the help of two neighbouring kings, King Aśokacalla (read by Dr. Fleet and General Cunningham as Aśokavalla) of the Sapâdalakṣa (Savalakh) mountains and the King of the Chindas, and restored the religion to its pure state. "If Aśokacalla (Dr. Fleet's Aśokavalla) had not been a Buddhist, he would not have taken an interest in the religious work of Purushottama, and the latter could not have sought his help in the work of "restoration of the religion of Buddha to its purity." Moreover, the very mention of the name of Aśokachalla (Dr. Fleet's Aśokavalla) in such an inscription and in such a record shows that he cannot be other than a Buddhist.

The inscription No. 3 dated in the year 74 of the Lakshmaṇasena era, says Dr. Fleet, mention is made of *Jinendra*, which he understands to refer to Mahâvîra, the 24th Tîrthaṅkara. But referring to *Mahâvyutpatti* one can easily find that *Jina* is also an epithet of Buddha, to whom it is very often applied in the *Mahâyâna Sutras*. But we have further to add that the word is not *Jinendra* at all, *Hevajra*, but which is exclusively a Buddhist name. The passage reads as follows :—

Hevajra-charaṇ-âravinda-makaranda-madhukara-phalakâra.

With regard to the inscription No. 4 from Gopeśvara, Dr. Fleet has been misled by the mention of Śiva and his trident, and conjectures that Aśokavalla (*sic*) was a Śaiva. But the bare mention of Śiva and his trident does not warrant us at all in passing any decisive judgment on his religious belief and locating him in the niche of Saivism. A 12th-century Buddhist was not very particular about the gods he worshipped, and chose them indiscriminately from the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons.

Finally the reading Aśokavalla is certainly erroneous. The inscription dated the year 1813 in the Nirvâṇa era and the one dated the year 74 in the *Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat* have Aśokachalla. It is only in the other inscriptions, which have been very carelessly incised and are abounding in mistakes, that the name Aśokavalla appears. We have every reason to reject the latter as unreliable and to adopt the form that appears in the inscriptions which are more neatly and carefully executed. In fact, in those inscriptions where the name Aśokavalla appears, practically very little difference exists between *v* and *ch*. The question has already been discussed and it is needless to repeat what has been said elsewhere.[5]

In conclusion, we do not find any reason to change our views with regard to the initial point of the *Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat*. We still hold that 1119-1120 A. D. was the initial year of the era of Lakshmaṇasena, that it was instituted on the occasion of his accession and that *Lakshmaṇasenasyâtîtarâjya* era is the same as *Lakshmaṇa-saṁvat*. So that, the two inscriptions of Aśokachalla dated the year 51 and the year 74 of the *Lakshmaṇasenasyâtîtarâjya* era should be placed in 1171 and 1194 A. D. respectively. This was some time after Lakshmaṇasena ceased to exist, but before the son of Bakhtiyâr led his Turkish hordes into Bengal.

[4] *Ante*, X, 342.

[5] *Ante*, XLII, 185 et seqq. *J. A. S. B.*, (N. S.) IX p. 27 *et seqq.*

THE RELIGION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA HOUSE.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU.

It is an interesting occupation to study the **religious creeds** of this Royal House at the several periods of its rule. In the case of the Western monarchs, for example, those of England, France, Germany, etc., for a knowledge of their religious life we depend upon diaries, notes, court papers, etc. The writers of these were invariably influenced by their leanings towards or away from the monarchs to which they related. But in the case of the South-Indian monarchs, for building up a tolerably correct idea of their individual faiths we have very definite evidences in records written on stone and copper. The court-papers of the West, more often than not, caught a diplomatic strain, so much so that the vagueness of political records which is natural to such, throws a veil over the realities contained in them. But in the case of almost all Hindu—rather Indian—kings, the inscriptions left by them in the several temples of their empires give us a vivid picture of the material sought for. These inscriptions, dating so far back as the 3rd century B. C. live even to-day as the religious memoirs of these kings. The contents of such records, being facts as hard as the stone and metal on which they are written, are probably the most trustworthy evidence available for our purpose. The inscriptions are, as it were, the declarations of these kings to their contemporaries and messages and remembrancers to posterity and time.

What is it that an inscription has to say regarding the religion of the past ? The mere symbolic introduction, in the shape of a *liṅga* and a seated or standing bull in front of it, to an inscription suggest to us the fact that the worship of Śiva was in great favour with those connected with the record. So too, a figure of the *garuḍa* bird, with the *śaṅkham* and *chakram* and the Vaishṇava caste-mark (*ûrdhvapûṇḍram*), suggest to us that the worship of Vishṇu was held strongly by those to whom this class of records relate. In some cases we have figures of Jinâchârya seated in the *yôgâsan* posture similarly cut in the tops of inscribed slabs, in the spirit of invocation, and historically serving as a symbolic introduction to the records set up by the ancients. Added to these, the mention of certain gods and goddesses, the gifts made to whom are recorded in the inscriptions are further steps for helping us to solid information in these respects. In determining, however, the religion of the kings of old through inscriptions we must take care to avoid conclusions based merely on such symbolic and verbal evidence, for they are, in private records, evidence not of the monarch's religion, but of the donor's only.

We shall now proceed to show what were the creeds of this Royal House from the earliest known times, though the attempt made in this note will only give an indication of the religious attitude of the several sovereigns of this dynasty, and not a thorough and exhaustive account of their religious life.

Tradition, as well as worked-out history, shows us that the **Vijayanagara, or Anegondi** (as it is popularly known), House was from its very birth connected with the shrine of **Virûpaksha** on the banks of the Tungabhadra. **Vidyaraṇya** used to perform his penance and lead his very austere life in the hills in this part of the country, traditionally known, from Vâlmîki's time, as the Pâmpâthaṭa, *i. e.*, the banks of the Pampâ and historically known as Hampê. One day he came upon a stone cylindrical in shape which approximated to a *liṅga* in form, the most sacred object of worship for Mâhêśvaras (*bhaktas* of Śiva); and his intensely devotional insight saw nothing but a manifestation of the Mahêśa in it. This stone became thenceforth the most prized possession and the holiest object for Vidyâraṇya. He could not rest in peace till he had the *liṅga* fittingly enshrined.

For some time, daily, he had been watching a cow-boy driving up a number of cows amidst those same hills for grazing. This boy had also been watching the silent and serene ascetic frequenting the banks of the Tungabhadra for baths and ablutions. In course of time, an attachment grew up between the saint and the cow-boy. The non-Brahman in India has ever been drawn by the holy life of the Brahman and has ever thought himself blest if he ministered to the material wants of those who cultivated and spent their thought-power in propitiating God for the prosperity of the king of the land, its people and the entire creation. This spirit of the Brahman's life we find embodied and echoed in the following invocation uttered by orthodox Brahmans every day after they close their *Râmâyaṇa-pârâyanam* :—

Kâlê varshatu Parjanyaḥ
Pṛithivî sasyaśâlinî
* * * *
Kâlê varshatu Vâsavaḥ
* * * *
Svasti prajâbhyaḥ paripâlayantâm
Nyâyêna mârgêṇa mahîm mahîśâḥ
Gô-Brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ śubham-astu nityam
Lôkâs-samastâḥ sukhinô bhavantu

May Parjanya rain in time
May the Earth (be) cropful
* * * *
May Vâsava (Indra) rain in time
* * * *
Prosperity be to the people !
May kings reign in justice
May there be eternal good to cows and Brahmans
May *all* the worlds be happy !

The finest illustration of this sort of relation between the caring sage and the cared-for monarch we find in that scene in Kâlidâsa's *Raghuvamśa* where Dilîpa meets Vasishṭha in his *âśrama*. So, too, this cowboy lovingly and worshipfully supplied milk every day to the saint for food, as well as holy offerings in the sacrificial fire.

Some time passed thus. Vidyâraṇya had been growing more ardent day after day in his desire to enshrine the Mahêśa, who had deigned to come to him of himself in the form of the *liṅga*. In the cow-boy the sage found a disinterested spirit of offering which looked for no return in the shape of any blessing.

Time was ripe. Keen was desire. One day the sage thought it fit to call up the cow-boy, who was retracing his steps after bringing in his daily milk-offering and making his usual *praṇâmam*, and say to him : "Blessed young man, would you like to be a king ?" The innocent boy opened his mouth in awe. The sage's question had surprised him so, that he thought he was being ridiculed. In his discomfiture, the cow-boy said "Swamin ! Please do not befool me. I have been giving a small quantity of milk every day only because it was a duty on my part to minister to your holy needs. I have been doing this that I might merit the grace of Heaven and be blessed with peace and happiness in my humble and contented household. I have never given way to such extravagance as to hope even in dream for a king's crown. They say that sages know the thoughts of others. If that saying is true, I am sure your Holiness must be able to know my heart. Can your Holiness be serious in what you say ?"

The saint would not be stopped, as he had seen that the time was come for perpetuating the worship of the *Linga* and transmitting to posterity his spirit of devotion to it, he stopped the boy and materialised his own fervoured thought into the utterance of a blessing and the grant of a boon.

The boy was blest and the glow of royalty shone on his brow. The saint invoked the powers and for seven *ghaṭikas* there showered gold on the land that was to become the site of the later Vijayanagara, or Vidyânagara. The hermit's thought-power made a king out of a cow-boy and through him raised a shrine for Virûpâksha. Hindu philosophy believes that the universe is but the materialisation or substantiation of the *sankalpa* of the *Âdipursha*. Be that as it may, in this case, this city, that was to be the capital of the greatest and the most powerful empire that Southern India had seen, and the shrine, that was to be the centre of worship and prayers for that part of the country, are both attributed to the sage Vidyâraṇya. The Royal Race, the Imperial City and the Empire are gone. But the shrine with the *Linga* of Virûpâksha and the image of Vidyâraṇya are still there. Such in brief outline is the legend of the origin of the imperial city of Vidyânagara and the royal race of Vijayanagarîyas.

In all the copper-plate records of this house, we find mention of the famous shrines of Southern India that the kings used to visit and make grants to. The stanzas mentioning these will serve in the course of the *praśasti* as items in an algebraical formula. They give in succession the shrines they refer to. Śrîśaila (in Kurnool Dt.), Sôṇaśaila, Ahôbala, (in Kurnool), Saṅgama, Kanakasabhâ (Chidambaram), Śrîrangam, Śêshâchalam, Kâñchî, Kâḷahasti, etc., are all mentioned. And yet, the temples visited by these kings and the grants made by them all go to prove their eclecticism as between Saivism and Vaishṇavism.

It has been the practice of modern scholars to divide this royal line into three sections, denoting each by a special appellation. The first section is generally known as the First Vijayanagara dynasty, the second as the Second Vijayanagara and the third (and last) as the Third Vijayanagara dynasty.

During the period of the rule of the First dynasty, the source of inspiration and encouragement for the Imperial enterprise of the growing Royal House was the shrine of Virûpâksha. Its prayers and hopes hovered about the lotus-feet of Virûpâksha. As the Greeks looked to Zeus and Athene in their days of conquest and expansion, the early Vijayanagarîyas always cast their eyes on the feet of Virûpâksha for the blessings of success and prosperity.

With the beginnings of the ascendancy of the second Vijayanagara dynasty we see a wider horizon of religious life growing round the royal household. Nṛisiṁha was a staunch Vaishṇava, but not a hater of Śiva. He continued to be as good a devotee of Siva as any of his predecessors, on the throne. If in the time of the Uḍayars, Śrî-Virûpâksha was the Guardian-God of the Empire and the favourite deity of the palace in the time of the second dynasty, he was no less their a Guardian-God and favourite deity. Whether he was certainly the only home-god for these, we have no means of determining. The Vijayanagara throne was still believed to be under the blessed guardianship of the wings of Virûpâksha. The king on the throne neither could nor would dismiss Virûpâksha from the place of veneration in his heart.

And then what departures or developments do we notice arising in the days of the second dynasty ? Vaishṇavism rises in the estimation of the emperors. Now do Vaishṇava shrines begin to put an equal weight into the balance against Śaiva shrines. Royal grants are now as numerous to the Vaishṇava shrines as to the Śaiva shrines. In their time, too, Virûpâksha continued to be the City-god and the Empire-god.

In Kṛishṇarâya's time we find a more complex religion held by the ruler. Kṛishṇarâya's conquests are of the widest range for this Ruling House. His marches began and ended at the sea-borders of Peninsular India. His armies swept like the powerful summer zephyr from the Arabian sea to the Bay of Bengal, and, like the North-east monsoon-gale of October, swept across from Ganjam and Simhâchalam in the North to Malabar and Ceylon in the South. His inscriptions we find in the temple of Nrisimha at Simhâchalam and in those of Madura and Tinnevelly. One of his records at Ponnambalam (*i. e.*, Chidambaram) informs us that he had marched up to Simhâchalam, where he planted a pillar of victory, and sweeping southward he halted at Chidambaram, on his way probably to the feet of India. At Chidambaram he built a tower for the temple of Naṭarâja. The Vaishṇava temples of Aruḷâḷa-Perumâl (*i. e.* Varadarâja) at Conjeeveram, of Srî-Venkatêsa at Tirupati and of Ranganâtha at Śrîrangam, to the orthodox known as Tiruvarangam, and the Saiva temple at Chidambaram contain inscriptions, which record his devotional visits and grants to them. When he recovered the fort of Udayagiri from the Gajapati king, who was just then in temporary revolt against the Vijayanagara throne, he found a beautiful image of Krishṇa in one of the humble temples there. This he carried with extreme love and veneration to his capital, Vidyânagara, and there he had a temple erected especially for enshrining this image. It is not unlikely that the god, being of his own name, evoked special love and veneration from Kṛishṇadêva. Here is an instance of active royal enterprise in the matter of manifesting special leaning to Vaishṇavism.

Kṛishṇarâya was eclectic not only thus far. His eclecticism was of a wider circumference than that of any monarch on the Vijayanagara throne, and that he was warmly devoted to Virûpâksha is established by the taste he has displayed in putting up his inscription at Virûpâksha's shrine. The **Red-slab** record, the only one of its kind put up in this temple, or for the matter of that, in all this part of the country, is testimony enough to this. At the top of this slab are cut the *liṅga*, the bull, and the universally appearing sun and crescent. That an inscription of this king, relating to Virûpâksha, should be consigned to a red slab which is unique among inscribed slabs, shows that Kṛishṇadêva was whole hearted in his devotion to that god. To me it suggests itself, that the poetically minded Kṛishṇadêvarâya must have taken special pains to secure a peculiar slab for recording this inscription.

To this combination of devotion to Siva and Vishṇu, Kṛishṇadêva added a no less warm devotion to Viṭhôba. The worship of Viṭhôba is a phase of Vaishṇavism that had its origin, development and numerous following in the Mahârâshtra country only. As a phase of devotional belief, it is only an importation into and not indigenous to the Karnâta country. Several forms of Vishṇu had been known and worshipped in the latter, but not Viṭhôba. He was only a special development of the Vaishṇavism of the Mahârâshtra. And the fact of the consecration of Viṭhôba by Krishṇadeva, in a temple specially built by him, which is the flower of the sculptural art patronised by the Vijayanagara court, opens to us a new page in the religious creed and the consecrational enterprise of that ruler.

During the projection of his conquests into Mahârâshtra Kṛishṇadeva failed not to appreciate the influence of this deity in that part of the country. If the scale and highly artistic nature of a shrine could alone determine the strength of the devotion of the builder to the enshrined; we might say that Viṭhôba had the highest place in Krishṇadêva's heart[1]. Wonderful are the structures making up this huge temple. The choicest blossoms of the sculptor's fancy have been realised in this shrine. In one place we gaze up on the stone-cut medallions in the ceilings of the *mantapas*; in an other place we are accosted by the

[1] We cannot, even on this basis, conclude that Kṛishṇadêva's *ishṭadaivatam* was Viṭhôba. From Alasâni Peddana's Prologue to his *Manucharitram*, we learn that Kṛishṇarâya was attached to Venkaṭêśa. This is also confirmed by the fact that copper images of this king and his two queens are found set up in the temple at Tirumalai (North Arcot Dt.) For the notice of these by the Madras Epigraphist on page 5 of his reports for 1904 and 1913.

robust, though mutilated, forms of *dvârapâlakas.* The smoothness of the stone and the delicacy and accuracy of limb-shaping exhibited in this case should remind us of the Greek samples of sculpture. Here and there, beside us, as we pass observantly on, lie mutilated images of the gods and goddesses. These are of black marble. While the calmness of the faces of the images represents to us the serenity of godhood which Hindu philosophy has formulated and Hindu iconography has realised in stone, the wild disorder and the pitiable mutilation which they lie are an echo the spirit of the Muhammadan conquest.

Such was the temple in which Krishṇadeva consecrated Viṭhôba. With the raising of this shrine, a gem of sacred architecture was introduced into the metropolis, and through its consecration to Viṭhôba was introduced a new creed,—not substitutory but supplementary—into the palace and the city.

Akbar, the great Mughal emperor, was an eclectic to a degree too far advanced for his time. As Sister Nivedita has shrewdly pointed out, his was the **Elizabethan period** for India, while Aurangazeb's was the **Maryan.** It was England's fortune, that her Mary preceded her Elizabeth; India's and especially the Mughal Empire's misfortune, that their Aurangazeb succeeded their Akbar. Indian History would certainly have run a different course if the latter had been the latest of the two to occupy the imperial throne, for the great eclectic Akbar was a reformer beyond all his predecessors in religion as well as in art. Scenes from the life of Jesus formed the subject of many paintings in his palace. The Indian epics, *Râmâyaṇa* and *Mahâbhârata,* were rendered into Persian and Arabic for the Emperor, and these volumes were, as it were, enshrined in volumes bound especially in silk and gold. Though Muhammadan canons of propriety precluded the imitation of forms in pictures, Akbar engaged many painters, Persian as well as Indian, for work in his palace.

Such was Akbar's eclecticism. With him toleration stretched beyond the several forms of Muhammadan faith to Hinduism and Christianity. Krishṇadeva, too, was a reformer and a catholic to an equal degree within the fold of the myriad-cultured Hinduism.

One has a strong temptation to trace the course of the two parallel lines of the sculptural art and faith-development in the Vijayanagara court. The temple of Virûpâksha, the earliest substantial temple built by this House is grand, spacious and of the early plain type in its sculptures. The temple of Viṭhôba is a much more refined and elegant edifice. Even in the imperial career of Krishṇadeva we have different stages of sculptural art attributable to the several periods of his patronage. The *gôpura* at the first entrance into the Virûpâksha temple is lofty, broad and deep. It is very large in dimensions but poor in sculpture. This *gôpura* is attributed to Krishṇadêva. In that case it must have been built very early in his reign. At any rate, it must have risen up long before the Viṭhôba temple was built. For if Krishṇadeva had spread his conquests to the south and seen any of the *gôpuras* of the Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya countries before he built this one, he would not have been satisfied with a *gôpura* with sides bare of images, except in the large number of niches and porch like apartments that fill the four faces of this structure. Besides this, the pillars, the ceiling and the well-worked capitals of the Viṭhôba temple present a striking contrast. Sculptures here are also of a more advanced state of the art. Proportion, profuseness of detail, and delicacy of features are the main points to be noticed in the Viṭhôba temple. This must certainly mean that the temple was built later than the *gôpura* above referred to though in the same king's reign as that. The columns in the *mandapas,* the entrances to the *gôpuras,* and the bodies of the *gôpuras* themselves are all very close approaches to those of the Tamil land. It would be valuable to compare the Krishṇadeva *gôpura* of the Virûpâksha temple with the partly hale *gôpuras* of the deserted Viṭhôba temple. It should be very easy to

note that the former presents a very bare and elementarily artistic appearance beside the latter ones. In the case of the Viṭhôba temple, the inspiration for the consecration came from the North-west while the inspiration for the construction came from the South-east. Marâṭha faith and Chôḷa art have both left a combined specimen in the Viṭhôba temple at Vijayanagara.

In Achyuta's time the spirit of eclecticism continues to exist. But there are no religious developments seen in his reign. He keeps up his predecessor's memory only. No long strides are taken either in conquest or in construction. The religious life of the palace or the emperor undergoes no change or development. The emperor's consecrational enterprise marches at a rather low speed and makes only very humble stretches. If Kṛishṇadeva's consecration of the image of Kṛishṇa is but one and that an humble item in the roll of his consecrations, that of Achyutarâyasvâmin is probably the only instance and that too a moderate one of Achyuta's time. In Sadâśiva's time too, no steps were taken in the wake of Kṛishṇadêva. The reigns of these two monarchs are but a period of gloom. These come after Kṛishṇadêva's reign as night after day. In Sadâśiva's time, "the head that wears the crown" lies *easy*. Kingship and king's person become idolised. They are but like the complacent puppets of all royal lines whose "graph of glory" has begun to descend. The powerful ministers maintain the phantom of an emperor in him, and Râmarâja, the Bismarck of the Vijayanagara court steps forth. With the death of Kṛishṇadeva, personal greatness and intrinsic worth in the emperor vanishes, and ministerial power had begun to grow. The king had become unfit to dream loftily, to build boldly and to think newly in anything. Much less could he think anew in matters religious. But there is one fact that suggests to us that the last two monarchs had become more staunch Vaishṇavas. While in Kṛishṇadeva's and earlier copper-plate records we find the expression "he made Heaven his place of rule (instead of the earth)" to refer in poetry to the king's death in Achyuta's and Sadâśiva's plates, we find the expression "*prâptê padam Vaishṇavam-Achyutêndrê*" or "*Sadâśivêndrê*" to signify the same. Was not Vaishṇava influence beginning to creep into the palace more strongly and exclusively than ever before ?

It is a superstitious tradition that the dynasty of Vijayanagara came to an end only when Śiva was neglected in favour of Vishṇu. In these days, it is hard to honour any such superstition or feeling. But when one passes through the ruins of Vijayanagara, he is brought face to face with the fact that the Viṭhôba temple has suffered much damage at the hands of the Bâhmanî conquerors. It is a matter for wonder that the Virûpâksha temple escaped their attacks and plunderings, while Viṭhôba only bore the evil of them all. If the reason was that the one was guarded more valourously than the other, it is still plained why a temple like Viṭhôba's was negligently guarded in preference to a plain structure like Virûpâksha's. It may also be argued that the guarding was not carried on or conducted by people who had any instinct for appreciation of art. That argument stands on loose sands. To say that only a genius for art had created such a temple, but that there was no such appreciative genius in the court to do its best to save it from the enemy's ravages is off the point. The only explanation seems to be that Viṭhôba's temple fell into the enemy's hands while the Hindus were off their guard, and that they made it too hard for the foe to pluck even a single stone off the walls of Virûpâksha's temple by a prompt garrisoning and heroic defence. The mystic logic of the Hindu mind has attributed the fall of the Vijayanagara House to the neglect by its later ruling members of Śiva, the guardian god of the House from ancient times.

But whatever the unseen force was, Vaishṇavism as shown above, was becoming the favourite creed of the Vijayanagara rulers. To what extent was it so? It was so only so far as the personal leanings of the king and his household were concerned. In the plates of Achyuta and Sadâśiva, we find only side-rays of the rising Vaishṇavism shooting out. For these records, like all older records, begin with the invocation "*Śrî Gaṇâdhipatayê namaḥ,*" (*i. e.*, Salutation to Ganêśa) and end with the colophon **Śrî Virûpaksha**, the name of the guardian deity. And the side-rays of the future Vaishṇavism that we catch are in expressions like "*prâptê padaṁ Vaishṇavam Achyutêndrê*" or "*Sadâśivê.*"

The sun that had cast these side-rays as through clouds presently became more pronounced in appearance and potency. After the second dynasty, came the **Aravîṭis** to play the part of sovereigns for the Vijayanagara Empire. We have already seen that they had been the powerful ministers of the last two of its members. At first merely powerful ministers, they were soon on the way of becoming emperors. From *de facto* kingship they rose to *de jure* kingship. The battle of Talikota had left the Aravîṭis the only powerful entities in the crest-fallen Vijayanagara court. So they became kings.

It must be remarked that at first the Aravîṭi kings also were originally catholic Vaishṇavas. But, if we study the religion of this family, in detail, we find that they were, nevertheless, from the beginning Vaishṇavas. In tracing their genealogy, mention is made of Râjanarêndra, Bijja a, etc., among their ancestors. Râjanarêndra is described as a *śrîpatiruchi, i. e.*, one that finds taste in (the worship of) Vishṇu. Bijjaḷa is said to have been a *murâribhakta*. The names of most of the chiefs of this line, which are Râghava, Râma, Śauri, Tirumala, Venkaṭâdri, are all names of Vishṇu or his *avatâras*.

Tirumala, the first emperor of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty, the first emperor to rule from Penugoṇḍa, retains the system of his predecessors in his copperplate grants. Their initial salutation to Ganâdhipati and the invocatory verses addressed to Śiva and Lîlâbarâha (Vishṇu), and the ancient colophon Virûpâksha, written in Canarese, are found in his grants. These must have been retained merely for purposes of imperial policy and tradition. But that Tirumala's heart was attached to the feet of Vishṇu is quite evident from the fact that in more places than one, he is described as *Haribhakti-sudhânidhi, i. e.*, a depository of the nectar of devotion to Hari. Tirumala probably is the last of the Vijayanagara emperors that has the old colophon. With the change of the capital to Penugoṇḍa, the imperial grants are made in the presence of the local god **Râmachandra. Śrî-Virûpâksha-sannidhi** is no longer the place of grant-ceremonies. Though Tirumala and his successor Raṅga made grants before Râmachandra, they adopted the colophon "Śrî-Virûpâksha." But their successors adopt a new formula. The initial invocation is addressed to **Śrî-Venkaṭêsa** instead of to **Gaṇâdhipati**. The Moon, the first father of the race, is praised as the brother of Lakshmî, probably in preference to the earlier practice of calling him "the great Darkness-dispelling Light," while Śiva and Vishṇu were both invoked in the earlier grants, in these later grants we find Vishṇu exclusively invoked. Thecolophon too is "Śrî-Venkaṭêśa." This practice continues to the very end of the rule of this royal house. During the time of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty, we notice a commingling of the family creed and the state creed. To put it in other words, the family creed of Vaishṇavism develops into the official creed also.

As the Vijayanagarîyas drifted southwards from **Vidyânagara** to **Penugoṇḍa** first and thence later to **Chandragiri**,—from the feet of **Virûpâksha** to the feet of **Venkaṭêśa**, and from **Śaivism** to **Vaishṇavism**.

THE NORTH-WESTERN GROUP OF THE INDO-ARYAN VERNACULARS.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

Number of Speakers.

THE North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars comprises two languages,—Sindhî and Lahndâ. The number of speakers has been estimated for the purposes of the Linguistic Survey as follows :—

Sindhî	3,069,470
Lahndâ	7,092,781
Total ...	10,162,251

Where Spoken.

As its name implies, the languages of this group are spoken in the extreme North-West of India,—in the Pañjâb, west of about the 74th degree of east longitude, and, south of the Pañjâb, in Sindh and Cutch. It is bounded on the West, in the Pañjâb, by Afghânistân, and in Sindh, by Balûchistân; but, in the latter country, Sindhî has overstepped the political frontier into Kachchhi Gandava and into Las Bela, both of which fall within the geographical boundaries of Balûchistân.

Linguistic Boundaries.

In Afghânistân and in Balûchistân the languages are Eranian, and are quite distinct from both Lahndâ and Sindhî. On the North, the North-Western languages are bounded by the Piśâcha languages of the North-West Frontier, of which Kâshmîrî is the most important. These are closely connected with the languages now under consideration. On the East, Lahndâ is bounded by Pañjâbî, and Sindhî by Râjasthânî. On the South, Lahndâ has Sindhî, and Sindhî Gujarâtî.

Position in regard to neighbouring Indian Languages.

The position of Lahndâ in regard to Pañjâbî is altogether peculiar. The whole Pañjâb is the meeting ground of two entirely distinct languages,—*viz.*, the Piśâcha parent of Lahndâ which expanded from the Indus Valley eastwards, and the old Midland language, the parent of the modern Western Hindî, which expanded from the Jamna Valley westwards. In the Pañjâb they overlapped. In the Eastern Pañjâb, the wave of old Lahndâ had nearly exhausted itself, and old Western Hindî had the mastery, the resulting language being Pañjâbî. In the Western Pañjâb, the old Western Hindî had nearly exhausted itself, and old Lahndâ had the mastery, the resulting language being modern Lahndâ. The latter language is therefore in the main of Piśâcha origin, but bears traces of the old Western Hindî. Such traces are much more numerous, and of much greater importance in Pañjâbî. Lahndâ may be described as a Piśâcha language infected by Western Hindî, while Pañjâbî is a form of Western Hindî infected by Piśâcha.

Sindhî, on the contrary, shows a much more clear relationship to the Piśâcha languages, being protected from invasion from the East by the desert of Western Râjpûtânâ. While modern Lahndâ, from its origin, merges imperceptibly into Pañjâbî, Sindhî does not merge into Râjasthânî, but remains quite distinct from it. Such border dialects as exist are mere mechanical mixtures, not stages in a gradual linguistic change.

On the South, the case of Sindhî and Gujarâtî is nearly the same; but there is a certain amount of real change from one language to another in the border dialect of Kachchhî owing to the fact that Gujarâtî, although now, like Râjasthânî, a member of the Central Group of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars, has at its base remnants of some north-western language.

Position as regards other Indian Languages.

The North-Western Group is a member of the Outer Circle of Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. The other members of this Outer Circle are the southern language Marâṭhî, and the eastern group of languages, Oṛiyâ, Bengali, Bihârî, and Assamese. The mutual connexion of all these languages, and their relationship to the Central and Mediate languages, Râjasthânî, Pahâṛî, Western

Hindî, and Eastern Hindî, is not discussed here. Of them, the only forms of speech that can show any close relationship to the languages of the North-Western Group, are the three Pahârî languages. These, as explained in the article on the subject in Vol. XLIII, pp. 142 and 159, have, like Sindhî, a basis connected with the Piśâcha languages.

Ancient History.

The country in which the North-Western languages are spoken is described in the *Mahâbhârata* as rude and barbarous, and as almost outside the pale of Aryan civilization. The Lahndâ area at that time included the two kingdoms of Gandhâra (*i. e.*, the country round the modern Peshawar) and Kêkaya (lower down the Indus, on its left bank), while the Sindhî area was inhabited by the Sindhus and Sauvîras. In spite of the evil character given to the inhabitants of the country in the *Mahâbhârata*, it is certain that the capital of Gandhâra, Takshaśilâ, was, as long ago as six centuries before Christ, the site of the greatest university in India.[1] Its ruins still exist in the Rawalpindi District. It was at Salâtura, close to this university that Pâṇini, the greatest of Sanskrit Grammarians was born in the 5th or 4th century A. D. In those early times the land of Kêkaya also was famous for its learning. We are told in the *Chhândôgya Upanishad* (V, xi) how five great theologians came to a Brâhmaṇ with hard questions, which he could not answer for them. So he sent them to Aśvapati, the Kshatriya king of Kêkaya, who, like a second Solomon, solved all their difficulties.

Two persons famous in Indian legend came from the Lahndâ area. From Gandhâra came Gândhârî, the wife of Dhṛitarâshṭra, and mother of Duryôdhana and his 99 brothers, the Kuru protagonists in the great war of the *Mahâbhârata*. From Kêkaya, came Kaikêyî, the wife of Daśaratha and step-mother of Râma-chandra. It was through her intrigues that Râma-chandra was sent into banishment, as recorded in the other great Indian epic, the *Râmâyaṇa*.

The Western Pañjâb has always been peculiarly exposed to conquerors from the North and from the West. It was through it that the Aryans entered India. The next recorded invasion was that of Darius I of Persia (B. C. 521-485) shortly after the time of the Buddha. According to Herodotus he conquered it and divided it between two satrapies, one of which included Gandhâra (Herodotus, iii, 91), while the 'Indians,' *i. e.*, the inhabitants of the Indus Valley, formed by themselves the 20th satrapy (iii, 94)[2]. Beyond this, the authority of Darius did not extend (iii, 101). Herodotus adds (iii, 94) that these 'Indians are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, and paid a tribute exceeding that of any other people, to wit, 360 talents of gold dust.' Darius had such complete authority over this part of India, or rather over what was to him and to Herodotus 'India,' that he sent a fleet under Skylax down the Indus to the sea, whence they sailed homewards towards the West (iv, 44). The huge army that his successor Xerxes led (B. C. 480) against Greece contained men from Gandhâra and from the Western Pañjâb. The latter, according to Herodotus (vii, 65, 66), wore cotton dresses, and carried bows of cane and arrows also of cane, with iron tips.

The invasion of Alexander the Great (B. C. 327-325) was also confined to the Western Pañjâb and Sindh. One point of interest that has hitherto escaped notice is that many of the Indian names recorded by the Greek historians of this invasion, who necessarily gave them as pronounced by the people of the Western Puñjâb, show that the local form of speech at that time must have been some form of Paiśâchî Prakrit, a language which, according to the present writer, was the main origin of the modern languages of the Western Pañjâb

[1] Although the general opinion of scholars is quite different, I am personally inclined to believe that Pâli, the language of the Southern Buddhist scriptures, is a literary form of the ancient language spoken at Takshaśilâ, This accounts for the striking points of resemblance between it and Paiśâchî Prakrit.

[2] See also Rawlinson's note in his translation of Herodotus iii, 98.

and Sindh, and also of the Piśâcha languages of the North-West Frontier. Su Πευκελαῖτις corresponding to the Indian Pukkhalâvatî, Σανδροφαγος for Chandrabh Σανόρακοττος for Chandragupta. In the first a medial *t* is preserved, in the secc become *ph*, and in the third a medial *g* has become *k*, exactly as is required by the of Paiśâchî Prakrit.[3]

In B. C. 305 Seleucus Nicator invaded India, and after crossing the Indus made a treaty of peace with the Chandragupta already mentioned.

In the second century B. C. two Greek dynasties from Bactria founded kingdoms in the Western Pañjâb. One, that founded by Euthydemus, ended about B. C. 156, and the other, that of Eucratides, about B. C. 20.[4]

After them, at various times, other nationalities, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas, and Huns, invaded India through the North-West and finally, through the same portal, or through Sindh, came the many Musalmân invasions of India, such as those of Maḥmûd of Ghaznî or those of the Mughals.

We have thus seen that from the earliest times the area in which the North-Western Group of Indo-Aryan vernaculars is spoken has been frequently subjected to foreign influence, and it is extraordinary how little the speech of the people has been affected by it, except that, under Musalmân domination, the vocabulary has become largely mixed with Persian (including Arabic) words. In the true Piśâcha languages a few Greek words have survived to the present day, such as the Kâshmîrî *dyâr* (plural), coined money, a corruption of the Greek δηνάρια, or the Khôwâr *drokhum*, silver, a corruption of the Greek δραχμή, but I have not met any such instances either in Lahndâ or in Sindhî. Even the name 'Sindhu' of the Indus has remained unchanged, and we meet with nothing like the Old Persian 'Hindu,' the form that is the progenitor of the Greek Ἰνδός and of our 'India.'

Linguistic Ancestry.

Little is known about the linguistic ancestry of these languages. The immediate predecessor of Sindhî was an Apabhraṁśa Prakrit, named Vrâchaḍa, regarding which the Indian grammarian Mârkaṇḍêya has given us a few particulars. He moreover mentions a Vrâchaḍa Paiśâchî spoken in the same locality, and lays stress on the fact that the Kêkaya Paiśâchî is the principal form of that Prakrit. We have no information regarding the particular form of Apabhraṁśa spoken in the Lahndâ tract, corresponding to the ancient Gandhâra and Kêkaya, except that the people who spoke it were fond of saying a word twice over in order to indicate repetition or continuance (*savîpsâ Kaikêyî*), but in Gandhâra there are two famous rock-inscriptions of the Indian Emperor Aśôka (*circa* B. C. 250) at Shâhbâzgaṛhî and at Mansehrâ which are couched in what was then the official language of the country. This was a dialectic form of Pâli, distinguished by possessing several phonetic peculiarities that are still observable in the Piśâcha languages and in Lahndâ and Sindhî.[5]

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3 Other examples from the North-West of India, but not necessarily connected with Alexander are :—

Sanskrit.	Greek.
Amitraghâta	Ἀμιτροχατης (change of *gh* to *kh*).
Kaśyapapura	Κασπαπυρος (retention of medial *p*).
Kubhâ	Κωφην (change of *bh* to *ph*).
Sindhu	Σινθος or (Latin) Sindus, (change of *dh* to *th*).
Subhagasêna	Σωφαγασηνος (change of *bh* to *ph*).

Cf. the μαρτιχόρα of Ctesias, the name of a fabulous man-eating animal of North-Western India, corresponding to some word like the Persian *mard-khôr*.

4 These dates are taken from Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, pp. 224 and 240.

5 See *J. R. A. S.* 1904, p. 725.

THE ADVENTURES OF THE GOD OF MADURA.

BY V. VENKATACHELLAM IYER, NELLORE.

(*Continued from p.* 212.)

So he revenged himself on the younger son, by cursing him to be born as a dumb mortal boy. The god was exasperated with the bull Nandî, the usher, for having allowed these unruly boys into the presence. In his case the curse was that he should be born as a fish in the sea. All this came to pass. The goddess was born as the daughter of the chieftain of a fishing village. Nandî was born as a shark in the waters there, and became a terror to the fisher-folk thereabouts. He however succeeded in raising the cadjans and secured them on the tip of his nose. After sometime, the chief advertised that whoever should succeed in removing the shark from the waters, to him the chief's daughter would be given in marriage. This was a very fitting opportunity. The god changed himself into a fisherman, and accompanied by his attendants, similarly disguised, reported himself to the chieftain and offered to catch the shark. The offer was accepted. With the help of his men the god succeeded in netting the troublesome thing. The shark was hauled up ashore. The god took charge of the *Vedas* and claimed the chieftain's daughter in marriage, which was duly celebrated. The spouses prepared to depart for the honey-moon. At once the shark changed into a bull, and the god and the goddess rode on his back. Before their departure, the god made a brief confession to the fisherman chief about the true identity of himself and his bride. The bull flew up into the sky and the chief was left to console himself as best he could with the future prospect of Śivalokam.

[The story records in part the expiring echo of an ancient Phœnician legend and in part a Purâṇic fable about the *Vedas*.

It is not difficult to conjecture where this fishing village lay, the chief of which had a goddess for his daughter. Agenor was the chieftain or king of Sidon, 'the first born of Canaan'. The name Sidon is explained to mean, 'the fishing village'. The Phœnicians started as fishermen before the discovery of mineral wealth enabled them to become merchant-princes. Europa was the daughter of Agenor. The god in the Tamil fable is the Dictaean Jupiter, who ran away with Europa, rather unceremoniously, and in the changed form of the bull, taking his bride on his back. The slight changes in the Indian fable are due to a desire to bring the story into accord with native sentiment.

The bull is a cognisance of Îśvara as of Jupiter. It is the Apis of Osiris. In the *Purâṇas* we find Siva's bull recognised and described as a second form of Śiva. In the Tamil *Skanda-Purâṇaṁ* this bull is frequently referred to as the second Śambhu (Śiva).

The throwing of the *Vedas* into the sea and their being fished up later on is an incident borrowed from the Purâṇic fable of one of the *avatâras*.

In ancient times, there was a widely prevalent belief about the sacred books or *Vedas* of every nation having been subjected to submersion in the deluge and having been recovered after the waters receded or having been lost in the deluge. The information relating to this matter is collected in Faber's *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*.

The Chaldaean sacred books were buried securely in Sippara, the city of the Sun, before the deluge. They were recovered afterwards by the survivors in the Ark. The idea in respect of the Hindu sacred books is variously put in Purâṇic fables. The main feature is that they were wrested or stolen from Brahmâ by an Asura and thrown into the ocean or secured at the bottom of it. From there they were recovered by Vishṇu in the form of a huge fish. The Tamil story is an adaptation of the Purâṇic account.

The reason why the god was unable to pronounce a curse on Siddhi-Vinâyaka was that the latter was really a superseded and dethroned deity. He was not in truth the son of the god Siva, but his ancestor. Siddhi-Vinâyaka was a sort of Kronos.

The dumb boy was due to a mistake, made also in modern times as in classical, that the son-god, who was often represented as a human child with his fore-finger to his lips to suggest his infancy, was intended to be represented as dumb. (Rawlinson's Herodotus).]

XIII.

In the Tamil *Purâṇa* we find Madura designated as द्वादशान्तस्थानम्. The name is not suggestive of any definite location. The word means 'the position at the end of the twelve.' It is possible that the idea is borrowed from the well-known Sanskrit religious chant of *Mantrapushpaṁ* :—

अधोनिष्ट्या वितस्त्यान्ते नाभ्यामुपरि तिष्ठति,

and *vitasti* is a unit of lineal measurement of twelve inches. If this suggestion is correct, the name द्वादशान्तस्थानम् should stand for the location of the soul, which is placed twelve inches below the neck, somewhere in the region of the heart.

In the attempted explanation of this title and the peculiar sanctity of the Madura shrine, the Tamil *Purâṇa* gives expression to ideas, which make it very clear that at some remote period, the cult and religion of Osiris passed from Egypt into Southern India and formed the ground-work of the *Saiva-siddhânta* system of belief.

We are told that the universe is the body of Brahmâ. The fourteen *lokas* or worlds, which the Universe comprises, are only the several anatomical portions of this body. Of these fourteen *lokas* seven find themselves in the upper and seven in the lower portion of this body.

The Universe being conceived as the body of Brahmâ, the Creator, and Brahmâ being conceived as anthropomorphic, the result is that each one of these fourteen *lokas* is equated to some member or portion of the human frame.

There is a further development. Of these fourteen *lokas* each is self-contained. That is to say, each *loka* contains in itself all the anatomical structure of the human body complete. So that, each *loka* contains the locations of all the fourteen worlds. Therefore, each *loka* is a miniature body of Brahmâ. Devotion and faith require that every man should on his own person localise the position of all the fourteen worlds, composing the body of Brahmâ.

The earth on which we live also satisfies the same law. It is only one of the fourteen *lokas* and yet it contains in itself all the fourteen locations. The earth is likewise a portion of Brahmâ's body. It is the first of the seven upper *lokas* in the ascending order. It is that portion of Brahmâ's body which corresponds to the Perineum. And again, on the earth itself, the locations of the several *lokas* or anatomical parts have been marked.

India is the only holy land on this planet. The other countries being god-forsaken. India, therefore, appropriates all the fourteen locations.

We are thus told that Thiruvâlur in Tanjore, where the god is worshipped under the name of Thyâgarâjan, is the position of the Perineum. The temple at Jambukêsvaraṁ, in the island of 'Srîrangaṁ occupies the location of the *membrum virile*. The navel or *umbilicus* is localised by the shrine at Arunâchalam (Trinomali in South Arcot). At Chidambaram, in Cuddalore, the god occupies the region of the heart. The place of the neck is occupied by the temple at Kâlahasti. Higher up, Benares is at the position of the Cerebellum. Topmost of all stands the seat of Kailâsa on the location of Brahmarandhraṁ, the occipital *foramen*

the aperture through which life or the soul is let in and which, immediately after, is hermetically sealed.

But Madura stands higher than all these, which after all represent only the anatomical parts of the *body*. But the body is at its best only matter and as such perishable. The soul is independent of the body. It survives the destruction of the latter even as the creating spirit survives the destruction of all these fourteen worlds. It is divine in essence, and such is Madura, the soul of this cosmic body of the earth, of the fourteen worlds and of Brahmâ. This is what we may gather from the Tamil *Purâna*.

[Readers who are familiar with the Osirian myth will at once recognise that this idea of the cosmic body, with a temple corresponding to each member of that body, is nothing more than an adaptation and elaboration of the fable about the mutilation of the body of Osiris, and the foundation of seats of worship on the spots where the dismembered fragments were alleged to have been interred.

Isis was the wife and Typhon or Set was the brother of Osiris. Typhon murdered his brother and cut up his body into fourteen pieces which were divided among the associates of his guilt. Isis recovered the mangled pieces. She made as many statues of wax as there were pieces. Each statue contained a piece of the body of the dead Osiris. Isis summoned the priests of the different cantons in her dominions and gave them each a statue, with strict injunctions that they should establish a form of worship in each division. (Lempriere's *Classical Dictionary.*) The account is sometimes varied in detail. I shall set out here a passage from Sir. J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, page 215, which is very pertinent to the real explanation of the matter in the Tamil *Purâṇa.*

"Typhon rent the body in fourteen pieces and scattered them abroad. But Isis sailed up and down the marshes looking for the pieces. That is the reason, why there are many graves of Osiris in Egypt, for she buried each limb as she found it. But others will have it that she buried an image of him in every city pretending it was his body, in order that Osiris might be worshipped in many places. However, the genital member of Osiris had been eaten by the fishes, so Isis made an image of it.

Such is the myth of Osiris as told by Plutarch. A long inscription in the temple at Dendereh, has preserved a list of the gods' graves, and other texts mention the parts of his body which were treasured as holy relics in each of the sanctuaries. Thus, his heart was at Athribis, his backbone at Busiris, his neck at Letopolis, and his head at Memphis. As often happens in such cases, some of his divine limbs were miraculously multiplied. His head for example was at Abydos as well as at Memphis, and his legs, which were remarkably numerous, would have sufficed for several ordinary mortals. In this respect, however, Osiris was nothing to St. Denys of whom no less than seven heads, all equally genuine, are extant."

Each *loka* was complete in itself, because the wax figures of Osiris were equally so as complete models, though each statuette contained only a piece of the mangled body.

The *lokas* represent the nomes of the Nile valley. The division into seven upper and seven lower *lokas* was borrowed from the idea of the division into upper and lower Egypt.

To this day it is well-established in popular tradition that one and all of these big Siva temples of ancient foundation were raised on *samâdhis* or graves.

The sad experience of Osiris in the Egyptian story, his slaughter and the rending of his mortal remains has been reproduced in Sanskrit in the *Kâlikâ-Purâṇa*, with a suggestive

variation. (*Vide*, chap. 18.) Here the victim is the *goddess*; not the *god*. The great Siva was woe-begone at the death (by suicide) of his consort, even to the point of dementia. He took the dead body of the goddess on his shoulder, and roamed about like mad, weeping and wailing like a vulgar mortal. The other gods, Brahma, Vishṇu and some more, did not know what to do. Their persuasions had failed. Their sympathy did not avail. When was this to end? When would the distressed god come back to himself and be like one of themselves as before? They took counsel together. They got into the corpse and as the distracted god proceeded (he started from the west and went eastwards) they cut up the limbs of the cold frame one after another and set about dropping them at intervals, on the line of march. On each spot where one of the divine limbs was dropped a temple rose up subsequently, and the goddess and the god were duly worshipped there.

इतिसञ्चिन्तयन्तस्ते ब्रह्मविष्णुशनैश्वराः ॥
सतीशवान्तर्व्विविशुरदृश्या योगमायया ॥
प्रविश्याथशवन्देवाः खण्डशस्ते सतीशवम् ॥
भूतले पातयामासुः स्थानेस्थाने विशेषतः ॥
देवीकूटे पादयुग्मम्प्रथमन्न्यपतत्क्षितौ ॥
उड्डियाने चोरुयुग्मं हितायजगतान्ततः ॥
कामरूपे कामगिरौ न्यपतद्योनिमण्डलम् ॥
तत्रै न्यपतद्भूमौ पूर्व्वतो नाभिमण्डलम् ॥
जालन्धरेस्तनयुगस्वँर्णहार विभूषितम् ॥
अंशग्रीवम्पूर्णगिरौ....................... ॥

"So thinking, the gods, Brahmâ, Vishṇu and Saturn entered the dead body of Satî. Having done so, they caused the body to drop down in pieces in successive places. The first to fall on the earth was the pair of the goddess's feet. This fell on Dêvikutam. And next, the two thighs were received at Uddiâna. The *pudendum* dropped on Kâmagiri, where also the navel had fallen a little before. The breasts fell on the mount of Jâlandhara. The neck on the mountain of Purna.........."

To explain the reason of the variation from the god to the goddess, we have to get behind the popular version of the fable and inquire into its deeper meaning, which is not quite within my plan in these sketches, and yet a word in place.

Much of the Sanskrit mythology was drawn, mediately, from sources in which the divinity of the moon was ascribed to goddesses and that of the Sun to gods, though the names of both the Sun and the Moon in Sanskrit are of the masculine gender and though, at a certain period, the moon was himself worshipped as a god. If Osiris was the moon-god, his sufferings had to be transferred to the corresponding deity in the Sanskrit system, who turned out to be a goddess when the transfer was effected. That Osiris in the earliest conception of the myth was the moon-god has, I think, been made sufficiently clear by Mr. Frazer. (*Vide*, his *Adonis, Attis and Osiris* Chap. VIII.) The torn limbs of Sati as of *Osiris* were fourteen.

The march eastwards of the weeping god is suggestive of the course travelled by the cult from the west to the east.

Of course, in India as in Egypt we find the mangled limbs of the divine body multiplied in the *Sthalapurâṇas*].

round the neck or the horns of the diseased animal and no other food except ghi and molasses is allowed to it for two or three days. A handful of salt is sometimes thrown on the back of the animal.[1] Sesamum oil is also said to work as a good medicine in the case of the same disease.[2]

Another remedy for the same disease is to pass a knotted bamboo stick with seven knots seven times over the back of the ailing animal.[3]

Ghi is sometimes used as a medicine in the case of small-pox. In the case of *shakario* or *kàlo và*, the animal is branded in the affected limbs. To one suffering from a stye in the eye an ointment prepared from the horn of a deer is applied, while a mixture of whey and salt is said to be useful in most eye maladies. The treatment for the swelling of the belly is a mixture of molasses, *ajamo* (ligusticum ajwaen) and *sanchal* (a kind of salt). To cure an animal of *khàpari* (a disease which affects milch-cattle), the milk of the affected animal is poured on *ràfdà* (a kind of jujube tree). If after delivery, some part of the embryo remains inside an animal, milk and molasses are given to expedite its removal.[4]

In the case of *kharavà* the ailing animal is made to move about in hot sand and is treated with salt, which is first fried on the fire of *Holi*. The remedy for the disease known as *kumbhava* is to give a dose of castor oil, *sanchal*, *ajamo* and hot water to the sick animal and also to tie a magic thread round its neck.[5]

A disease called *okarinu* (*i.e.*, vomitting) sometimes breaks out among sheep. In this case the shepherds separate all the affected animals from the herd and remove them to a distance. All the sheep which die of the disease are buried deep in a pit, which is guarded for several days, lest some other animals dig it up and let lose the buried epidemic by exposing the carcasses. It is believed that the contagion of this disease lies in the ears; and the ears of all the sheep in the herd are carefully watched if they bleed.[6]

The twin gods Ashivini Kumàr are sometimes propitiated by means of an *anushthàn* (the performance of religious austerities in their honour) in order that they may put a stop to a disease among cattle.[7]

It appears that dancing often forms a part of the process of exorcism. Frequently dancing is accompanied by the beating of cymbals and drums and other loud noises. A *mandalu* is convened at the house of the person who is to be exorcised *i. e.*, a number of *bhuvàs* are invited to attend along with a number of low-caste drummers, and afterwards the ceremony of *utàr* is gone through; the *utàr* is then taken to a cemetery.[8]

Sometimes the beating of drums and cymbals is alone resorted to for expelling an evil spirit from the person of a patient. It is believed that this process is effectual in proportion to the degree of the intensity of the noise created[9] The patient is asked to sit facing the east. The Bàval or Vàghri, *i. e.*, the drummer, sits in front of him, and not only beats the drum as loudly as he can, but also sings hymns at the top of his voice in honour of his favourite goddess. In the meanwhile, the *bhuvà*, who is also in attendance, begins to be possessed, and discloses the fact by convulsive fits. After a while, the *bhuvà* suddenly stamps his foot furiously on the floor, and, seizing the patient by a lock of his hair, and perhaps even giving him a blow on the back, asks in a stern voice "Who art thou ? speak out at once why thou hast come or else I will burn thee to death."*

[1] The School Master of Dhānk and the Shastri of Jetpur Pathshala.
[2] The Shastri of Bhayavadur Pathashala.
[3] The School Master of Zinzuwàda.
[4] The Shastris of Jetpur and Bhayavadur.
[5] The School Master of Wala Taluka.
[6] The School Master of Anandpur.
[7] The School Master of Kotdà-Sangani.
[8] The School Master of Zinzuwàda.
[9] The School Master of Kotdà-Sangani.

* All this of course is addressed to the evil spirit which is supposed to have possessed the patient.

The patient will then perhaps reply: 'Don't you know me? I am *chàran*', or '*I am zàmhàdi*,' (a female spirit guarding the village gates) or *Vàgharan*† or *Purvaj* (the spirit of a deceased ancestor). Regarding the reason for possession, the evil spirit will give some such explanation as follows:—"Once upon a time the patient was taking a loaf and vegetables which he hid from me, and therefore I shall leave his person only with his life." The *bhuvà* will then say "life is precious and not so cheap as you think. If you want anything else, say so and leave this person." After a dialogue such as the above, the *bhuvà* and the spirit come to some compromise, and the *bhuvà* then leads a procession with the *utàr* either to the village boundary or to a cemetery. The *bhuvà* then draws a circle on the ground with the point of a sword which he carries, and places the *utàr* within the circle. He then slightly cuts the tip of his tongue with the edge of the sword, and spits blood into a fire lighted for the purpose. The smoke of this fire is supposed to carry the offering to the evil spirit. The *utàr* is then taken away by the drummers, who share it secretly with the *bhuvà*. In the event of the patient deriving no benefit from this ceremony, the *bhuvà* advises the patient's relatives to repeat the process.[1]

The following ceremony is sometimes performed in order to ascertain whether a person is under the influence of an evil spirit or not. A *bhuvà* is invited to the patient's house in the company of drummers, and there he dances for some time amidst the din produced by the beating of the drums and by the loud recitation of hymns in honour of his favourite goddess. Afterwards a handful of grain is passed round the head of the patient and presented to the *bhuvà* for inspection. The *bhuvà* selects a few seeds from the grain and making certain gestures, offers them to the patient with either the words '*vācho*' or '*vadhàvo*'. In case the *bhuvà* says '*vàcho*' and the number of seeds happens to be even, what he declared to be the cause of the patient's trouble is believed to be true. So also if the *bhuvà* says *vadhàvo* and the number of seeds proves to be odd. But in case the number of seeds proves to be odd when the *bhuvà* says '*vàcho*', or even, when he says *vadhàvo*, then his explanation of the cause of the patient's trouble is not credited.

Sometimes Bràhmans instead of *bhuvàs* are engaged to exorcise an evil spirit from the body of a sick person. A bellmetal dish, containing *adad* (phaseolus radiatus) wheat and *jowàri*, is placed on a copper jar and struck violently with a stick, called *velan*, so as to produce a loud noise. The patient, who is made to sit in front, begins to tremble and sometimes even to rave. The Bràhmans also create a loud noise and in a loud voice ask the patient who the evil spirit is and what it wants. The patient will then give out the name of some notorious *dàkan* (witch) or of one of his deceased ancestors and will add that he desires a certain thing which he was used to get while in human form. The evil spirit is then propitiated by offering the things asked for and is requested to leave the body of the patient.[2]

The following are other methods of expelling an evil spirit from the body:—

Either *lobhàn* i. e., incense powder, or chillies or even the excreta of dogs are burnt under the nose of the patient, who, overpowered, by the unpleasant odour, is supposed to give out the name of the evil spirit and also what the latter wants.

Water is charmed with incantations, and is either dashed against the patient's eyes or is given to him to drink.[3]

If the evil spirit possessing a patient is a *purvaj* i. e., the spirit of a deceased ancestor,

† Feminine of Vàghri belonging to the Vàghri caste.

[1] The School Master of Sànkà.

[2] The School Masters of Ganod, Vanod and Kolki.

[3] The School Master of Dadvi.

either *Nàràyan-bali Shràddha* or *Nil-Parvani Shràddha* or *Tripindi Shràddha* is performed in order to propitiate it, and a party of Bràhmans is invited to dinner. In case the *purvaj* is a female, a cocoanut is installed in a *gokhalo* (a niche) in the wall to represent it, *ghi* lamps are lighted, and frankincense is burnt every morning before it. On the anniversary of the death of the *purvaj* a party of *gorànis* (unwidowed women) is invited to dinner.[1]

If a woman is believed to be possessed by a *dàkan*, she is made to hold a shoe in her teeth and is taken to the village boundary, where the shoe is dropped, and a circle is drawn round it with water from a bowl carried by the party. The holding of the shoe by the teeth signifies a vow on the part of the *dàkan* never to re-enter the person of the exorcised woman.[2]

The following are other occasions for religious dancing, namely during the *Nav-ràtra* holidays (i. e., the festival which commences from the lst day of the bright half of *Àshvin* and lasts for nine days); at the time of offering oblations to the village-gods; on the occasion of setting up a pillar in memory of a deceased person; at the time of the *Nilotsava** ceremony.

At the time when Randal the wife of Surya is installed and worshipped, a party of young women dance in a circle before the goddess to the accompaniment of *garabis*.[3]

The eighth day of the bright half of *Àshvin* is dedicated to the worship of the *Màtàs* and *devis* (minor goddesses), and on this day, *bhuvàs* have to dance each before his favourite *màtà*. This they have also to do on the lst day of the bright half of *Àshàdh*. *Bhuvàs* are also invited to dance on the *Diwàsà* day i. e., the last day of *Àshàdh*.[3]

The *bhuvà* occupies a high place in the esteem of the village people, and commands much respect. In the first place, his position is that of a medium between the gods and goddesses on the one hand and human beings on the other.[4] He is the interpreter of the will of the gods, which he expresses to the public when in a state of trance. Besides he is believed to have power over the evil spirits which are visible to a *bhuvà* though cannot be seen by ordinary eyes.[5] He is the guardian of the village, his duty, being to protect the people from the malignant influence of the evil spirits.[5]

In the next place, it is also the office of the *bhuvà* to treat the sick. In cases when medicine is unavailing and where the malady is supposed to be the work of some evil spirit, the opinion of the *bhuvà* is sought by the relations of the patient and is given by the test of the scrutiny of grain.[6] When the sick person is found to be under the influence of a spirit, the common mode of exorcising is to take an *utàr* to the cemetery. An image of a human being is prepared out of the flour of *adad* (phaseolus radialus) and is passed round the body of the sick person. The *bhuvà* then holds the image near his heart and stretches himself on a bier with the image on his bosom. In this condition the *bhuvà* is taken to the cemetery, and the evil spirit is believed to be driven by these means out of the patient's body.[7]

The *bhuvà* distributes *doràs* (magic threads) and anklets among the people. Such things are coveted for their efficacy in warding off the influence of evil spirits and are often sought after by people for their cattle as well as for

[1] The School Master of Limbdi Taluka.
[2] Mr. B. K. Desāi.
* *Nilotsava* or *Nil-parnàvum* is a ceremony performed in honour of a young man, who has come to an untimely end. The chief part of the ceremony is the performance of the wedding of a bull-calf with a heifer. Sometimes a member of the deceased youth's family is possessed on such an occasion by the spirit of the deceased man and is believed to have then the power of correctly answering questions about future events, etc.—The School Master of Dhànk.
[3] The School Master of Devalià.
[4] The School Masters of Dhànk and Kotda Sangani.
[5] The School Master of Sanka.
[6] The School Master of Dadvi.
[7] The School Masters of Dadvi and Kolki.

themselves.[1] The prosperity of the *dànklàn-vagàdnàrs* (those who beat the drum) depends to a large extent on the success of the *bhuvà's* business, and for this reason, the drummers are often very good advocates of the *bhuvà* and take every opportunity of glorifying his powers and merits.

The respect which *a bhuvà* commands in this way is sometimes increased by the performance of such tricks as his putting lighted torches into his mouth, placing his hand in boiling oil, and similar performances.

But although there may be some *bhuvàs* who profit by imposing upon the credulity of the villagers, there are many *bhuvàs* who do not work with the expectation of any reward, and are only actuated by benevolent motives. Many of them honestly believe that at the time when they are thrown into a state of trance, the *màtàs* or deities actually enter their bodies and speak their wishes through them as a medium.

In some villages, the office of the *bhuvà* is hereditary, and lands have been assigned to them in remuneration for their duty[2]. In addition to this religious calling, a *bhuvà* often follows some other profession as that of agriculture, weaving or spinning.[3]

The *bhuvà* generally belongs to some low caste and may be a Koli, Bharvàd Rabàri, Vàghri or even a Chamàr. The *bhuvàs* are also known as *pothiàs*. One good qualification for becoming a *bhuvà* is to possess the habit of throwing one's self into convulsive fits followed by a state of trance, especially on hearing the beating of a *dànklàn* (drum). At such a time the *màtà* or *devi* is supposed to possess the person of the *bhuvā* and to speak out her wishes on being questioned. Some *bhuvàs* are regularly possessed by some *devi* or *màtà* on every Sunday or Tuesday.[4]

A typical *bhuvà* has a braid of hair on his head, puts one or more iron or copper anklets round his leg or elbow, and makes a mark with red lead on his forehead. A *bhuvà* attending upon the goddess Meldi is generally[5] a Vàghri by caste and always wears dirty clothes. A Bharvàd *bhuvà* has generally a silver anklet round his waist. A *bhuvà* has to observe a fast on all the nine days of the *Nav-ràtras*. If a *bhuvà* happens to come across another *bhuvà* in convulsive fits or in a trance, he must need go into fits as well.

Generally speaking every *bhuvà* keeps an image of his favourite *màtà* in or near his own dwelling. Generally he erects a hut for the purpose and hoists a flag upon it. Near the image are placed a number of conch-shells and stones and brooms of peacock feathers. The deity is not systematically worshipped every day but receives adoration every Sunday and Tuesday. Sometimes the *bhuvà* has a disciple—a *sevaka*—who does the duty of dashing bell-metal cymbals at the time when the *bhuvà* throws himself in a trance.[6]

When a new *bhuvà* is to be initiated into the profession, he is made to sit before an image of the *màtà*, where he goes into convulsive fits while the *dànklàn vagàdnàrs* beat the drums and loudly recite hymns in honour of the deity. Afterwards he is taken to a cemetery accompanied by the drummers and an expert *bhuvà*, where the latter marks out a square on the ground with the edge of a sword. The novice is asked to lie prostrate within the area thus marked out and to get up and lie again, doing the same four times, each time with his head towards each of the four quarters. The *bhuvà* who initiates the novice and who is thenceforth considered to be the *guru* or preceptor of the latter, ties a *ràkhadi* (a piece of silk thread) round the elbow of the pupil.[7]

[1] The School Masters of Kotdà—Sangni and Sanka.
[2] The School Master of Zinzuwàdà.
[3] The School Master of Jodià.
[4] The School Master of Sànka.
[5] The School Master of Dadvi.
[6] Mr. K. D. Desài.
[7] The School Master of Pàtanvàv.

Every *bhuvà* is required to propitiate his favourite goddess every third year, the ceremony which is then performed being called *Khad-Khadya-besàdvi*. This is performed either during the *Nav-ràtra* holidays or during the bright half of either the month of *Màgh* or *Chaitra*. All the *bhuvàs* in the village are invited on the occasion, when there is *gànjà*-smoking or *bhàng*-drinking, partly at night. After the supper which follows this party, all the *bhuvàs* gather together and go into convulsive fits till they are almost suffocated. Cocoanuts are then dedicated and cracked before the *mātā*, and the kernel is distributed among those present. The party then break up.[1]

It is believed by some people that the spirit of a Muhammadan saint, living or dead, dwells in such trees as the *Khijado*, i. e., *Shami* (Prosopis spicigera) and *Bàval*, i. e. , *Bàbhul* (Acacia arabica). It is known by the name of *chitharia* that is, the ragged *Pir*. It is a common belief that if a mother fails to offer a rag or a piece of cloth to such a holy tree while passing by it, her children run the risk of falling ill. Women and ignorant people, therefore, make a point of offering rags to such trees whenever they happen to pass by them.[2]

According to another belief, travellers, in order to accomplish their journey safely, offer rags to such of the *Khijado*, *Bāval* or *Limdo* (Nim) trees as are reputed to be the residences of spirits, if they happen to be on their road.[3]

Some believe that both male and female spirits reside in the *Khijado*, *Bàval* and *Kerado* trees, and throw rags over them with the object of preventing passers by from cutting or removing the trees. Some pile stones round their stems and draw tridents over them with red lead and oil. If superstitious people come across such trees, they throw pieces of stones on the piles. believing them to be holy places, and think that by doing so they attain the merit of building a temple or shrine. A belief runs that this pile should grow larger and larger day by day, and not be diminished. If the base of such a tree is not marked by a pile of stones, rags only are offered; and if rags are not available, the devotee tears off a piece of his garment, however costly it may be, and dedicates it to the tree.[4]

Once, a child saw its mother offering a rag to such a tree, and asked her the reason of the offering. The mother replied that her brother, that is the child's maternal uncle, dwelt in the tree. Hence a belief arose that a *chithario* (ragged) uncle dwells in such trees. Others assert that the *chithario pir* dwells in such trees, and they propitiate him by offering cocoanuts and burning frankincense before it.[4]

There is a *Khijado* tree near Sultānpur which is believed to be the residence of a demon *māmo*. This demon is propitiated by the offerings of rags.

Some declare that travellers fix rags of worn out clothes to the trees mentioned above in order that they may not be attacked by the evil spirits residing in them. Another belief is that the spirits of deceased ancestors residing in such trees get absolution through this form of devotion. It is also believed that a goddess called *chitharia devi* resides in such trees, and being pleased with these offerings, blesses childless females with children, and cures persons suffering from itch of their disease. There is a further belief that ragged travellers, by offering pieces of their clothes to the *Khijado*, *Bàval* or *Kerado* trees, are blessed in return with good clothes.

Some believe that Hanumàn, the lord of spirits, resides in certain trees. They call him *chithario* or ragged Hanumàn. All passers by offer rags to the trees inhabited by

[1] The School Master of Sànkà.
[3] The School Master of Davalià.
[2] The School Master of Kotda Sangani.
[4] The School Master of Ganod.

him. There is such a tree near the station of Shiroi. There is a tamarind tree on the road from Tamnagar to Khantalia which is believed to be the residence of *chithario* Hanumān and receives similar offerings. Another tamarind tree of this description is near Marad and there is a *Khijado* tree on the road between Kālāvad and Vāvadi which is similarly treated.[1]

It is related by some people that in deserts trees are rare and the summer heat is oppressive. To the travellers passing through such deserts, the only place of rest is in the shadow of a solitary tree that is to be met occasionally. In order that no harm be done to such trees, some people have given currency to the belief that a spirit called *màmo* dwells in such trees and expects the offering of a rag and a pice at the hands of every passer by.[1]

Some are of opinion that the *bhuvās*, in order to raise money from the credulous by terrifying them, daub a tree within the limits of each village with the form of a trident, and fix rags to it, stating that it is the abode of a *màmo* or a *pir*. At times they ask their clients to offer certain things to such trees, which they appropriate to themselves.[2]

There is also a belief, that the holy trees that receive offerings of rags from travellers, are the abodes of gods or evil spirits, and are distinguished from other trees of the same species by the epithet of *chithario*. Some people hoist flags on such trees instead of offering rags.

In some places, the *Boràdi* (jujube), *Pipal*, *Vad* (banyan) and the sweet basil receive offerings of a pice and a betelnut from travellers, while the *Khijado* and *Bàval* are given rags.[3]

It is stated by some people that the belief in *chithario* pir has grown during the last four hundred years.

Rags are never offered to wells, i is common to offer them copper coins betelnuts. Sometimes flags are hoisted holy wells in honour of the water-go Jaldevki. Travellers hoist flags on ce wells and throw copper coins into them in course of their journey. The origin of offering is said to be in the desire of trave to prevent people from committing a nuisa near wells.

Some wells are noted as being the abode spirits who have the power of effecting cert cures. It is customary to throw a pice in su wells. When a person is bitten by a rabid d he goes to a well inhabited by a *vàchharo*, t spirit who cures hydrophobia, with two earth cups filled with milk, with a pice in each, an empties the contents into the water.

It is a belief among Hindus that to giv alms in secret confers a great merit on th donor. Some of the orthodox people, there fore, throw pice into wells, considering it to be a kind of secret charity.

The belief in the practices adopted for transferring disease from one person to another obtains mostly among women, who have recourse to such practices for curing their children.

One of such practices is to lay a suffering child in the cradle of a healthy child. This act is believed to result in transferring the disease of the ailing child to the healthy child. Another practice is that the mother of the sickly child should touch the mother of a healthy child with the object of transferring the disease of her child to the child of the latter. Some believe that the mere contact of an ailing child with a healthy child is sufficient to transfer the malady of the former to the person of the latter. Others maintain that this can be brought about by a mother either by touching the cradle of another

[1] The School Master of Limbdi Taluka.
[2] The School Master of Kolki.
[3] The School Master of Dadvi.

child or by touching the person of another woman. There are others, who hold that the disease of a sickly child can be transferred to another child by feeding the latter with the leavings of the former. There is a further belief that a mother can transfer the disease of her suffering child to the child of another woman by applying the end of her robe to the end of the robe of the latter. In some places, when a child begins to weaken, its mother makes an idol of cow or buffalo dung, and keeps it fixed to a wall of the house, in the belief that the child will be cured slowly as the idol dries. It is stated that instances are actually known of the recovery of children by this process. These methods of transferring disease are called *tuchakàs* i. e. mystic methods. As a rule superstitious women practise them on Sundays or Tuesdays, as it is believed, that to be efficacious, they must be practised on these days.

In addition to the *tuchakàs* above stated the *utàrs*, *doràs*, etc., already described, are used for curing diseases.

Some diseases are attributed to *vir* possession. *Virs* are male spirits fifty two in number. The *bhuvàs* or exorcists are believed to have control over them, and are supposed to be able to detect an illness caused by possession by a *vir*. In such cases, the *bhuvàs* drive away the evil spirits from the patients by magic incantations, or transfer them to others by waving a certain number of grain seeds round the head of the patient. By another process the *bhuvàs* can confine the evil spirit in a glass bottle, which is buried underground.

In order to eradicate a dangerous disease, an *utàr* is frequently offered to a dog, in the belief that by eating the *utàr* the disease is transferred to the dog.

In some places, diseases of long standing due to spirit possession are cured by employing a *bhuvà*, (exorcist), who, accompanied by others of his order, goes to the patient's house, makes a bamboo bier, waves an *utàr* round the patient's head, and lays himself on the bier with the *utàr* by his side. The bier is carried to the burning ground by four persons, to the accompaniment of the beatings of drums, followed by the exorcists, who throw *bàklàns* (round flat cakes of *juvàri* flour) into the air as the procession moves on. When the party reach the burning ground, the bier is put down, and the *bhuvà*, shaking violently, offers the *utàr* to a spirit of the place. He then prostrates himself four times with his face turned towards the four directions and drives a nail into the ground at each turn. Next, the *bhuvā* lets loose a goat or a ram, to which the *vir* in the body of the patient is supposed to be transferred. It is said that the performance of this rite relieves the patient's mind of anxiety regarding the cause of his disease, and he thereafter shows signs of improvement.[1]

When a man is suffering from *ànjani* (a sore or mole on the eye-lid) he goes to another person's house and strikes earthen vessels against his door saying "I have shaken the vessels. May the *ànjani* be with me to-day and with you tomorrow". It is also stated that such a patient goes to the house of a man who has two wives while the latter is asleep, and taps his door uttering the words *"Anjani ghar bhàngani àj mane ane kal tane"* i. e., "May *ànjani*, the breaker of the house, be to-day with me and tomorrow with thee." This process is believed to transfer the disease from the person of the patient to that of the husband of the two wives.

A common method for transferring disease is to wave water round a sick person and give it to another to drink. Similarly, a goblet filled with water is passed round a patient's head and offered to a *bhuvà*, who drinks off the contents.

A belief prevails all over Gujarāt that a disease can be passed from one species of

[1] The School Master of Zinzuwàdà.

animals to another, and various practices are adopted to effect this. Generally a *bhuvà* or exorcist arranges the transfer. The *bhuvà*, accompanied by a troupe of dancers and drummers, visits the house of the sick person and, after examining corn seeds *dànàs* which have been waved round the patient's head on a night preceding a Sunday or Tuesday, declares that the evil spirit possessing the patient requires a living victim. A cock, goat or a male buffalo is then brought as a substitute for the patient, is waved round him, the tip of its right ear is cut off, and it is offered to the *màtà* or goddess, that is, it is released to stray as it pleases. These goats, etc., are called *màtà's* goats, *màtà's* cocks, or *màtà's* male buffaloes, and are seen wandering about in many villages. Sometimes the goat, etc., is killed before the image of the *màtà* and the *bhuvà* dipping the palms of his hands into its blood, presses them against the doors of every house in the village. In the case of an outbreak of epidemic, the victim is set at liberty beyond the limits of the village affected. It is believed by some people that the animal to which a disease is conveyed in the above manner, dies of its effects.[1]

In some places the patient is supposed to be possessed by a goddess instead of by an evil spirit. A goat, cock or a male buffalo is offered to the goddess in the same way as to an evil spirit.

In some villages, when there is an outbreak of a serious epidemic, it is customary to drive a buffalo beyond the village boundary, with the disease on his back. The back of the buffalo which is chosen for this purpose is marked with a trident in red lead and covered with a piece of black cloth, on which are laid a few grains of *adad* and an iron nail. Thus decorated, the buffalo is driven beyond the limits of the village. It is believed that an animal driven in this way carries the disease wherever it goes.

Very often, the beast to which a disease is transferred is kept tied to a post all its life, with the belief that by so doing the disease remains enchained. Jain teachers confine a disease in a bottle and bury it underground. Sometimes, a disease is passed on to a crow, whose legs are tied to a pillar, thus making it a life-long prisoner.

Once upon a time, when there was an outbreak of cholera in a certain village, a *bàvà* (recluse) happened to arrive on the scene. He caught two rams, made them move in a circle, and left them in the burning ground, where they died, the epidemic disappearing with their death. Hence a belief gained ground that an epidemic of cholera can be expelled by passing it on to two rams or goats.[2]

It is related that, at Gondal, a case of cholera was cured by a Bhangi (sweeper) by waving a cock round the patient's head.[3]

A few years ago there lived in Khàkhi Jalia, a village in the vicinity of Kolki, a *Khàkhi* (recluse) named Nàrandàs, who, when laid up with fever, passed on the disease to his blanket, and after a time drew it back to his own person.

[1] The School Master of Dhànk.
[2] The Pathashàlā Shastri, Talpur.
[3] The School Mistress of Gondal.

CHAPTER IV.

WORSHIP OF ANCESTORS AND SAINTS.

The spirits of a deceased father, grand father, great grand father, and of a mother, grand mother, and great grand mother, i. e., all the male and female ascendants up to the third degree, receive systematic worship when the *Shràddha* or funeral ceremonies are performed either on the anniversary of the death of any of them or on the day when the *Nàràyan bali* is performed in such holy places as Gayà, Sidadhapur or Prabhàs Pàtan. The spirits of those who meet heroic deaths on fields of battle are called *Suropuros*, and pillars are erected in their memory on the spot where they breathed their last. They receive only occasional worship.[1]

The *purvajas* or spirits of deceased ancestors receive worship on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of the dark half of *Shràvan* (the tenth month of the Gujaràt Hindu year), on the fourteenth of the dark half of *Ashvin*, on the death anniversaries and on days on which the *Shràddhas*, *tripindis* or *nil parnàvavi* ceremonies are performed. On these occasions, the *pitriyas* (deceased ancestors) are represented by twisted braids of the *durvà* grass (cynodon dactylon)[2]

Purvajas or ancestral spirits descend to the level of ghosts when they are strongly attached to worldly objects. Such spirits often possess the bodies of their descendants, though the necessary *Shràddhas* are performed for their release. The 13th, 14th and 15th days of the bright half of the months of *Kàrtik* and *Chaitra* are the special days for propitiation of departed spirits by their relatives either at home or in holy places, while the whole of the dark half of the month of *Bhàdarwà* is devoted to this purpose.* During this fortnight, *shràddha* is performed in honour of the deceased on the day corresponding to the day of his death, when Brāhmans are feasted. Thus, a person dying on the 5th day of *Kàrtik* has his *shràddha* performed on the 5th day of the *sharàdian*. On this occasion, water is poured at the root of the *Pipal*, *tarpan* or offerings of water are made, and *pinds* or balls of rice are offered to the deceased.

Of all the days of the *sharàdian* the 13th, 14th and 15th are considered to be of special importance.

The death anniversary of a *pitriya* is called *samvatsari*, *valgo samachari* or *chhamachhari*, when a *shràddha* is performed and Brāhmans are feasted.

The *pitriyas* are also worshipped on auspicious occasions such as marriages, by the performance of a *shràddha* called *nàndi*, when *pinds* (balls) of molasses are offered instead of rice. It is considered an act of merit to perform *shràddha* in honour of the *pitriyas* on the banks of a river or tank at midday on the 8th day of the dark half of a month.

From the 13th to the 15th day of the dark half of *Shràvan*, after their morning ablutions, orthodox people pour water over the *Pipal*, the *Bàbul*, the *Ber* (Zizyphus jujube) and, *durvā* grass, and on those places where cows are known to congregate, in the belief that by so doing the thirst of the spirits of the deceased is quenched. It is also believed that if feasts are given to the relatives of the deceased and to Bràhmans the *pitriyas* are satisfied.

According to some, the *Sharàdian* lasts from the full-moon day of the month of

[1] The School Master of Dhànk.

* This period of 15 days is called *Sharàdian*.

[2] The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

Bhàdarvà to the new-moon day of the same month, that is for a period of sixteen days. The *Shràddhas* of those who die on the *Punema* or full-moon day of a month are performed on the full-moon day of *Bhàdarvà*, and the *Shràddhas* of those who die on the new-moon day *amavasia* of a month are performed on the *amavasia* of *Bhàdarvà*. The 13th day of the dark half of *Bhàdarvà* is called *bàlà terash* that is childrens' thirteenth. This day is specially devoted to the propitiation of the spirits of children.[1]

On the *Shràddha* days Bràhmans and relatives of the deceased are feasted, and oblations called *Vàsh*, consisting of rice and sweets, are offered to crows.

On *Àsho Vad* fourteenth, that is, the fourteenth of the dark half of *Àsho*, it is customary to apply red lead to the pillars erected in honour of men that die heroic or noble deaths on fields of battle, to break cocoanuts before them, to light lamps fed with ghi and to offer cooked food to their spirits.[2]

The spirits of those who die with strong attachment to the objects of this world are said to enter the state known as *asur gati* or the path of demons. In this condition the spirit of the deceased possesses the person of one of his relatives and torments the family in which he lived. The members of the family, when worried by his persecutions, engage the services of a *bhuvà* or exorcist, who sets up a wooden image of the tormenting spirit in a niche in a wall of the house. A lamp fed with *ghi* is lighted daily before this image, and in times of trouble, a cocoanut is offered to it in the belief that the spirit can protect the offerers from injuries.

The *pitriyas* or ancestral spirits are propitiated by pouring water over the *Bordi* (jujube), the *Tulsi* (sweet basil) the *Vad* (banyan) the *Pipal* or *durvà* grass (cynodon dactyton) on the 13th, 14th and 15th days of the bright half of *Chaitra* and on the same days of the dark half of *Kàrtik* and *Shrāvan*. On *Vaishàkh Shud Trij*, that is, on the third of the bright half of *Vaishàkh*, which is called *Akhà Trij*, women offer to Bràhmans two earthen jars filled with water and covered with an earthen cup containing a betelnut, a pice and a *pàn* or betel leaf, for the propitiation of the spirits of their deceased ancestors.[3]

For the propitiation of a male spirit a party of Bràhmans is feasted, and for the propitiation of a female spirit three unwidowed married women.[4]

Rajputs, Bharvàds, Ahirs and Kolis set up either a pile of stones or a single stone on the boundary of their village in honour of those among them who die on battle fields. These piles or stones are called *Pàlios*. On the *Pàlios* are placed engraved images to represent the deceased in whose memory the *Pàlios* are erected. Small pillars are also raised in the localities where such persons met their death. On the *Kàli Chaudas* or black fourteenth, that is the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Àsho*, the *Pàlios* are daubed with red lead and worshipped with offerings of cocoanuts. Women who have become *sati* receive worship and offerings on the Hindu new year's day.[5]

Spiritual guides such as Shankaràchàrya, Vallabàchàrya, the *mahàràjas* or spiritual heads of the sect called Swàminàràyan, Làlo Bhagat and Talo Bhagat are worshipped by their devotees with offerings of food, garments and cash. In this *Kali Yuga* or iron age, men who are really great are rare, and even if there be some, they are invisible to the faulty vision of the present day degraded mortals. A few come into contact with such holy men by virtue of the good deeds performed by them in their past lives. These are said to attain paradise by this *satsang*[6] (contact with the righteous).

[1] Mr. K. D. Desài.
[2] The School Master of Luvaria.
[3] The School Master of Jodià.
[4] The School Master of Lilàpur.
[5] The School Master of Sànka.
[6] The School Master of Dhànk.

Holy men receive personal worship during their life-time. After they are dead, their relics, such as impressions of their footsteps, their photos or busts are worshipped with offerings of sandal paste, flowers, red powder, frankincense, lamps fed with ghi and *àrati* (swingings of lamps)[1]

Every sect of Hindus has a *Mahàràja* or spiritual head, and it is considered meritorious to entertain and worship him on certain special occasions. The *Mahàràja* or *Guru* is received with great *éclat*. His followers form a procession and carry him in a palanquin or a carriage and pair accompanied with music. At the house of the person who invites him, the floor is covered with rich cloth, over which the *Mahàràja* is led to a raised seat specially arranged for the purpose. He is then worshipped by the host with the same details as the image of a god. His feet are washed by *panchàmrita* (five nectars), that is a mixture of ghi, milk, honey, sugar and water, which is sipped by the worshipper and distributed among the followers of the *Mahàràja*. Very often the feet of the *Mahàràja* are washed in water, which is considered as purifying as the *panchàmrita*. Great festivity and rejoicings are observed on this day at the house of the *Mahàràja's* host, where crowds of the *Mahàràja's* followers assemble eager for a sight of him. After spending about half an hour in the house, the *Mahàràja* departs, first receiving valuable presents from the host.

Spiritual guides who claim the power of working miracles are held in high esteem by the people. Some of these guides are said to have control over spiritual beings or to possess their favour. These spirits are supposed to endow them with the power of preparing mystic threads, which, when worn round the waist, neck or arm, cure various diseases.

In the Kadavàsan woods, near the village of Daldi, there lives a *bàvà* called Bhimputi, who is believed to possess miraculous powers. He surprises visitors by his wonderful feats and commands vows from the afflicted by mitigating their sufferings. Every day, before breakfast, the *bàvà* visits seven villages to collect sugar and flour, which he throws in handfuls over every anthill which he meets on his way. This act of charity has established him as a saint, and most of his prophecies are believed to be fulfilled.

A Musalmàn named Muhammad Chhail is held in great respect by the people on account of his great magical powers. He is believed to be in the good graces of a *Pir*, who has endowed him with the power of commanding material objects to come to him from long distances, and of breaking them and making them whole again.[2]

Great men of antiquity often command worship as gods. A fast is observed by Hindus on the 9th day of the bright half of *Chaitra*, the birth day of Ràma, whose birth anniversary is celebrated at noon on that day in his temple. On this occasion, all visitors to the temple offer a pice or two to his image and receive his *Prasàd*, that is, consecrated food, which consists of a mixture of curdled milk and sugar. The birth of Krishna is celebrated at mid-night on the eighth day of the dark half of *Shràvan*, when people keep awake for the whole of the night.

The Jains observe a fast for seven days from *Shràvan Vad Bàras*, that is the 12th day of the dark half of *Shràvan*, to the 5th day of the bright half of *Bhàdarvà*, in honour of Mahàvir Swàmi, one of their spiritual teachers, who is believed to have been born on the 2nd day of the bright half of *Bhàdarvà*. This period is known as the *Pajusan*, during which the Jains cause the

[1] The School Master of Ganod.
[2] The School Master of Zinzuvàdà.

slaughter-houses and fish markets to be closed and give alms to the poor.[1]

A century ago there lived at Nalkanthà a sage named Bhànsàb. He met a holy death by deep meditations, and a few days after rose up from his grave in his original form. This led him to be classed in the category of great men and to command divine worship.[2]

Vithal, a sage of the Kàthi tribe, is revered in Pàliàd. Sàvo, a devotee at Zanzarkà, is worshipped by Dheds. Fehalà a Rajput and Tolat his wife, are enshrined at Anjàr, a village in Cutch. Làlo, a Banià devotee of Sindhàvàr, received divine honours in his life-time and his image in Sàyalà is held in great reverence to this day. The *samàdh* of Màdhvagar, an *atit* of Vastadi, situated in Unchadi a village in the Dhandhuka taluka in Ahmedàbàd, is an object of worship. Harikrishna Maharàja, a Bràhman saint of Chudà, received divine honours at Chudà and the Charotar.[3]

If the souls of the departed ones are condemned to become ghosts, *shràddha* ceremonies performed by their descendants are said to be efficacious in freeing them from their ghostly existence and relegating them to some other form of life.

The lives of *bhuts* and *pishàchas*, male and female ghosts, are said to extend over a thousand years.[4] *Shràddhas*, such as the *samàchari* i. e., the death anniversary and *Nàràyanbali* i. e., a *shràddha* performed in a holy place, emancipate the ghostly spirits from their wretched existence and make them eligible for birth in a better form.[5] Some believe that at the end of their ghostly existence (a thousand years) they take birth in the animal kingdom in the mortal world.[6]

The soul is not said to have finall perished unless it merges into the divin self and attains *moksha* or salvation. Th passions and desires of a dying man do no permit his soul ascending beyond a certai stage, where he or she remains as a ghos until the soul is purged of all his or he desires and sins by the performance o funeral ceremonies. For relieving ancestra spirits from the low order of *bhuts* an *pishàchas*, *shràddhas* are performed by thei surviving relatives in such holy places a Prabhàs, Gayà and Pindtàrak. Thes ceremonies are known as *Nàràyanbali* *Nilotsarga* and *saptàha-pàràyan* (recitatio of a sacred book for seven consecutive days).

Those persons who die with wicke thoughts still present and their desires no fulfilled, enter the order of evil spirits, fron which they are liberated after their desires have been satisfied and their wicked thoughts eliminated.[8]

Bhuts and *pishàchas*-ghosts, male and female—can be prevented from doing harm by recourse to certain processes. For instance, the wife of a Nàgar of Gadhadà became a witch after her death and began to torment the second wife of her husband by throwing her out of bed whenever she was asleep. To prevent this, the husband took a vow to perform a *shràddha* at Sidhpur in the name of the deceased wife, after the performance of which the ghostly presence stopped harassing the new wife of her husband.[9]

Bhuts and *pishàchas* are believed by some people to be immortal, because they are supposed to belong to the order of demi-gods. In the *Amorkosha*—the well-known Sanskrit lexicon—they are classed with divinities, such

[1] The School Master of Jodia.

[2] The School Master of Lalapur.

[3] The School Master of Sànkà.

[4] The School Masters of Kotda Sangani and Dadv

[5] The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

[6] The School Master of Dadvi.

[7] The School Master of Ganod.

[8] The School Master of Motà Devalià.

[9] The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohilvàd.

THE DATE OF AKBAR'S BIRTH

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

ALTHOUGH the **remarkable discrepancy in the accounts given of the date of Akbar's birth as recorded by contemporary writers** has been noticed frequently, it has never been thoroughly discussed and elucidated. The matter is worthy of discussion, not only because the date on which Akbar first saw the light is in itself of interest, and a matter which cannot be left indeterminate by any careful historian or biographer, but also because the thorough investigation of the discrepancy helps a critical student of the sources to appreciate the relative value of the Persian histories of Akbar, and at the same time indicates the nature of the motives which in this case and many others tempted the courtly authors to tamper with the truth.

Two distinct and irreconcilable statements concerning the date of birth are on record, namely, (1) the official version that the event occurred early in the morning of Sunday, Rajab 5, A. H. 949=Oct. 15, 1542 (old style); and (2) Jauhar's version that it occurred on the night of the full moon (14) of Shâbân in the same year, equivalent to Thursday, Nov. 23. Both statements cannot be true. The contradiction must be due either to mistake or to deliberate lying on one side or the other. The third possible hypothesis that both parties may be in error, although admissible *a priori*, is excluded by the fact that **one version, namely that of Jauhar, can be proved conclusively to be true and accurate, the official version being the result of deliberate falsification effected for adequate and ascertainable reasons.** That proposition is placed in the forefront of my dissertation in order that the reader may not lose sight of the main issue among a multitude of side issues and petty details. Proof will be given also that **the original title conferred upon the child Akbar was Badru-d-dîn, not Jalâlu-d-dîn,** and satisfactory reasons will be shown for the change of title as well as for the change of date. Incidentally, explanations will be offered of the reasons for the selection of the name Akbar and the name or title Jalâlu-d-dîn. The discussion must necessarily occupy considerable space; it cannot be compressed if the evidence is to be set forth in full, so that any careful student can appraise it at its real value. The subject has been present to my mind for many months, and the conclusion announced above has been arrived at after careful consideration of all relevant facts and arguments. Mr. Beveridge, who until now has upheld the official view, has kindly examined the manuscripts of Jauhar's work in the British museum on my behalf, while the published essay of Kavi Râj Shyâmal Dâs is based on independent examination of other manuscript copies of the same work. No doubt, therefore, is possible that Jauhar recorded the birth as having taken place at the time of the full moon of Shâbân, the eighth month of the Muhammadan year, equivalent to Shâbân 14, or November 23, 1542, old style, whereas the court chroniclers adopted as the date the 5th of Rajab, the seventh month of the Muhammadan year, equivalent to October 15, 1542. The two statements cannot be harmonized. As observed above, proof can be given that one statement is true, and the other false. The proof seems to my mind so convincing that more could not be required if Abu-l-Fazl were on his trial for forgery.[1] It remains for me now to justify those strong assertions.

[1] In Abu-l-Fazl the *u* is pronounced short, although written as if long. The spelling adopted in the text is the best.

It will suffice to give the official version as recorded by three contemporary authors, namely Abu-l-Fazl, Badâonî, and Gulbadan Bêgam.

The first named writer narrates the event with his usual copious rhetoric, from which the essential statements have to be extracted. He states that :—

'The most holy nativity, to wit—of his Majesty from the sublime veil and consecrated curtain of her Highness . . . . her Majesty Miryam Makânî, chaste one of church and state, Hamîda Bânû Bêgam . . . occurred when the altitude of Procyon was 38,° and when 8 hrs. 20 m. had passed from the beginning of the night [*scil.* sunset] of 8th Âbân 464, Jalâlî era [*scil.* era beginning March 15, 1079], corresponding to 19th Isfandârmiz 911 of the old era [*scil.* era of Yazdajird beginning June 16, 632], and to night of Sunday (*shab-i-yak-shamba*) 5th Rajab, lunar era [*scil.* Ḥijrî] and to 6th Kârtik 1599, Hindû era [*scil.* Vikrama *samvat*], and to 16th Tishrînu-l-awwal 1854, Greek era [*scil.* Seleucidan or Syro-Macedonian] ;—4 hrs. 22 m. of the said night (that of Saturday, or rather Sunday) were remaining. The place was the auspicious city and fortunate fort, Amarkôt[2].'

Badâonî gives the same date, stating that :—

'On Sunday, the fifth of the month of the month Rajab, in the year 949 H., the auspicious birth of the Khalîfah of the age Akbar Pâdshâh occurred in a fortunate moment at Amarkoṭ[3].'

Gulbadan Bêgam's account is as follows :—

'In 'Umarkôt he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwâja Mu'azzam to have charge of the *ḥaram.* Hamîda-bânû Bêgam was with child. Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949 H. [October 15, 1542], there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalâlu-d-dîn Muḥammad Akbar *Ghâzî.* The moon was in Seo.'[4]

The reader will observe that the lady gives the date as the fourth, not the fifth day of Rajab. She must either be mistaken, or have used a different almanac, because she agrees with Abu-l-Fazl and Badâonî about the day of the week being Sunday, which fell on the

[2] *Akbarnâmah* (cited as *A. N.*), tr. Beveridge, vol. I, chap. II, pp. 50-55. Abu-l-Fazl spells the name of the town as Amarkôṭ, deriving it apparently from the Sanskrit *amara*, 'immortal'. The same derivation is expressly adopted by Hamilton (*Description of Hindostan,* quarto ed., 1820, vol. I, p. 554), who explains 'Amerkote' as meaning, 'the fort of the immortals.' Tieffenthaler (French tr., p. 122) spells 'Amarcott'. In the *Aîn,* vol. II, tr. Jarrett, pp. 339, 341, the name is written 'Umarkôt,' but in *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 59, it is entered as 'Amarkot, birth-place of his Majesty;' and *ibid.*, p. 421, note 1, Jarrett twice writes Amarkot, without diacritical marks. The *Imperial Gazetteer,* 1908, gives the form 'Umarkot' (*s. v.*), and states that 'it is said to have been founded by one Umar, a chief of the Sûmra tribe, but at what date is not known.' Probably the form 'Umarkôṭ or' Umarkôṭ meaning 'the fort of 'Umar (O mar)', is correct, but it is clear that many people always regarded the name as being purely Hindu, meaning 'the fort of Amar'. The *word* Amar (*amara*) often is an element in Hindu names. I shall use the form ''Umarkôṭ', or simply, 'Umarkot'. The statement in *I. G.* (1908 and earlier ed.) that 'it was through this town that Akbar, when emperor, marched in A. D. 1591 to conquer Sind' is erroneous. As Raverty truly remarks, Akbar never returned to either Umarkôṭ or Sind (*Notes on Afghanistân,* p. 601 note). The conquest of the province was effected by Mirzâ Abdu-r-rahîm Khân Khânân 1590-2.

[3] Tr. Ranking, I, 566.

[4] *The History of Humâyûn* (*Humâyûn-nâma*), tr. A. S. Beveridge, 1902, p. 157 and text p. 59. The text gives the name as عمركوت.

fifth, and not on the fourth day of the month, according to the standard tables.[5] We may take it as a fact, therefore, that Abu-l-Fazl, Badâonî, and Gulbadan agree in assigning the birth to Sunday, Rajab 5. In quoting those authors I have purposely refrained from citing collateral details, because they can be considered more conveniently in relation to **Jauhar's statements**, which will now be quoted in full, so far as relevant.

'*Chap. XI.*—His Majesty waited for a fortunate hour, and then commenced his journey, leaving all his family in the fortress of Amerkote: the first day we marched twenty-four miles, and encamped on the banks of a large pond.[6]

Chap. XII.—The next day, while the king was encamped at the large pond, a messenger arrived from Amerkote with the joyful intelligence of the birth of a son and heir.[7] This auspicious event happened on the night of the full moon of the month Shâbân 949; in consequence of which his Majesty was pleased to name the child. The full moon of religion (Budr addyn) Muhummad Akber. On this joyful occasion he prostrated himself, and returned thanks to the Almighty Disposer of all events. When this joyful news was made known, all the chiefs came and offered their congratulations. The king then ordered the author of this memoir (Jauhar) to bring him the articles he had given in trust to him.'

Humâyûn returned the silver coins and bracelet to the owners, keeping only a pad of musk, which he broke on a china plate and distributed, saying :—

" This is all the present I can afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will I trust be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment." After this ceremony the drums were beaten, and the trumpets proclaimed the auspicious event to the world.[8]

As soon as the evening prayers were finished we marched from the pond . . . . After five marches we arrived in the vicinity of Jûn . . . . After this affray we moved on, and took possession of Jûn, when the royal tent was pitched in a large garden . . . . from this place a messenger was despatched to Amerkote to bring the young Prince and his mother. On the 20th of the month of Ramzân the Prince arrived, and had the honour of being first embraced by his Majesty on the 35th day of his age[9] . . . . During our stay at Jûn the king issued orders that all the chiefs of that country should wait on him . . . . About this time Shâh Hussyn having marched from Tatta, arrived within eight miles of Jûn, and took post on the bank of the river (Indus). It was one evening during the fast of Ramzân, just as his Majesty had taken his first mouthful of water, that intelligence was brought him of the desertion of Tersh Beg, and of his having joined his enemy, Hussyn . . . . Various incidents are next related, and the author proceeds :—

[5] Probably Gulbadan used a different almanac. Cunninghan points out that 'according to Jervis the Indian almanacs give one year in each decade of each cycle differently from Ulugh Beg's tables, as regards the intercalary year. The result is, that where the years 8,19, and 27 are made intercalary those years will begin one day *earlier* than in the Tables, and every day throughout each of these year will be one day earlier. In the accompanying Tables I have placed Roman numerals against the intercalary years of the accepted reckoning, and stars against the three years which differ' (*Indian Eras*, 1883, p. 68). 949 is one of the starred years, the 19th, so that Gulbadan Bêgam was right according to the Indian almanacs.

[6] Jauhar seems to have forgotten an intermediate halt. The party first moved out four *farsakhs*, or about sixteen miles, and then, after a rest, went on to the pond (*A. N.*, p. 59).

[7] Tardî Beg Khân was the messenger (*Badâonî*, I, 566). He was executed in 1556 by Bairâm Khân for failure to defend Delhi.

[8] Abu-l-Fazl gives an absurdly exaggerated account of ' the sublime festivities.' (*A. N.*, p. 60).

[9] Shâbân, 29 days less 14=15, plus 20=35. Shâbân 14 was a Thursday.

'During this time intelligence was brought that Byram Beg (Khân), who had fled from the battle of Canouge, was come from Gujerât to join his Majesty. On hearing this joyful news the king ordered all the chiefs to go out and meet him : he was shortly introduced, and had the honour of being presented to his Majesty, who was much rejoiced by the arrival of so celebrated a character.'[10]

Abu-l-Fazl (*A. N.*, I, 380) fixes the date of Bairâm Khân's arrival as Muharram 7,950= April, 13, 1543. Muharram is the first month of the Muhammadan year. The same author (*ibid.*, p. 389) states that Humâyûn left Jûn on Rabî 'ul-âkhir 7,950=July H, 1543. Those dates may be accepted without hesitation. They are quite independent of the birth-day date, and no reason can be imagined why they should be falsified. Jauhar (p. 49) does not mention the precise date of Humâyûn's departure from the camp near Jûn.

Kavi Râj Shyâmal Dâs gives the following independent translation of Jauhar's text :—

'On leaf 44 of MSS. *Tazkirat-ul-wâqyât* the author Akbar Jauhar, who was Âftâbchî or the ewer-bearer of the Emperor Humâyûn, writes :—

"While the Emperor Humâyûn was encamped on the banks of a pond, at the distance of 12 *kos* (=24 miles) from Amarkot on the way to Bukkar, a messenger arrived in the morning from the former place with the joyful intelligence of the birth of a son and heir ; and delivered his charge in the following terms :—

'The Supreme Being has been pleased to bless your Majesty's royal household with a fortunate prince,' which highly pleased the Emperor.

This auspicious event happened on the night of Saturday[11] the 14th of Shâbân A. H. 949=23rd November, 1542=Margsir Sudi 15th Samvat 1599.

The moon of the 14th night (full moon) is called Badr, in consequence of which the child was named Badr-ud-dîn which signifies nearly the same thing as Jalâluddîn, the name by which Akbar is commonly known.'

Then follows the account of the congratulations and the musk-pod incident.

The passage regarding the arrival of Akbar at Jûn camp is given thus :—

'Now, the following account of the village of Jûn to which Humâyûn had his Queen Hamidah Bânû Begam and the prince Akbar brought from Amarkot by Jauhar, proves that the birth did really happen in the month of Shâbân :—

"Several bands of robbers had to be encountered near the village of Jun ; Sheikh Ali Beg returned after putting them to flight. The emperor halted in a garden adjoining the village, and ordered entrenchments to be thrown up round it, then he sent one of the chiefs to Amarkot to bring the young prince, the females, and the servants. On the 20th Ramzân the prince arrived, and had the honour of being embraced by his Majesty for the first time on the 35th day of his age."

This proves to a certainty that the prince was born on the 14th Shâbân.

A few lines further on, the author mentions the Roza or fast, from which the inference is drawn that the prince did really arrive in Ramzân, the month when the Roza or fast is kept.'

Mr. Beveridge (*A. N.*, I, 59 note) certifies that the rendering by the Kavi Râj 'is closer than Stewart's.' But it is really immaterial which version is used, inasmuch as both testify to the fact that Akbar was born on the full-moon night of Shâbân. The text used by

[10] Jauhar, tr. Stewart, pp. 44—47.

[11] According to Cunningham's tables, the week-day was Thursday.

the Kavi Râj apparently gives also the day of the month, 14, which is not in Stewart. Mr. Beveridge further points out that there are two editions of Jauhar. Since Mr. Beveridge translated the *Akbarnâmah,* he has kindly re-examined the MSS. in the British Museum on my behalf and informs me that edition No. 1—the original *Memoirs,* is B.M. MS. Additional 16.711, in which the birth and arrival passages are respectively entered on folios 54 *b* and 56 *a*. The edition revised at Jauhar's request by Faizî Sirhindî (B.M., MS. or 1890) distinctly gives Rajab as the month of birth, with Shâbân as a marginal note. Faizî omits the words stating that Akbar arrived at Jûn on the 35th day after his birth (*rôz az taulûd-i shâbzâda*). But he preserves the day of the month, the 4th for the nativity, applying it to Rajâb instead of Shâbân.

Mr. Beveridge in his letter dated June 6, 1914, which he authorizes me to quote, goes on to say :—

" It seems to me that it is quite possible that the day of the month was the 14th, and that hence Jauhar calls Akbar Badru-d-dîn. Jauhar, however, adds that Badr and Jalâl mean the same thing, that is the full moon, and, of course, the 14th or 15th Rajab would be full moon, just as much as 14th Shâbân.[12] Supposing that the day of the month really was the 14th, it is quite possible that the courtiers may have changed it to the 5th in order to make Akbar's natal day a Sunday, which was a sort of special day with him.

But I cannot believe that Gulbadan Begam and all the others were mistaken about the month. It is simpler and more probable that Jauhar was mistaken about the month, and that therefore his editor altered the passage and made it Rajab. There could be no object in their giving a wrong month. Jauhar was old and silly."

Those remarks give away the whole case, because they admit that Jauhar's editor tampered with the author's manuscript, and that the courtiers probably altered the day of the month in order to bring in Sunday. *In reality, there is no question of mistake at all.* Jauhar was not mistaken about Akbar's arrival during the Ramazân fast. He could not possibly blunder in that detail. Nor was there any mistake possible about the name-giving. The story of the name-giving in Jauhar is inseparably bound up with the date. Both statements together are either true or false. They could not have come into existence in any conceivable manner as the result of inadvertence or forgetfulness. **The discrepancy in the authorities is due to deliberate falsification on one side or the other, and to nothing else.** It should be remembered that Jauhar's *memoir* is believed to have been composed under instructions from Abu-l-Fazl, who must have read it. I have been occupied all my adult life in weighing evidence and have no hesitation in finding the verdict that Jauhar's statements are true both as concerning the date and as concerning the naming—indeed, I go so far as to say, that owing to the form in which they are made, they not only are, but *must* be true. Hence it follows that the allegations of the "courtiers" are false, having been made for definite and adequate reasons which will be discussed presently.

[12] Jauhar does not *call* Akbar Badru-d-dîn. He states that he himself was present when Humâyûn conferred that name or title for the reason clearly enunciated. He does not say that the two titles 'mean the same thing'. His assertion is that Badru-d-dîn 'signifies *nearly* the same thing as Jalâluddîn, th. name by which Akbar is commonly known.'

The following statement will make clear the discrepancy in dates.

Dates connected with Akbar's birth.

Event.	Akbarnamah date.		Jauhar's date.	
	A. H. 949	A. D. 1542	A. H. 949	A. D. 1542
Arrival of Humâyûn at 'Umarkôṭ.	Jumâda'l-awwal 10 (p. 375).	Aug. 23[13].	......	......
Humâyûn quitted 'Umarkôṭ ...	Rajab 1 (p. 376).	Oct. 11.	......	......
Birth of Akbar	Rajab 5.	Oct. 15.	Shâbân 14, full moon.	Nov. 23.
Arrival of Humâyûn at Jûn ...	Not stated (p. 380).	......	......	About Nov. 30 (6 or 7 marches).
Akbar left 'Umarkôṭ	Shâbân 11.	Nov. 20.	......	About Dec. 18 (6 or 7 marches) (75 miles but travelling slowly).
Akbar arrived at Jûn camp ...	Shâbân 29.	Dec. 8	35 Days after birth Ramzân 20.	Dec. 28.
	950.	1543.	950.	1543.
Arrival of Bairâm Khân at Jûn...	Muharram 7.	April 13.	......	......
Humâyûn left Jûn...	Rabiu'-l-âkhir 7.	July 11[14].	......	......

Which of these contradictory sets of dates is correct?

Both cannot be true. Abu-l-Fazl, who takes the date of birth as Rajab 5, accommodates to suit that day three other days, namely, one antecedent and two subsequent. Jauhar, who takes the full moon of Shâbân (14th) as the birth day, has no antecedent dates to fit in, but is quite clear as to the subsequent date, Ramazân 20, being the 35th day of Akbar's age.

These facts preclude the possibility of mere inadvertence on the part of either Jauhâr or Abu-l-Fazl. It is useless to urge that Jauhar was old and possibly weak-minded when he finally faired out his memoirs nearly fifty years after Akbar's birth. It is obvious that he did not trust to his unaided memory. His tract is full of minute details which necessarily imply the preservation of contemporary private notes. If he had not possessed such notes he would not have been asked to write his memoir, nor could be possibly have performed the task. Everybody admits that he wrote as a simple, honest man of slight education. There is no rhetoric or nonsense in his book. Mere inadvertence being inadmissible as an explanation of his dates, he must have lied deliberately if his statements are false. Why should he lie? What conceivable object could he have in inventing the statements that Akbar was born on the night of the full moon of Shâbân and reached his father on Ramazân 20? If he was neither inadvertent or

[13] This date may be accepted, as being in accordance with either birthday

[14] The two dates in A. H. 950 may be accepted.

a liar his evidence as that of a contemporary and to some extent an eye-witness should be accepted. We must remember that he was actually in personal attendance on Humâyûn when the news of the child's birth arrived, and that he witnessed the naming ceremony.

As further conclusive proof that he was not inadvertent, we have his statement that the child was named Badru-d-dîn *because* he was born at the time of full moon (*badr*). His gloss that Badru-d-dîn and Jalâlu-d-dîn mean nearly the same thing is not an accurate statement, and is merely an attempt to explain the notorious fact that everybody knew Akbar only as Jalâlu-d-dîn. Having already shown that Jauhar was not a blunderer, and that his narrative is transparently honest, we must believe his account of the naming as well as his dates.

Abu-l-Fazl wastes much eloquence in recounting Sunday supposed miracles or semi-miraculous occurrences connected with Akbar's birth and naming as Jalâlu-d-dîn. One such anecdote is intelligible only on the supposition that he was aware that Akbar had been named Badru-d-dîn originally.

The italics are mine ; this is the story :—

'Sharîf Khân related that when his brother Shamsu-d-dîn Mu. Khân Atza was in Ghaznî, in the 22nd year of his age, he dreamt *he saw the moon* (*mâh*) *come into his arms*. He related the fact to his venerable father Mîr Yâr Mu. Ghaznavî who was a spiritually minded householder, and the latter rejoiced at the happy appearance of the auspicious circumstance and interpreted it to mean that God would, one day, bestow a great privilege upon him which would be the means of exalting their family. And so it turned out, for by the blessings of *that full moon* (*badr*) *of glory of the heaven* (*Akbar*) the family was raised from the nadir of the dust to the zenith of heaven.'[15]

That tale applies to Badru-d-dîn, the 'Full Moon of Religion,' but has no relevance to Jalâl-u-dîn, the 'Splendour (or Glory) of Religion.'

I have no doubt whatever that Akbar originally was named Badru-d-dîn because he was born at the time of full moon (*badr*), **as Jauhar asserts** from personal knowledge that he was.

The time has now come to consider the **collateral details** alluded to. Abu-l-Fazl devotes much space and futile learning to the discussion of four distinct **horoscopes** cast on behalf of Akbar, and in the course of his wearisome disquisition makes certain remarks which bear on the subject of this paper.

Two of the horoscopes show Akbar as born under the constellation Virgo, and two as born under Leo, the next preceding constellation. Mr. Beveridge states that Virgo is 'correct—if correctness can be predicated of such matters,' that is to say, it is correct for the Rajab 5 birthday. It is remarkable that two of the horoscopes should have been drawn as under Leo, the constellation preceding Virgo. The fact throws doubt on the official date of birth. Abu-l-Fazl recommends the acceptance of the Leo horoscope drawn by 'Azdu-l-Daulah Amîr Fathu-l-lâh of Shîrâz.[16] Gulbadan also adopts the Leo version' and expresses her gratification that 'it was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed sign, and the astrologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long-lived.'

[15] *A. N.* I, p. 43. The significant Persian words are :—

همچنان شد که از برکاتِ انوارِ این بدرِ آسمان قدر پایهٔ عدّتِ این سلسله از حضیض خاک باوج افلاک بصاود نمود

(Bibl. Ind. ed. Fascic. I, p. 14). Here Akbar is designated as '*badr-i-âsmân*,' 'the full moon of the sky.'

[16] *A. N.* Chap. V, Vol. I, p. 96. 'In the opinion of the writer, this is the most reliable horoscope.'

Abu-l-Fazl's comments on the discrepancy are significant because they betray **hesitation concerning the real date of the birth.**

Kavi Râj Shyâmal Dâs states in the English version of his paper that 'Abû-l-Fazl, after writing several horoscopes of Akbar that do not tally, says :—

'It is but meet that everybody should not know the actual account of the birthday of a sample of creation' (like Akbar).

That quotation has been filtered through two translations, and I cannot find anything exactly corresponding to it in Mr. Beveridge's version. But, at p. 123, he translates :—

'Owing to the jealousy of God, **the truth of the holy nativity remained under the veil of concealment and was hidden behind the curtain of contradiction.**' Those rhetorical words give nearly the same sense as the quotation in the form adopted by the English translator of the Kavi Râj. Abu-l-Fazl proceeds to argue that the discrepant horoscopes agree at any rate in predicting everything favourable about Akbar.

The author of the Mirât-i-Aftâbnumâ, a compilation written in A. D. 1803,[17] as quoted by the Kavi Râj, **avows uncertainty as to the date of Akbar's birth,** saying :—

'In the year A. H. 949 according to some accounts, or in A. H. 950 as others would have it, at Amarkot was born Jalâluddîn Muhammad Akbar of Hamidah Banû Begam a descendant of Ahmad Jâm. According to the *Akbarnâma* the auspicious birth of the prince took place at Amarkot on Sunday night the 15th [*sic*] Rajjab A. H. 949, the sun being at the time in Scorpio.'

The passage is of value only as showing the existence of doubt on the subject, and for the curious statement that Akbar was born on Sunday, Rajab 15, 949. That statement will be explained presently.

Proof having been given that the positive statements of Jauhar are true, it follows that **the contrary statements of Abu-l-Fazl, etc., must be false.** Those false statements were not made without reason. **The principal reason for making them was** satisfactorily explained by Kavi Raj Shyâmal Dâs, whose paper published in 1886, convinced me many years ago.[18]

It will be best to quote his words so far as necessary :—

'What led the authors of the *Akbar Namah*, the *Tabaqâti Akbari*, and the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawârikh* to record the 5th Rajjab, Sunday, instead of the true date, 14th Shâbân, Saturday ? [*sic*].[19]

My explanation may be embodied in a single term, superstition, still I should like to say something in detail.

There is a couplet enjoining on the Hindûs to conceal nine things :—

आयुर्वित्तं गृहच्छिद्रं मंत्रमैथुनमौषधीम ।
दानयानापयानञ्च नव गोप्यानि कारयेत ॥

that is —1, age, 2, wealth, 3, defects in one's household, 4, *mantra* (Vedic or Tantric), 5, coition, 6, medicine, 7, charity, 8, honour, and 9, dishonour, should be concealed.

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17 Elliot and Dawson, VIII, 332. I have not met with any history which gives the year as 950.

18 My *Oxford Student's History of India*, of which the first edition appeared in 1908, is, I think, the only history of India which gives Nov. 23 as the date of Akbar's birth.

19 Shâbân 14 was Thursday.

Now, the first of these with which we are immediately concerned, is still strictly observed by well-to-do Hindûs, of whom only 10 per cent. of enlightened views would ever dare to lay aside this rule. The annual birthday festivals are in most cases held a day or two previous to or after the actual birthday; and if the date is published in this way, the year of birth is kept a profound secret. Horoscopes of the nobility and gentry are always entrusted to confidential family-priests, who never betray their charge, or are at least expected not to do so.

The writer has personally observed people sometimes accusing their enemies of practising witchcraft against the life of some person; and to confirm the charge brought by them, the accusers try to produce fabricated horoscopes bearing special symbols, and a puppet figure of the proposed victim, from the houses of the parties accused. The Mughals borrowed these superstitious notions from the Hindûs.'

The author proceeds to give instances of superstitions which were regarded by Bâbur, Humâyûn, and Akbar. The list might be largely extended.

He goes on to argue that Hamîda Bêgam probably reported the false date, Rajâb 5 in order to preserve her child from danger, and that horoscopes were prepared accordingly. It is also possible, he observes, that the court historians themselves may have deliberately published a falser date, from the same motive.

That explanation in either form is perfectly adequate. Akbar, as everybody knows, was exposed to constant danger of many kinds during his childhood, so that his mother and her male friends must have been terribly anxious lest harm should befall him. No harm could be more deadly in their estimation than that wrought by witchcraft, and their beliefs being such as they were, they lay under an obligation to protect the helpless child by every possible means. Nobody knew anything about the existence of Jauhar's private notes, which remained hidden for nearly half a century, and there was nothing to prevent the family from agreeing on a date for public use. The selection of Rajâb 5, and the consequent change of name may have taken place in 1545, when Akbar then aged about three, was restored to his father and circumcised with great ceremony. There is some reason to suppose that, as the Kavi Râj points out, he bore the title Jalâl-ud-dîn long before his accession. The fort at Jalâlâbâd was named after him and given him in *jâgîr* when he was about ten years of age and his father was still in Kâbul. Naturally, therefore, the title Jalâl-ud-dîn appears on his coinage from the first year of the reign, 1556-7.[20]

[20] Sir Beveridge's note 2, *A. N.*, Vol. I, p. 112; Ravuty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 51. There is no doubt that after the death of Hindâl in Nov. 1551, his domain of Ghazni with its dependencies was conferred upon Akbar, then in his tenth year. But it is not clear when the *name* of Jalâlâbâd was given to the new fort at Jûî-Shâhî, which was the old name of the place. According to *I. G.* (1908) *s. v.* Jalâlâbâd was founded by Akbar in 1570, some four years after his accession. Humâyûn left Kâbul in January 1555. Ravuty says that "Bâyazîd, the Byât, says that Humâyûn Bâdshâh built a fort at Jûî Shâhî, where in after years another fort was built, and called after that Bâdshâh's son—Jalâl-ud-dîn Muhammad. Akbar Bâdshâh—by the name of Jalâlâbâd. Humâyûn, he also says, built this fort in Rajab, 950 H. (June, 1552, A.D.)." Raverty's words "in after years" support the Gazetteer date. Abu-l-Fazl distinctly states that it was Munim Khân who gave Jûî Shâhî its 'holy appellation' and colonized it. As he was governor of Kâbul from 1555 to 1560, the bestowal of the name Jalâlâbâd should be referred to that period (*A. N.* I. 565).

The concealment of the true date of birth, namely, Shâbân 14 = November 23, is satisfactorily explained by the desire of the persons responsible for Akbar's safety to preserve him from the perils of witchcraft. The selection of Rajab 5, Sunday, as the official false date seems to have been suggested by special reasons.

All students of the history of Akbar are aware that in his later days he paid special reverence to the Sun and Sunday. But that late predilection of his would not explain the selection of Sunday for his official birthday by his relatives in his infancy. They, however, may be reasonably credited with a preference on astrological grounds for the first day of the week, the day of the Sun, which was always highly reverenced by Persians. Abu-l-Fazl in his commentary on one of the rival horoscopes dilates on the glory of 'the Great Light (the Sun,) the benefactor of the universe, and moderator of the affairs of mortals, and the special bestower of glory, pomp, power, and prestige, (*A. N.* I, p. 75). There are other similar passages. A powerful motive for the selection of Rajab 5 is found in the statement of Sédillot (*Prolegommer* 240, as quoted by Beveridge, *A. N.* I, p. 54, note 5) that Rajab 5 was believed to be the day of Muhammad's conception. Ulugh Beg, we are told, dated that event on Rajab 15. It is curious that according to the quotation cited above, the author of the *Mirât-i-Âftâbnumâ* places the birth on Rajab 15, while stating that the year was uncertain still averring that the day of the week was Sunday.[21] It actually was so on Rajab 15, 950. The writer seems to have confused Rajab 5, 949 with Rajab 15, 950. Akbar himself bore the name of Muhammad, but it is so usual for Muslims to bear that name that no significance can be attached to its bestowal upon Akbar.

The name Akbar appears to have been suggested by that of the child's grandfather 'Alî Akbar. The name or title Jalâlu-d-dîn was given as a substitute for Badr-ud-dîn, which could not be retained when the birth was no longer connected with *badr*—the full moon. It was natural to choose a title which came as near as possible in form to the original one conferred by Humâyûn, and did not differ too widely in meaning. We do not know when the official birthday was adopted and the consequent change of name effected. But both alterations were made during Akbar's childhood, and prior to the time, A. D. 1852, when Hindâl's *jâgîrs*, including Jalâlâbâd, named after Akbar, were assigned to the young prince after the death of Hindâl. I have suggested that the solemn occasion in 1545, or early in 1546, when Akbar was restored to his father and underwent the ceremony of circumcision would have afforded a suitable opportunity for the changes.

It is not unlikely that only a few readers will have had the patience to follow me closely through all the details of a long argument. Those who have done so will be convinced, I think that the argument is sound. It seems to me that no other conclusion on the main issue is possible for anybody who can appreciate the value of evidence. A summary of the results attained may be convenient. The following propositions may be considered to have been finally established, namely :—

[21] In A. H. 949. Rajab 15 was Wednesday. But in 950, which the *Mirât* gives as an alternative year for the birth, Rajab 15 was a Sunday. That fact confirms the hypothesis that the official birthday was selected with regard for the supposed date of Muhammad's conception.

(1) That the statements of Jauhar concerning both the date of birth and the naming of Akbar are true;

(2) That the statements of the court chroniclers concerning the same matters are false;

(3) That Akbar was born on Shâbân 14, at the time of full moon, A. H. 949 = Thursday morning, November 23, A. D. 1542, old style;

(4) That the child was originally named Badru-d-dîn, 'the full moon of religion';

(5) That during his childhood, at some date, probably prior to 1552, the official birthday was substituted for the real one, and, in consequence, the name or title Badru-d-dîn, which was no longer suitable, was replaced by Jalâlu-d-dîn;

(6) That three motives determined the changes in the birthday and name. The first and principal one was the desire to preserve the child from the perils of witchcraft by concealing the true date of his birth. Secondary motives were the preference for Sunday over Thursday, and the wish to associate the birthday with the assumed date of the conception of Muhammad.

Inferences probable, but not certain, are:—

(1) that the name Akbar was suggested by the name of the child's grandfather, 'Alî Akbar;

(2) that the changes of birthday and name took place in 1545 or 1546 when Akbar was restored to his father and circumcised with much ceremony![22]

The authorities, as usual, differ concerning **the date of Akbar's death.** Some years ago the late Mr. William Irvine kindly examined the Persian histories on my behalf, and arrived at the conclusion that the most probable date was October 15, old style (O. S.), or October 25 new style (N. S.)[23].

'Inâyatu-llâh, author of the *Takmîla-i-Akbarnâma* (E. &. D. VI, 115)[24] gives the date as 9th Âzur [Persian month], the night of Wednesday, 12 Jumâda II, A. H. 1014.

Muhammad Amîn, author of the *Anfâu-l-Akhbâr* (*ibid.*, p. 248) gives the same date, Wednesday, 12 Jumâda II, 1014. Mr. G. P. Taylor accepts 12 Jumâda II, but makes it equivalent to 10 Abân [Persian month] of 50 Ilâhi (*J. & Proc. A. S. B.* 1911, p. 710). Abdu-l-Bâkî, author of the *Ma'âsir-i-Rahîmî* (*ibid.*, p. 243), dates the event on the 23rd Jumâda I of same year, without mentioning the weekday.

The weekday undoubtedly is correct, it being understood that a Muhammadan "Day" extends from sunset to sunset. Consequently, hours after midnight on Wednesday—Thursday night, which we should reckon as Thursday *a.m.*, count as Wednesday for Mussalmans. Some corroborative evidence that the day of the week by Muslim reckoning was Wednesday is supplied by Jahângîr, who regarded that day as unlucky, calling it *kam-shamba* (R. & D., *Memoirs*, I, 9 *n.*),[25] distinguishing it from Thursday *mubârak-shumba*, his lucky day and birthday (*ibid*, II, 10, 74). It is extremely unlikely, in any case, that a mistake should be made about the week day.

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22 Authorities differ as to the date of the circumcision ceremony. Mrs. Beveridge inclines to accept March, 1546 (*Gulbadans* p. 179, *n.*)

23 That date, accordingly, was adopted in The *Oxford Student's History of India*, 5th ed., 1915, p. 180 *n.*

24 E. & D. means Elliot and Douson, *History of India as told by its own Historians.*

25 Rogers and Beveridge, tr. of Jahângîr's authentic *Memoirs*, publ. by R. Asiatic Society, Vol. I, 1909, Vol. II, 1914.

According to Cunningham's Tables, 12 Jumâda II was Tuesday.

The date 23 Jumâda I given by 'Abdu-l-Bâkî is clearly wrong.

Nobody seems to have noticed that Du Jarrie states the date as October 27. Inasmuch as the "new style" came into use in Portugal and Spain from 1582, the 27th means "new style", equivalent to the 17th "old style."

The Dominical Letter for 1605, old style, is F, and for new style is B. Either yields Thursday as the day of the week.[26] Thursday *a.m.* is Wednesday night by Muhummadan reckoning.

The corresponding Hijrî date would be Jumâda II, 14 not 12, and Jumâda II, 14, was Thursday by Cunningham's Tables.[27]

Du Jarrie's account is based on the statements of Jerome Xavier and Benedict à Goes, who were in Agra at the time, and actually had an interview with Akbar the Sunday before he died. On that Sunday he was gay and cheerful, in spite of the alarming current rumours about his health, but two days later, (Tuesday), he was obviously dying. The Fathers do not explicitly state the weekday on which he died, but they cannot possibly be mistaken about the day of the month. Du Jarrie's third volume was published in French in 1614. The Latin translation which I have used appeared in 1616.

The correct date of Akbar's death therefore is :—

Wednesday to Thursday night after midnight,

October 17, old style ;

,, 27, new style ;

Jumâda II, 14, A. H. 1014.

I append the relevant passages from Du Jarrie (India office copy, vol. III) :—

Page 131. 'Magnus et potens hic Monarcha XXVII Octobrio MDCV. ita demoritur . . . Invaletudinis eius facti certiores Patres, die Sabbathi illum adeunt . . . Verim ita hilarum et lactum inta satrapas viderunt, importunum ut censerent de hujus vitae catashophe et ad alteram transmigratione cum ipso tum agere . . . At post hidnum rex in extremis passim esse dicebatur.'

In English :—

"This great and powerful monarch on October 27, 1605, so died . . . The Fathers, on learning of his illness, attended on him on the sabbath day . . . But they saw him so gay and cheerful among his nobles, that they judged it inopportune to discuss with him then the end of this life and the change to the other . . . But two days later, every body was saying that he was on the point of death.[28]

The Fathers did their best to obtain admittance but failed. They were informed that the dying monarch, after he had lost the power of speech, received Prince Salîm, and by signs directed him to assume the royal diadem and gird on the sword which hung at the head of the bed. Another sign with the hand commanded the prince to depart.

That account seem to represent truly what really happened, but this note is confined to the question of date. For that I accept the Jesuit evidence as conclusive. On another occasion I may discuss the evidence concerning the death bed scene, which is more complicated.

[26] Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Chronology of History* (1833), tables C, D, E.

[27] In Persian manuscript 14 might be easily corrupted into 12.

[28] Du Jarrie's work whether in French or Latin, is extremely rare, and the third volume is the rarest. Chapters IV-XV of Book I. in that Volume, pp. 38-137, concern the reign of Akbar. The short title of the work is *Rerum Indicarum Thesaurus*.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PANDYA MONARCHY.
(MR. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI'S THEORY.)

BY ROBERT SEWELL.

(*Continued from p. 202.*)

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya.

(*Accession August 1276.*)

I have paid very great attention to the question of the date of accession of this king and in *Epig. Ind.* XI (pp. 259-61) have given full reasons for supposing that it was on a day between 6 and 25 August 1276.[21] We have many records of this reign.

(*414 of 1908*). Professor Jacobi published this date in *Epig. Ind.* XI (p. 135, *No. 85*) and decided that, for the year 1285, the given week-day, Sunday, did not work out correctly; and his calculation is correct. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, however, wishes us to accept the date as Sunday 21st October A. D. in that year. The stated regnal year is the 9th. According to all former information October 1285 would be in the 10th, (or even perhaps in the 11th) regnal year of this king. I believe it to have been in his 10th year; so that, taking his date, we must consider "9" as a mistake for "10". Then, though the day was one in the given solar month Tulâ, the given 7th kṛishṇa tithi was properly connected with the following day, Monday, not Sunday; and the nakshatra named was also appropriate to the Monday. The tithi belonged to the lunar month Kârttika, and it was current on the forenoon of that day; it was therefore the occasion of a Kalpâdi ceremony. I hold then that the date may be Monday 22 October 1285, "Sunday" being an error. This really strengthens the author's case because it predicates only two instead of three errors in the original. The date is not to be classed as regular, because the wrong regnal year and the wrong week-day are given.

(*581 A of 1902*). I concur with the author as to this date. It confirms the opinion I expressed as to the date of accession, and it is in itself a perfect and regular.

(*575 of 1902*). Prof. Kielhorn published this date in *Epig. Ind. VIII* (p. 279, *No. 54*), stating that the corresponding day was "apparently" 27 August A.D. 1287. The present author names the same day. There is another inscription in the same temple (*No. 580 of 1902*) which looks as if it were intended to be of the same date, and Mr Swamikannu Pillai has noticed this second date on his p. 228, utilizing it as establishing the reign of a different king altogether and declaring it to correspond to 28 August A.D. 1314 (*below p. 252*). For present purposes I place the details of the two together. It will be seen that the second is mutilated. The first seems to be good condition with the exception of the first figure of the day of the solar month, the second, "1," being legible. The details of *No. 575* are copied from the publication of Prof. Kielhorn, and as supplied by the Epigraphist.

(*No. 575*). 12th regnal year; Rêvatî; Wednesday; 3 kṛ:; [3]1 Siṁha.

(*No. 580*). 1[?] regnal year; —vati; Wed. . . . ; 3 kṛ:; 31 Siṁha.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai does not explain why, when the responsible Epigraphist read the solar month day in the first case as "[3]1", (there being no doubt as to the "1") he declares it to be "29". (As a matter of fact the date, if allotted to A.D. 1287, corresponds to 30 Siṁha, "31" being taken as an error in the original). Nor does he

[21] Prof. Jacobi's No. 86. (*Epig. Ind. XI, p. 136*), reduces the period to 10-25 August 1276.

explain why, with this extraordinary similarity in the dates, he fixes the date of the first as 27 August 1287 A.D. and the second as 28 August 1314. It is true that the details are perfect for A.D. 1314, while for A.D. 1287 the solar day would be wrong by one. Then why not attribute both to A.D. 1314 ? or, if the error is passed over as accidental, both to A. D. 1287, following Kielhorn ?

(*No. 590 of 1907*). I published this date in *Epig. Ind. X*, (p. 142, *No. 75*). It is perfectly regular for the 14th year of this king, and as the regnal year is declared by the Epigraphist to be damaged (though he thinks it may be read "13" or "15") the date arrived at by both Mr. Swamikannu Pillai and myself, *viz.*, 20 February A. D. 1290 may, without the correction which he considers necessary, be accepted. There can be no question as to the year, for the record quotes the cyclic year "Virôdhin." (Mr Swamikannu Pillai's remarks on this date have become misplaced in his article, and are to be found immediately after his explanation of *No. 302 of 1909*).

(*No. 302 of 1909*). I published this date in *Epig. Ind. XI*, (p. 259, *No. 107*) arriving at precisely the same conclusion as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai.

(*No. 69 of 1908*). This record is dated in the 16th year of a king named Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya who has the additional title "Kôṇêrinmêḷkoṇḍâṉ" applied to him. The details of the date are the 16th regnal year, solar month Karka, śukla 7, Hasta. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai decides that this corresponds to 4 July A.D. 1291, and states that the moon passed out of Hasta just after sunrise. I think this is correct if the calculation were made for true sunrise; but if this is the correct date we must, I think, consider that the 16th regnal year was quoted in error for the 15th.

(*No. 123 of 1904*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's calculation is perfectly correct; but the date given is imperfect as it states no week-day, and the combination of Mêsha, śukla 9 and Pushya is one that often occurs. It is important that this date, which apparently belongs to the reign of the same king as the last, should be very carefully examined by the Epigraphist, since it states that the given day was the 276th day of the 16th regnal year, and this would give us the exact day of the king's accession. I cannot agree with the conclusion put forward by the author that it *must* correspond to 28th March 1292 A.D., and *must* belong to the reign of Jaṭâvarman Sundara (acc. 1276). The date is itself imperfect. As to its consistency with other dates of this Jaṭâvarman Sundara, I may refer to my remarks in *Epig. Ind. XI*. pp. 259-261. I there gave a list of six perfect and regular dates which, as they stand, unaltered, prove the king's accession to have been later than 5 August 1276. Professor Jacobi's *No. 86* (*op. cit. XI. 136*) is an additional proof, being perfect and regular, and proving accession to have taken place after 9 August 1276. According to these seven therefore **the accession period is 10-25 August 1276.** The date 69 of 1908 above is, as it stands, inconsistent with this, and so would be 123 of 1904 if it belongs to the same reign; for, if finally determined as the author wishes, it would make the day of accession 26 June 1276 (not 25 June as he states in the heading, or 24 June as given by him on p. 165).

Mâṟavarman Vikrama Pâṇḍya.

(*A new king proposed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai with accession 12 January—29 August 1283*).

I consider that in this instance the author has established his case. He points out that two records (Nos. 53 and 54 of 1905) mention the king's name, giving the date in the Śaka year 1209, A.D. 1287, while another mentions his victory over the Kâkaṭiya king

Gaṇapati.[22] These facts are conclusive that a Vikrama Pâṇḍya reigned about the period assigned, and it only remains to try and determine the date of his accession.

(*No. 143 of 1902*). I concur with the date determined for this, *viz.*, 11 January 1286. "Sukla 4" is an error for śukla 14. The date is therefore not quite perfect, but it may be accepted. If so it fixes the earliest possible accession-day as 12 January 1283, the regnal year given being the 3rd.

(*No. 120 of 1896*). This, of the 5th regnal year, is a perfect and regular date and agrees, as fixed by the author, with 14 December 1287. According to it the earliest possible accession-day would be 15 December A.D. 1282.

(*No. 410 of 1909*). The corresponding date is 29 August 1288, but the date in the record is not quite satisfactory, since the moon passed into the given nakshatra more than 8 hours after mean sunrise. If accepted it determines the earliest possible day for the king's accession as 30 August 1282, since the given regnal year is the 6th.

(*No. 116 of 1900*). A perfect and regular date corresponding to 14 December A.D. 1291. The 8th regnal year is stated, which would fix the earliest possible accession-date as 15 December A.D. 1283; but this contradicts the first three inscriptions noted above. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has not noticed that if the date be accepted we shall have to correct the number of the regnal year, taking the "8th" year to have been quoted in error for the 9th. Then the date will agree with the others.

(*No. 251 of 1901*). This is an unsatisfactory date as the number of the regnal year is very doubtful and, even if we accept Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's suggestion, the quoted nakshatra is not the one which by custom would have been connected with the civil day. I prefer therefore to set this date on one side.

The first three of these dates **fix the king's accession as on a day between 12 January and 29 August A. D. 1283,** as determined by the author. But amongst the five inscriptions noticed only two dates are perfect and regular, and if accepted without the alteration suggested (in No. 116) one of these contradicts the other. Nevertheless I think that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai is justified in his conclusion.

Jaṭâvarman Tribh: Vikrama Pâṇḍya.

(*No. 11 of 1894*). **I find no justification for the entry of this name in the list proposed for our acceptance.** Mr. Swamikannu Pillai only offers us one inscription, no other corroborating it having as yet been found. And he gives us two dates, *viz.*, 30 June A.D. 1278, and 1 July A.D. 1305, for either of which he says the details will suit. I take these in turn. The given details are the 9th śukla tithi in solar Mithuna; Thursday; the moon in Svâti.

(*i*) *For Thursday, 30 June A.D. 1278.* On this day at sunrise the moon was certainly in Svâti and the 9th śukla tithi was current; but the solar month was not, as given, Mithuna. The day in question was the 3rd day of Karka. For the 9th śukla tithi in Mithuna in that year the week-day was Wednesday, and the moon at sunrise was in Hasta. The day was 6 Mithuna and 1 June.

(*ii*) *For Thursday, 1 July A.D. 1305.* On this day the 9th śukla tithi was current at sunrise and the moon was in Svâti as given; but, as before, I find that the current

[22] If Vikrama Pâṇḍya's accession took place as late as A. D. 1283 it is not probable that the king whom he conquered was the Gaṇapati whose last known date was about 1250 A. D. It may have been a vassal of the Kâkaṭîya bearing the same name, or it may have been Queen Rudramma, the generic name "Gaṇapati" being applied to her.

solar month was Karka and not Mithuna. The day corresponded to 4th Karka. The 9th śukla tithi in Mithuna was connected with Wednesday 2 June A.D. 1305, which corresponded to 7th Mithuna with the moon in Hasta at sunrise.

Thus I find Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's calculation in each case erroneous. It is no part of my present purpose to search for an appropriate date. That can be done at leisure. The combination of a 9th śukla tithi with the moon in Svâti in the month of Mithuna requires that the civil day should be one towards the end of that solar month. The 9th śukla tithi in each of the years suggested by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai fell early in Mithuna when the combination was impossible.

Jaṭâvarman Srîvallabhadeva.

This is another new king whose reign is considered by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai to be satisfactorily established by the evidence of the four inscriptions of which he quotes the dates. He fixes this king's accession as between 5th April and 12th November A.D. 1291, but the first of his dates proves that the accession could not have been on a day earlier than 20 April A.D. 1291.

(*No. 503 of 1909*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date is quite correct and the details of it are regular. It corresponds to Friday 19 April A.D. 1297.

(*No. 499 of 1909*). Examining this date, of which the details are Mêsha 11, Paurṇamî, Tuesday, I find that in A.D. 1300, in the solar month Mêsha, the 15th śukla, or *paurṇamî*, tithi was probably repeated and was connected both with 11 Mêsha, which was *Monday*, and 12 Mêsha, *Tuesday*. The *paurṇamî* tithi began about 55m. *before* mean sunrise on that Monday (4 April A.D. 1300) and ended about 26m. *after* mean sunrise on the Tuesday (5 April). Properly speaking, therefore, the real *paurṇamî* tithi was connected with Tuesday 5 April, but that day was the 12th and not the 11th Mêsha.

The date, therefore, is not quite regular, also it is imperfect.

(*No. 642 of 1902*). I find the author's date quite suitable for the details given. The 11th śukla tithi is quoted though it only began on the Saturday in question, 3rd April A. D. 1316, about 4½ hours after sunrise, and this is not the general rule. But the difference may be accounted for by the tithi in question being the occasion of the *Kâmadâ êkâdaśî* celebration.

(*No. 639 of 1902*). Here there are two dates mentioned in the record. The first is a date in the 21st year of the well-known king Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara (acc. 1314) the beginning of whose reign has been fixed for us by Professor Kielhorn. The given date corresponds to Monday 13th June A. D. 1334, the 12th śukla tithi being wrongly quoted for the (correct) 11th. The second date Mr. Swamikannu Pillai identifies, though a little doubtfully, with Wednesday, 12th November A. D. 1315. I have examined this carefully, and concur with the author's view; the details given are peculiar and contain an expression which he characterizes, rightly, as "extraordinary." The date is distinctly unsatisfactory.

To sum up this evidence. There is only one perfect date offered to us, which, so far as it goes, shews that it may belong to a king whose reign began inside the year from 20th April 1291 to 19th April 1292 A. D. This is the first date mentioned. The second is imperfect and not quite regular. The third may be held to be perfect and regular; its date would go to shew that the king's accession could not have taken place later than 3rd April A. D. 1292. The fourth is hardly to be accepted.

I think the existence of this king, whose accession must be placed on a day between 20 April A. D. 1291 and 3 April 1292, **quite possible;** and as No. 642 of 1902 mentions his 25th year he lived, if he lived at all, till A.D. 1316. **But we require a little better evidence** before we can be quite sure. It should never be forgotten that all the details of a perfect date (though not of an extraordinarily perfect one, *i. e.*, when the number of the day of the solar month is stated in addition to the rest) will be found suitable to about three days in every century. Thus on his p. 227 the author gives us two alternative European dates for one perfect and regular Pâṇḍya date, one in A. D. 1266 and one in 1310. Hence two of these dates, 499 of 1909 and 642 of 1902, may be found perfectly to correspond with a year some 30 or 35 years before or after the dates claimed for them by the author, and still fulfil all the requirements of the Epigraphist.

Maṛavarman Tribh : Sundara Pâṇḍya.

(A king named Sundara Pâṇḍya is known to have lived about the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century) A. D. The author proposes for his accession a day between 19 February and 6 March A. D. 1294.)

(No. 342 of 1911). The given details of the date correspond in part to the day fixed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, *viz.*, Sunday, 16 April A.D. 1307; but by the usual practice that day would have been called the day of "Hasta," out of which nakshatra the moon passed during the day. The quoted "Chitra" would have been connected with the next day, Monday. The date is not quite regular. It would probably be found perfect for a year about (roughly) 35 years earlier or later.

(No. 343 of 1911). The same remarks apply to this date, *mutatis mutandis.* It is not quite regular. An error of 1 was made in the number of the *tithi.* The author's calculation agrees with mine.

(No. 344 of 1911). In this day the number of the tithi is illegible, and to regularize the date the author changes the quoted fortnight to make it suit the year he has found for the accession of this king. But this is in my opinion, going too far. In every year the moon was in the quoted nakshatra on some day in the quoted solar month Kumbha. These two details therefore afford no guide whatever. The only guides to the date are the week-day, Monday (this conjunction would occur once in every six years or so) and the lunar fortnight. The author changes the fortnight. This date is therefore quite useless as proof. And yet I find that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai uses it to fix the earliest possible day of the king's accession, a conclusion I must hold to be inadmissible.

It is possible for these three dates to be found regular for quite other years. They are none of them conclusive as they stand.

I must hold the accession-date proposed for this king to be at present not proved.

Jaṭavarman Vîra Pâṇḍya.

(A king named Vîra Pâṇḍya is known to have lived early in the 14th century. The author proposes for his accession a day between 23 June and 24 July A. D. 1296).

I have not been able to ascertain on what foundation Mr. Swamikannu Pillai bases these possible accession days. Professor Jacobi published five inscription dates of a king (or kings) bearing the same name (*Ep. Ind. XI, 137-39*), and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has given us three more; but in none of them is a day mentioned which would give us the accession limits stated by the latter. He is evidently convinced of their correctness (*see the note to p. 226*), and it must be assumed that he had some reason, possibly founded

on other records, for his decision; but he has not published the dates. Those contained in the paper under discussion, would give rise to a different conclusion altogether; and moreover he does not seem to have noticed that they are contradictory. Putting together his results for records 401 of 1908, 45 of 1906 and 120 of 1908 we should find the accession to have taken place on a day between 17 December 1296 and 16 June 1297 A. D.; whereas his results for records 122 of 1908, 393 of 1906, and 119 of 1908 as they stand would give us the accession period 14 December 1295 to 12 July 1296 A. D. Thus three of his dates, standing unchanged, contradict the other three as to the date of accession, and the dates he gives for accession in the heading of the section do not agree with either group. I think however, that the solution may be found as I have suggested below.

It is a historical fact, well-known, that a king called Vîra Pâṇḍya lived early in the 14th century, but hitherto the date of his accession has not been determined. It is with this alone that we are now concerned.

(*No. 78 of 1900*). The only details given us in this date are the 5th regnal year, the solar month Mithuna, and the moon in Hasta. It is manifest that it would be absurd to attempt to determine the record as belonging to any one year on such evidence, since in *every* year the moon is in Hasta on some day in Mithuna. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, however, not only fixes the year and day for us, but does so after changing (13) Hasta in the date to (8) Pushya. He must, I feel sure, feel on reconsideration that such a course of reasoning cannot stand in the light of common sense. This date must be set aside altogether. It can never prove anything by itself.

(*No. 401 of 1908*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date Friday 28 September A. D. 1302 certainly suits the given details of the date in the record; and in accepting it all that we need remember is that it would probably be found equally correct for a year about 30 or 35 years before or after A. D. 1302. Professor Jacobi has published this date (*Epig. Ind. XI, p. 137, No. 90*), arriving at the same conclusion as to the corresponding day. Such as it is it can be accepted if it is held, palæographically and from its contents, to belong to that year; and if so accepted it fixes the accession as on a day between 29 September 1296 and 28 September 1297 A. D. Relying on the accession-date given in the heading "23 June to 24 July 1296" the author says that the given date would fall at the beginning of the seventh regnal year. And if so he has to weaken considerably the strength of the date by altering the number of the regnal year and considering "6" to have been stated in error. In such case the date would not be wholly convincing. Accepting it for the time in order to see if it is supported we pass on.

(*No. 45 of 1906*). I concur with the author in his opinion that the date given corresponds to Wednesday 16 December A. D. 1310. It is a perfect and regular date; and the historical allusion whiah it contains to the 41st year of his natural father (he himself was illegitimate) constitutes further evidence that the king in question was the Vîra Pâṇḍya who reigned at the time of the first Muhammadan inroad into Southern India. To shew how careful we have to be let it be noticed that the date is equally regular, as shewn by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, for Wednesday 22 December A. D. 1266, which fell in the 14th year of that Jaṭâvarman Vîra whose accession-date, so far as is known to us from the late Prof. Kielhorn's researches (the king is the "E" of the Professor's List (*Epig. Ind. IX*), was on a day between 11 November A. D. 1252 and 13 July 1253. (In my remarks above (*p. 196*) I have suggested that the accession period may now be reduced

to a day between 20 June and 4 July A.D. 1253). Accepting the date, as I think we should do, for 16 December A. D. 1310 we have the earliest possible day of accession fixed by it as 17 December 1296 and the latest 16 December 1297 A. D. It appears fully to support the date of No. 401 of 1908, last examined.

(*No. 122 of 1908*). This date was published by Prof. Jacobi (*Ep. Ind. XI, p. 138 No. 92*). I have again examined it. We are all three in accord, finding that the details correspond to Thursday, 2 December A. D. 1339. I have further examined it on the chance of its belonging to the earlier Jaṭâvarman Vîra Pâṇḍya whose accession took place in A. D. 1253, but it does not work out properly for that reign. Granting, then, that the date is accepted as corresponding to 2 December A. D. 1339 we have to consider how it agrees with dates 401 of 1898 and 45 of 1906 (above). The result of the date is to limit the accession to a day between 3 December A. D. 1295 and 2 December 1296; that is to say the latest possible day for accession is 2 December 1296; but I have just shewn that from the date 45 of 1906 we have the earliest possible day fixed as 17 December of that year. The two therefore are contradictory, and if this date 122 of 1908 is to be accepted in full we must consider the given regnal year "44" as an error for 43.

(*No. 393 of 1906*). I observe that in this record the last figure of the number given for the regnal year is doubtful. The number is given tentatively as "4 [5]". As with the last date, if the dates 401 of 1908 and 45 of 1906 are accepted, this number "45" must be changed to 44. The date will then regularly correspond to Wednesday, 13 December A. D. 1340 for which day the given details work out correctly, as stated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai. The date does not work out correctly for the 45th year of the earlier king of the name (accession in A. D. 1253).

(*No. 119 of 1908*). This date was published by Prof. Jacobi as his No. 93 (*Ep. Ind. XI, p. 138*). I concur with Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that if we change the "14th" day of the solar month to the 15th, the date works out regularly as corresponding to Monday, 12 July A. D. 1339. (The date fixed on by Prof. Jacobi does not suit the given details and apparently was put forward by some mistake). But the number of the regnal year must, to suit the results of No. 401 of 1908, and 45 of 1906, be changed from "46" to 43; and as the number 46 is stated by the Epigraphist to be clear in the original the date must not be held as being a regular one. Two changes have had to be made in it, and it is so far unsatisfactory; but the historical allusion in it makes it quite clear that the record cannot belong to a date much earlier than (roughly) the date we have assigned for it, though it might suit a year about 30 or 35 years later, if there should have been another king of the same name then reigning. No such king is yet known. I assume, of course, that palæographically it belongs to this period. The length, however, of the king's reign points to the Jaṭâvarman Vîra of the other records just considered.

(*No. 120 of 1908*). This date was published by Professor Jacobi (*Ep. Ind. XI, p. 138*) as his No. 94. Both he and Mr. Swamikannu Pillai find that the details correspond to 16 June A. D. 1342, and they are right. The latter tells us that the Epigraphist has decided that the number of the regnal year should be read as 46 in the original, or 49, and not as 44. Reading it as "46" the date falls in exactly with the results of Nos. 401 of 1908 and 45 of 1906, and it is thus found to be in every particular regular.

As already stated the results of Nos. 401 of 1908, 45 of 1906 and 120 of 1908 give us **the king's accession as on a day between 17 December 1296 and 16 June 1297 A. D.**; and if we allow the changes in the numbers of the regnal years in Nos. 122 of 1908, 393 of 1906, and 119 of 1908 to be made as suggested, the results of these three also will agree with that fixture.

Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya.

(Accession between 29 *Aug.* 1302 *and* 28 *Aug.* 1303 *A. D. according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai.)*

No. 580 of 1902. I have already remarked (*above p. 245*) on the extreme similarity between the details of this date and those of another record, No. 575 of 1902, both engraved on the walls of the same temple; a similarity so marked as to leave no doubt on the mind that both refer to the same day. And I have there criticized the course which Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has adopted in assigning one of these to 27 August A. D. 1287 and the other to 28 August 1314.

As regards the date itself it works out regularly for A. D. 1314, and if accepted for A. D. 1287 an error of one day has to be passed over in the solar month, "31" being considered as wrongly stated for 30 Siṁha (Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's "29" on p. 223 being a mistake). Prof. Kielhorn accepted the date as belonging to A. D. 1287 and passed over this error; and so does the present author in using the date as correct for A. D. 1287. But in considering it anew for A. D. 1314 he accepts it for that year and considers it sufficiently important to warrant his establishing by it the reign of a new and hitherto unheard-of king whose accession-day (as given in the heading above) he fixes by this, and this alone, unsupported by any second date. So certain is he of this that he has entered this king's name in his lists on p. 166 calling him Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya IV. For this the evidence is wholly insufficient, even if we overthrow the date as belonging to A. D. 1287 (which he has not done). But there is more than this. The number of the regnal year in this No. 580 of 1902 is so difficult to decypher that the author could only make out the figure "1." Having obtained from the details of this No. 580 the day, 28 Aug. 1314, as corresponding to the given date, he still could have had no conception that the number of the regnal year ought to be "12," and consequently could have had no conception of the time of accession of this king, unless he had obtained the figure "12" from the other record, 575 of 1902, which states its date as being in the "12th year of Jaṭâvarman Sundara." But according to the author (*s. v. No. 575. p. 223*) this is a *totally different* Jaṭâvarman Sundara. Hence (granted that the date 575 should be assigned to A. D. 1287) we do not know the correct number of the regnal year of No. 580 (if it belongs to A. D. 1314) and therefore we know nothing of the date of accession of the king whose name it mentions. It is surely plain that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai must abandon his position for one or other of these fixtures.

The date is, no doubt, correct for 28 Aug. A. D. 1314, but it stands alone and it *may* belong to the year 1287. Unless therefore some other record is found which supports the theory **we must hold the existence of this king and his accession in A. D. 1302-3 unproved**, and if it is so supported we must strike out No. 575 from the list of dates belonging to the king who came to the throne in A. D. 1276.

The author has still further confused the issue by his statements of date. Accepting for a moment his fixture for A. D. 1314 and the accession twelve years earlier, all we can say is that the king's reign lasted from his accession on some day between 29 Aug. 1302 and

28 Aug. 1303 till at least 28 Aug. 1314. But in his list at the top of p. 166 Mr. Swamikannu Pillai give his Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya IV accession between 29 Aug. 1302 and 5 July 1303 (where does he get this last date from ?), and in his list at the bottom of the same page he gives the reign as lasting from 1302 to 1318 (where does 1318 come from ?).

There is also an error in the author's calculation of the date No. 580. The damaged original enables only a part of the name of the nakshatra to be read, viz :—"*vati.*" He supposes this to represent the Tamil form *Aśvati*, for *Aśvini*, which he says " ended at ·47 " of the day. But this is a mistake. It was *Rêvati* that ended then, and—*vati* is a part of that word and does not represent Aśvati.

Māṛavarman Kulasêkhara "II."

(*Accession between 6 and 29 Mar. A. D.* 1314.)

The date of this king's accession has been proved by Prof. Kielhorn.

(*595 of 1902*). Mr. Swamikannu Pillai makes several changes in this date to make it correspond with the civil day he selects; moreover it is in itself an imperfect date, and the number of the regnal year cannot, it seems, be clearly read. The date, taking the usual practice as our guide, would, in the lunar tithi as well as in the nakshatra, correspond to a Thursday. To make it Wednesday he has to assume errors in both these details or reversion of the ordinary custom of reckoning. I see no necessity for dwelling on it further. It might well have been discarded as unsatisfactory. We gain nothing by it as regards the accession-date.

(*119 of 1903*). The date is stated as in the 3rd year of a king who, according to Mr. Swamikannu's rendering, seems to have had some second name between "Kulaśêkhara" and "Pâṇḍya." He also bore the official title " who *conquered* every country." It is however possible that the space between the two names is due to an error in the Press, and as the author pays no attention to it I presume this is the case. I take it then, that the king's name was Kulaśêkhara Pâṇḍya. The official title is translated for us into English, so that we have no guide as to whether or not it is the same as the title " who *took* every country," a title applied to Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara (acc. 1268.) The details of the date give the 3rd regnal year; Saturday; an 8th tithi (the fortnight illegible); with the moon in Rôhiṇî; name of solar month obliterated. For the combination of an 8th tithi and Rôhiṇî the solar month must be either Siṁha or Kumbha. It would be an 8th tithi of the second fortnight in Siṁha and an 8th tithi of the first fortnight in Kumbha. I have examined the date for the reign of Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara (acc. 1268) and find that it does not suit the week day Saturday, in either case.

For the reign of Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkhara (acc. 1314) it only suits the date mentioned by the author, *viz.* Saturday, 17 Feb. A. D. 1317, which corresponded to the 8th tithi of the bright fortnight in the solar month Kumbha, and in the lunar month Phâlguna. The regnal year given is correct.

This record if accepted as satisfactory, as it appears to be, goes to shew that to this king as well as to the earlier king of that name was alloted the official title " who conquered" or " took every country." [These titles should be quoted in the original words.]

(——) The next date quoted bears no number in the author's list. It may be alluded to as " the Courtallum (Kuṛṛâlam) inscription." The regnal year, we are assured, though at first considered somewhat doubtful, has now been proved to be " 7." With this figure the date is perfect and regular. It corresponds throughout to the day fixed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, *viz.* Friday, 6 Feb. A. D. 1321 (" 5 " Feb. is evidently a misprint), which fell in the 7th year of this king.

(*126 of 1907*). The date is perfect and regular; and corresponds, as decided by the author, to Wednesday, 30 Sept. A.D. 1321. I published it in A. D. 1910, in *Epig. Ind.* Vol. X, p. 146. No. 79.

(*125 of 1907*). The reading "Dhanus 11" should certainly, as proposed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai and sanctioned by the Epigraphist be altered to "Dhanus 19," which is evidently correct. For that day, which corresponded to 15 Dec. A. D. 1321, the details are regular, though the number of the lunar tithi, "10," is missing.

(*149 of 1907*). This date is unsatisfactory and might well have been passed over, as it does not appear to add to our knowledge. Firstly, as it stands it is intrinsically wrong, for on a 5th śukla tithi in Vṛiśchika the moon cannot be in Rêvatî; secondly, it may do for the reign of either of the two Mâṛavarman Kulaśêkharas if certain alterations are made in the details as suggested by the author; and as there is no reason for making one alteration rather than another it must always remain doubtful to which king it belongs. With one change it can be made to belong to one king, with another to the other, and epigraphical study can hardly turn the balance one way or the other. Internal evidence may do so, but with the information at present at our command in Europe we are not in position to cope with it. I observe one slight slip on the part of the author—a very natural one. He found that on Thursday 25 January A. D. 1330 "suk. 5 and Rêvatî ended at ·20 and ·18 respectively" and were current for the greater part of Wednesday 24 January; and since "Wednesday" was the week-day quoted in the date he thinks that the day intended was the 24 January. He places this Wednesday in the solar month Kumbha, and thinks that for an engraver to change the word "Kumbha" into "Vṛiśchika" by mistake is an error not difficult to account for. But as a matter of fact the Kumbha saṁkrânti took place about two hours before mean sunrise on that very Thursday; so that the actual solar day corresponding to Wednesday 24 January was 30 *Makara*, and not Kumbha at all; and we should have to suppose that the careless engraver changed not "Kumbha" but "Makara" into "Vṛiśchika." The Thursday, 25 January, was the first day of Kumbha.

I concur with the author's decision as to three of the five new dates put forward, and hold that they may be held to belong to the reign in question. The accession-date remains as fixed by Prof. Kielhorn.

Jaṭâvarman Tribh. Parâkrama Pâṇḍya.

(*Reign began* (?) 24 *March to* 10 *August A. D.* 1315.)

In *Epig. Ind. XI.* (p. 264, No. 115) I suggested the existence of a king of this name with accession on some day between 24 March 1315 and 23 March 1316 A. D.. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gives us two new dates of which the second (17 of 1894), which is perfect and regular, corresponds to 10 August A. D. 1323. My own date (487 of 1909) stated the Śaka year in addition to the regnal year and the other customary details, but I pointed out that in the matter of the nakshatra there was room for a slight doubt. Now, however, that we have a second date quite regular I think we may assume the existence of this king to be not improbable. The two together shew that his accession took place between 24 March and 10 August. A. D. 1315.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's first date, 395 of 1906, is unconvincing. He has to change the 12th regnal year, as given, into the 10th year; and then to assume that both the tithi and nakshatra, which usually would be connected with Monday 11 February, were for some reason quoted as being connected with the previous day Sunday (the given week-day) 10 February A. D. 1325, which is the day on which he fixes as corresponding. But on studying the valuable "*Notes on tithis in connection with festivals*" in his "*Indian Chronology*" (p. 51) I do do not gather that the quoted tithi, the 12th kṛishṇa, or bahula, of Mâgha, is considered as a festival day except when it is combined with the moon in Śravaṇa. In the

present instance this is not the case, and there appears no reason for any departure from the usual custom.

Neither of these three dates give us the day 15 April, and I do not understand why Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gives us, as the accession-period of this king, a day between "15 April and 10 August 1315," as he has done in the heading. It seems to me that if the two dates on which I rely are accepted **the accession period must be 24 March to 10 August A. D. 1315.** His first (doubtful) date, 10th February, 1325, would not alter this fixture. It would be well to search for some confirmation of this reign, as we have actually only one quite perfect and regular date to go on; while as I have previously urged, the same combination of week-day, tithi, nakshatra and solar month may be looked for at intervals of about 30 or 35 years.

Tribh. Kulaśêkhara.

(Reign began (?) 24 *July* 1161 *to* 23 *July* 1162 *A. D.*

As the author states, the details of the date regularly correspond to Saturday 23rd July A. D. 1166; and as this date is confirmed by the characters of the record the inscription may be assumed to belong to the Kulaśêkhara who was (possibly) the son of Mâṟavarman Srîvallabha who came to the throne in A. D. 1160-61. Kulaśêkhara after murdering the reigning Pâṇḍya Parâkrama and all his family at Madura, fought a desperate and losing fight with the Singhalese invader Lankâpura, which is fully described in the *Mahâvamśa.* The war is now usually called "The war of Pâṇḍya succession."

This date, if accepted (it is not confirmed as yet by any other) **fixes Kulaśêkhara's accession as on a day between 24 July 1161 and 23 July 1162.**

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

The author's Eight "Chôḷa Dates."

I am indebted to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai for his remarks in his paper on '*Eight Chôḷa Dates*" (*Epig. Ind. XI, pp. 287 ff.*) regarding the celebration of the Sivarâtri festival. I have examined the dates he has published and agree with his results in all cases. They certainly belong to the reign of Kulôttuṅga Chôḷa II, whose accession may now be determined to have taken place on a day between 10th May (*not* 9th) and 14th July A. D. 1133.

Both in No. 244 and 248 a "ninth" tithi has been wrongly quoted for an eighth.

Under No. 249 Mr. Swamikannu Pillai writes that "a 6th tithi can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharaṇî *only* in the dark fortnight of lunar Srâvaṇa or of lunar Bhâdrapada." I think he will find on examination that it can concur also with that nakshatra in the light, or first, fortnight of lunar Phâlguna.

"Hints to workers in South-Indian Chronology."

In this lecture Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has given excellent advice to residents in Southern India. I only hope that before any of their working deductions are accepted they may be very carefully tested, since it is exceedingly easy to go wrong in these matters.

The author must allow me a few remarks on his proposed corrections of certain conclusions to which I arrived in my examination of dates published in the *Epig. Ind.* Vols. X and XI.

(1). **Chôḷa date No. 162 (No. 491 of 1907)** ; *Epig. Ind. X, p. 122,* "*Hints . . .*" *p. 18*).

The nakshatra was quoted to me by the Epigraphist as Hasta. The original (damaged) was quoted in English characters as "[*A*]*tta*[*t*]*tu.*" Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gives it in Tamil characters as—ட்டத்து, English—*ḍḍattu.* He proposes to read this as meaning *Anuḍattu* and states that this stands for Anurâdhâ. But it does not do so. It might

stand for Dhanishṭhâ. The Tamil for an Anurâdhâ-day is *Aniḻattu-nâḷ*, as he himself points out lower down on the same page. The author proposes to verify this date (which I had given up as irregular) by also changing the name (given in legible letters) of the solar month "Makara" into Kumbha. He conjectures that the reading should be "Monday; the 7th kṛishṇa tithi; in solar Kumbha; nakshatra Anurâdhâ." But on calculation I find that the day in solar Kumbha on which he relies because it coincided with Anurâdhâ and the 7th kṛishṇa tithi, *viz.*, 11th February A. D. 1121, was *not a Monday at all but was a Friday.* It is impossible to accept this amendation. His date would have details totally different from the original.

(2) **Chôḷa date 165.**

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date corresponding to the given description is 11 July A. D. 1125. This he states was in solar Kanyâ, *but it was not. It was in Karka.* However, that his date *may* be the one intended I do not dispute. The point must remain doubtful as the solar month seems to be wrong in the original; and I must uphold my decision that the date cannot be depended upon. I fail to understand the author's statement that "A *kṛishṇa navami* tithi on *Anurâdhâ* day in *Makara* is a chronological impossibility." On the contrary it is perfectly possible; and in that very solar year, *viz.*, on 19th January A. D. 1126, which was 26 Makara, the day *was* the day of Anurâdhâ and at sunrise the tithi *was* the *kṛishṇa navami*. The reason I could not accept that day as the day intended was because it was a Tuesday, whereas the record cites a Saturday; and because the lunar fortnight was a different one from that stated in the original. We must not recklessly alter the text and then declare that a certain civil day was meant. My course is safer—namely when a date is irregular to say that it is irregular.

(3) **Chôḷa date 170.**

I have given full reasons for my declaration that this date is irregular. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai proposes to regularize the date by altering the name of the nakshatra, and supposing a very unusual combination of tithi and nakshatra. But it seems that the name of the nakshatra in the original clearly begins with the characters *Aṇi*——, and cannot be read *Ayi*—as he wishes. It is of course possible that the engraver made a mistake, but that would not account for the irregularity of the rest of the date; and therefore I cannot admit that this proposed date is necessarily any better than the one (the day following) which I suggested but gave reasons for abandoning.

Chôḷa date 190.

The original clearly mentions "Âshâḍha" as the lunar month current, there being no difficulty in reading the characters. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai proposes to alter this to "Srâvaṇa," and to consider that a mistake was made. From that point of view his rendering would be correct; but the date is unimportant, and he admits that my decision that it was "unsatisfactory" is equally correct.

(5) **Pâṇḍya date 71.**

I think that the author's solution here is admissable. He proposes to change the doubtful "[*pañja*] *m* [*iyum*]" of the original into "*dvâdaśiyum*," and thereby make the details of the date correspond to Wednesday 3 November A. D. 1283. Without such a change the date was, as I stated, irregular. As there is only one drastic change, which consists in supposing one letter, *m*, which forms no part of the word *dvâdaśi*, to have been engraved in error, the remainder of the reading *pañjami* being a mistake of the Epigraphist, I think we may accept the author's suggestion. His calculation is quite correct.

as *guhyaks*, and *sidhas*. The *bhut* is defined as a deity that troubles infants and the *pishàcha* as a deity that lives on flesh. *Bhuts* and *pishàchas* are the *ganas* or attendants of Shiva, one of the gods of the Hindu Trinity. They are supposed to be *upadevas* or demi-gods.

Preta is the spirit of a person that dies a sudden or unnatural death with many of his desires unfulfilled. His soul attains emancipation by the performance of a *saptàh*, that is a recitation of the *Bhàgvat* on seven consecutive days. It is described in the *Bhàgvat* that Dhundhumari, the brother of Gokarn, who had become a *preta*, was released from his *preta* existence by the performance of a *saptàh* which his brother caused to be made. The *Garudpuràn* mentions that King Babruvàhan emancipated a *preta* by the performance of a *shràddha*. The *mukti* or salvation of a *preta* is in itself its death. This would prove *pretas* to be mortal.[1]

The span of life of the *bhuts* and *pretas* is very long, but those whose descendants offer them the usual oblations gain their emancipation sooner. There is a *kund* or spring called Zilànand in the vicinity of Jhinjhuvàdà, on the banks of which is a temple of Zilakeshwar Mahàdev. The performance of the *pitri shràddha* by the side of this spring is believed to expedite the emancipation of the spirits of the deceased from ghostly life. Every year, on the *Bhàdarvà amàvàsya*, that is, the new moon day of the month *Bhàdarvà*, a great fair is held on this spot, when people from long distances visit the place to get their relatives exorcised by the *bhuvàs* or exorcists.

It is believed, that though *bhuts*, *pretas* and *pishàchas* are immortal, they are scared away by the sound of a European band and of other musical instruments.[2] It is said that all drums and other weird instruments whether European or Indian, have the power of scaring away evil spirits.

An evil spirit called Bàbaro had entered the person of the uncle of Màldev the king of Jhàlàvàd much to the king's annoyance. Màldev offered a stubborn fight to Bàbaro, who, unable to cope with Màldev, promised to extend his kingdom over those villages in which he would hang up bunting in one night. It is said that the present extent of the Jàhlwàd territories was due to king Màldev's enterprise in hanging up bunting over these territories as asked by Bàbaro.[3]

Though at the time of a man's death the faculties may hardly be sound, yet the *vàrsanà*—the impressions—left on his mind by his past actions are in themselves good or bad enough to impress him so as to make his departing spirit assume a new form of life in keeping with them. For instance, a man following a particular profession becomes subject to dreams bearing on that profession. When the impression created by his actions in daily life is so deep as to induce dreams, his mind, even after death, leaves to his departing soul an inclination to be engaged in the subject of his mind's last activities. This is *vàsanà*.*

It is a popular saying among Hindus that children inherit the nature of their parents. It is for this reason that high caste Hindus do not utter the names of their eldest sons. There is a further belief that the *Pitriyas* departed from the world with certain desires unfulfilled reappear as descendants of their children to have these desires satisfied.[4]

As the saying goes *Pità putrena jàyate*, that is a father is born in the form of the

[1] Shàstri Bhàyàvadar Pàthshàlà.
[2] The School Master of Todià.
[3] The School Master of Jodià.
[4] The School Master of Kotdà Sangani.
* A *vàsanà* is the outcome of a person's good or bad actions. It is not the last desire of a man as supposed by some, but the result of his good or bad actions or rather of the workings of his mind during life. It is believed that, if at the moment of death, a man's mind is fixed on the strong attachment he feels for his children, he is born as a descendant of his offspring.—The School Master of Dhànk.

son, so the *Pitriyas* are born as descendants of their children, or according to the *Bija vrikshanyàya*, as a tree springs from its seed, that is, its offerings, so parents take birth as children of their offspring.[1]

The *Pitriyas*, whose attachment to their children or family or wealth does not die with them, reappear in the same family as descendants. It is also believed that persons dying with debts unpaid with the consciousness that they must be paid, are reborn in this world for the discharge of their obligations.[2]

It is not always that the *Purvajas* reappear in the same family. It is said about the departed spirits, that after undergoing punishment for their sins and enjoying the fruits of their good actions, they come down on earth again as drops of rain, and forming part of the grain which grows on rain water make their way into the wombs of animals and are thus reborn.[3]

On account of the community of their feelings, habits and ideas in previous births, members of different families form different groups. The actions performed in this life keep them bound to one another either as recipients of the return of the obligations given in the past or as givers of fresh obligations. The members of a family stand thus to one another in the relation of debtors and creditors. It is for the discharge of these debts and recovery of dues that several individuals are united in a family. This naturally leads to the members of a family taking birth again in the same family for the proper discharge of debts.

A virtuous child is declared to have been born to return the debts contracted in its past lives, and a vicious one to recover the dues.[4]

When an *atit* or holy man or a recluse dies, his body is interred, and a platform rising waist high from the ground, or a small dome-shaped temple, is built over the spot. This is called a *samàdh*. An image of the god Shiva is generally installed in the *samàdh;* but sometimes *pàdukàs i. e.* the impressions on stone of the footsteps of the deceased, are installed instead. Instances of the latter are the *pàdukàs* of Dattàtraya, Gorakha and Machchendra Nàth.

Both the *Samàdh* and the image of the god Shiva as well as the *pàdukàs* installed therein, are worshipped by the people, who, in course of time, give currency to the belief that the *Samàdh* possesses certain miraculous powers, such as curing long-standing diseases, blessing barren women with children, etc. Offerings are made to the *Samàdh* by pious persons and festivals or fairs are held in its honour by the inhabitants of the village in which the *Samàdh* is located.[5]

Kabars or tombs raised over the graves of Mahomedan saints or *Pirs* are held in equal reverence both by Mahomedans and Hindus. To these offerings are made, and fairs are held in their honour.

Some *Samàdhs* and *Kabars* noted for miraculous powers are given below.

1. *Gorakhnàth* :—The *Samàdh* of Gorakhnàth lies on Mount Girnàr. It is said that when the word *Salàm* is shouted by any one standing on the brink of the hollow wherein the *Samàdh* is said to be, the word "*Aleka, Aleka, Aleka*" is heard in response.[6]

2. *Kevaldàs* :—The *Samàdh* of Kevaldàs stands in Susavàv. It is told that, on one occasion, when a festival was being celebrated in honour of the Bàvà Kevaldàs, a *nimb* tree (Azadiarchta Indica) overhanging the *Samàdh* was transformed into a *mitho Limbdo* (Ailantas excelsa).

3. *The Samàdh at Kàngà* :—In the religious house at Kàngà, a village in the Junàgadh State, there lived a *bàvà* given to

[1] The School Master of Ganod.
[2] The School Master of Dadvi.
[3] The School Master of Motà Devalià.
[4] The School Master of Charàdwa.
[5] The School Master of Ganod.
[6] The Schcol Master of Dhànk and the School Mistress of Gondal.

religious austerities. It is said that he took *Samàdh** during life. This *Samàdh* is said to work miracles at times.

4. Similarly, a *bàvà* in the religious house at Navànagar called *Shàradà Matha* has taken a *Samàdh* during life, and his remains and the structure over them have become an object of worship.

5. *The Samàdh of Làlà bhakta* :—Làlà bhakta was a native of Sàyolà. He was famous for his piety, and after his death his *Samàdh* was deified. It is said in reference to this *Samàdh* that a meal of dainty dishes prepared for five or six persons by its side, would satisfy the hunger of a company of fifty, if one happened to arrive there at the time of serving the meal[1].

6. *Dàtàr*† *Pir* :—The tomb of this Pir is situated on Mount Girnàr. Almost all people in Kàthiàwàr and many from Gujaràt offer vows to this Pir.[2]

This Pir is also known by the name of Kàlà Yavan.[3] It is believed that he has the power of releasing the chain bonds of a person falsely accused with an offence provided he approaches the *Pir* in chains. The sanctity of this *Pir* is so great that vows in his honour secure to persons desiring male heirs the birth of sons.[4]

7. *Asàmi Pir* :—The tomb of this *Pir* is in Lunàr. He is believed to ensure the fulfilment of certain vows made by those who have faith in him.[5]

8. *Devalshà Pir* :—The tomb of this *Pir* is situated at Amaràn about seven miles from Todia. Many Hindus perform the first hair-cutting ceremony of their children at the shrine of this *Pir* with an offering of a sweet preparation of ghí, sugar or molasses, and wheat flour. The Muhammadans distribute cooked rice among the Fakirs about this shrine.

A tradition runs that, once seven eunuchs defied the power of this *Pir* saying that they would put no faith in him unless they conceived sons. This they did, and when in terror regarding their approaching confinement, they were told that the children would have to be taken out by cutting their bodies open. The tombs of these seven eunuchs and their sons still stand near the tomb of Devalshà to bear testimony to his glory and miraculous power.[6]

9. *The Kàbar of Hàji Karmàni* :—Is situated at Dwàrkàn and is much respected by both Hindus and Muhammadans.[7]

10. *The tombs of Jesal and Toral* :—These are said to be the tombs of a husband and wife of the names of Jesal and Toral. They are situated in Anjàr, a village in Cutch. It is said that originally these tombs were at the distance of twenty-seven feet from one another, but now the distance between them is only 7½ feet. A belief is current that the day of judgment will come when these two tombs meet.[8]

11. *Hàj Pir and Gebànshà Pir* :—The tombs of these *Pirs* are at Mendardà. Vows are offered to the Hàj Pir (Pilgrims saint) with the object of securing a good rainfall after an unusual drought, also for the restoration of stolen property. Vows to the Gebanshà Pir are believed to be efficacious in curing foot diseases of cattle and skin diseases of children.[9]

* A *samàdh* is taken during life in the following way. A deep pit is dug in the ground. The person who wishes to take a *samàdh* goes into a deep trance by meditation, and then runs yelling and screaming to the pit, while drums are beaten furiously and a loud din is raised, so that none should hear a possible exclamation or cry from the runner. In the midst of this din the runner leaps into the pit and is covered over with salt and earth. An altar is raised over this spot with Shiva's image, which afterwards becomes an object of worship. It is believed that if a word or a cry from the runner is heard while he is taking the leap, the whole village will be destroyed.—Mr. K. D. Desāi.

[1] The Pàthshàlà Shàstri, Bhàyàvadar.

† Dàtàr means the great giver or munificent. The *Pir* is so called on account of his power of fulfilling the vows of many.

[2] The School Master of Dhànk.

[3] The School Master of Movaiya.

[4] The School Master of Dhànk and Moti Parabdi.

[5] The School Master of Dadvi.

[6] The School Master of Dadvi.

[7] The School Master of Dadvi.

[8] The School Master of Davalià.

[9] The School Master of Mendardà.

12. *Panch or Five Pirs* :—The tombs of these *Pirs* are situated in Dahurà, each of them measuring about twenty-seven feet. A miracle is attributed to these tombs in the phenomenon that they can never be accurately measured, each attempt at measurement giving a different result. Women whose sons die in infancy make vows in honour of the Panch Pirs, and take them to their tombs on their attaining a certain age, where they observe *fakiri** for ten days.[1]

13. *Aulia Pir*† :—The tomb of this *Pir* lies on Mount Girnàr. It is believed to possess the miraculous power of stopping the career of galloping horses and bringing them to the ground, and of stupefying the senses of a person who enters the shrine.[2]

14. *Miran Dàtàr*:—The celebrated tomb of this Pir is in the village of Unjhà near Baroda, where a fair is held every Friday in *Shràvan*. Persons possessed by evil spirits are said to be cured by visiting this tomb and offering an image of a horse stuffed with cotton, and a cocoanut. People from all parts of Gujaràt and from distant places suffering from physical infirmities, observe vows in honour of this *Pir*. Some wear iron wristlets round their wrists in his honour.[3]

15. *Pir Màhàbali* :—The tomb of this *Pir* is situated at Gotarkà near Ràdhanpur. Every year a fair is held in honour of this tomb, when the chief Pujàri of the shrine of Varalu goes there, holding in one hand a bayonet with its point touching his breast, and in the other, a cocoanut. It is said that when the Pujàri reaches the third step leading to the entrance of the shrine, the locked doors of the shrine fly open, and the Pujàri throws the cocoanut into the shrine. If the shrine gates do not open of themselves on his approach, the Pujàri has to stab himself to death then and there.[4]

16. *Kalu Pir*:—It is said that this *Pir* leads a procession every night, when monstrous kettle-drums are beaten by his phantom followers. On every Friday this procession goes on its rounds, which cover a large area.[5]

Other tombs noted for miraculous powers are those of Gebalshà Pir in Charàdwa, of Darià Pir in Morvi, of Hajarat Pir in Baghdàd and of Khojà Pir in Ajmere.[6]

The followers of the tenets of Swàminnàràyàn, Vallabhàchàrya, Kabir, Shankaràchàrya, Ràmànuja, Madhwàchàrya, Nimbàrk and Talo Bhagat look upon these personages as gods, and worship their images.[7]

Some of the spiritual teachers mentioned above maintained large establishments and made their supremacy hereditary. Their representatives (that is either their heirs or disciples) are looked upon as the embodiments of the same virtues as were concentrated in the founders of the sects. The great teachers are worshipped either in the form of their footprints, their images or their representatives.[8]

The worship of the following Muhammadan Pirs has been adopted by Hindus :—

(1) Dàtàr Pir in Junàgadh.

(2) Dàtàr in Ràtaiya near Khiràsara.

(3) Gobalsha Pir:—This Pir is noted for curing boils.

* A symbol of servitude of the saint.

† *Aulia* and *Pir*, synonymous terms, the first Arabic, the second Persian. Aulia is the Arabic plural of *wali* which means a saint. In Hindustàni the plural form is used to signify the singular e. g., a single *wali* or saint is often spoken of as an *aulia*. The word *Pir* originally meaning an old man is used in Hindustàni in the sense of a saint. Aulia Pir is the Gujaràti for a single or many saints.

[1] The School Master of Sultànpur.

[2] The School Master of Moti Porabdi.

[3] The School Master of Zinzuwàdà.

[4] The School Master of Surel.

[5] The School Master of Jaseluan.

[6] The School Master of Charàdwà.

[7] The School Master of Dhank.

[8] Mr. K. D. Desai.

(4) Tàg Pir or the live saint near Bhàyàvadar:—This Pir is believed to have the power of curing enlargement of the spleen. Persons suffering from this disease go to his shrine and distribute dry dates among children. This is supposed to propitiate him and to effect the cure.[1]

(5) Miran Dàtàr:—The miraculous and curative powers of this Pir are so potent that blind persons are known to have their eye-sight restored and childless persons to have their longings for children satisfied through his favour. Persons possessed by evil spirits are exorcised by merely wearing a ring in his name.[2]

The shrine of this Pir is situated in the village of Unàva in the Gàikwàr's territory in North Gujaràt. His Highness the late Gàikwàr Khanderào has fixed solid silver railings round the shrine of this Pir in gratitude for a cure effected by him.

(6) Ràmde Pir:—This Pir has obtained the epithet of Hindva Pir as he is worshipped mostly by the Hindus. He has worshippers in many places, where shrines are erected in his honour and verses and hymns composed and sung in his praise.[3] He is evidently, as his name suggests, one of the first Khoja missionaries who practised teachings more Hindu than Musalmàn in order to secure a following among the Hindus.

(7) Hàji Karmàni near Dvârikhàn.

(8) The Dàvalsha Pir near Amaràn.

(9) The Lakad Pir and the Hussein Pir in the vicinity of Ganod.

(10) Mahàbali Dàda Pir:—This Pir is to be found close to the village of Varai. Milk offered to him in his shrine in *indàs* (egg-shaped pots) is said to remain fresh for a year. Similarly, the doors of his shrine open of themselves after the lapse of a year.

(11) Mangalio Pir:—This Pir is worshipped at Dadvi.

(12) Moto Pir:—Is worshipped at Khandorana.

(13) Hindva Pir:—This is the Pir of the Khojàs in Piràna near Ahmedàbàd. He is so called because he is worshipped by the Hindus also.

(14) Bhadiàdaro Pir:—Is in the village of Bhàdia near Dhoràli.

(15) Ingàràsha Pir and Bàlamsha Pir.

(16) Tamialsha and Kàsamsha Pir:—The shrines of these Pirs are on the Girnar hill.[4]

(17) Ganj Pir:—The shrine of this Pir is near Todia. Vows to offer a quarter of a pound of molasses to this Pir are believed to be efficacious in curing persons of fever and children of their ailments.[5]

There is a Pir in the village of Vadhardun near Viramgàm. Persons suspected of having committed thefts are conducted in chains before this Pir. It is said that, if the charge be false, the chains break asunder of themselves.[6]

Apart from the respect paid to the Pirs mentioned above, the Hindus hold in great reverence the *tàbuts* of the Muhammadans.[7]

[1] The School Master of Devalia.
[2] The School Masters of Dhànk and Vanod.
[3] The School Mistress, Female Training College, Ràjkot.
[4] The School Master of Moti Parabadi.
[5] The School Master of Todia.
[6] The School Master of Lilàpur.
[7] Mr. K. D. Desâi.

There are various rural methods in vogue for the cure of barrenness.

One of these is for the barren woman to swallow the navel-string of a new-born child.[8] Another is to partake of the preparation called *kàtlàn*.[1]

There are two kinds of preparations which go by the name of *kàtlàn*. One is prepared from seven pieces of dry ginger.[2] The other is a mixture of *suva*,* *sunth* (dry ginger), *gundar* (gum-arabic), *gol* (molasses) etc.[3] In order to secure the desired effect, the *kàtlàn* must be eaten seven times every Sunday or Tuesday seated on the cot of a woman in child-bed.[4]

The longing for a child is also believed to be satisfied by partaking of the food served to a woman, in confinement, sitting on her bed, either on a Sunday or Tuesday.[5]

There is also another preparation which is believed to cause conception. It consists of a mixture of *pitpàpdo* (Glossocardi Boswellia), sugar-cane and butter. In order to be efficacious, it must be taken on seven consecutive days commencing from the fourth day of the monthly menstrual period.[6]

Conception is also believed to be favoured by administering the gum of the *bàbul* tree dissolved in milk for three days commencing from the third day of the monthly period.[6]

Some believe that, in order to be effective, this mixture must be taken standing.[7] In some places, seeds of a vegetable plant called *shivalangi* are also administered.[6]

To secure conception, a bit of coral is also eaten, with the face turned towards the sun.[6]

Other preparations taken with the belief that they cause conception are:—

(1) *Harde* (Myrobalan) put in *kansàr* (a preparation of wheat flour cooked in water and sweetened with molasses), (2) extract of the fruit called *sàrangdha*, (3) *pàras pipalo* (Thespesia populnea) mixed with clarified butter,[8] (4) gum mixed with plantains, (5) juice of the cooked leaves of the *Àrani* (Elaeodendren glaucum),[9] (6) powder of *Nàg kesar* (Messua ferrea) put into milk, and (7) the roots of *Bhong ringdi* (a kind of poisonous plant) mixed with the milk of a cow.[10]

It is also believed that if a barren woman succeeds in carrying away grains of rice from the folds of the upper garment of a pregnant woman, and eats them cooked in milk, her desire for a child is satisfied.[11]

In celebrating the *Simànt* or first pregnancy ceremony of a woman, the pregnant woman is taken for a bath to a dung-hill or to a distance of about thirty yards behind the house. After the bath is over, she returns home walking over sheets of cloth spread on her way. On this occasion her company is coveted by barren women for the purpose of tearing off unseen a piece of her upper garment, as this is believed to bring about conception. It is said that if a woman succeeds in doing this, she conceives, while the victim has a miscarriage.[12]

Some believe that a slight pressure by a childless woman on the upper garment of a pregnant woman is sufficient to bring about the result mentioned above.[13]

1 The School Master of Dhànk.
2 The School Master of Chhatràsa.
3 The School Master of Uptala.
4 The School Mistress, Girls' School, Gondal.
5 The School Master of Sultànpur.
6 The School Master of Dhànk.
7 The School Master of Dadvi.
8 The School Master of Ganod.
9 The School Mistress of Ràjkot, Civil Station Girls' School.
10 The School Master of Bhayavadar.
11 The School Master of Sultànpur
12 The School Master of Dhànk and Mr. K. D. Desai.
13 The School Master of Dadvi.
* An ingredient used in preparing spices.

Others hold that a slight blow on the shoulder of a pregnant woman by a childless woman satisfies the desire of the latter for a child.[1]

Conception is also said to be effected by branding children while at play in the streets.[2]

It is believed that this brand, to have efficacy, must be inflicted on a Sunday or Tuesday.[2] The eration is generally performed in the evening with a red-hot needle. It is said that the branded child dies while the branding barren woman conceives a child.[3]

Offering bread to black dogs is also supposed to be a cure for barrenness.

Conception is also favoured by passing under the bier or palanquin holding the corpse of an ascetic or holy man while it is being carried to the cemetery.[4] Some believe that such an ascetic or saint must be a follower of the Jain faith.[5] Others maintain that the desired end can be secured only by wearing round the elbows the grains of rice or coins offered to the bier of a saint on its way to the cemetery.[6]

Other methods practised for the cure of barrenness are as follows:

The barren woman cuts off a lock of the hair of a child-bearing woman and keeps it in her custody.[7]

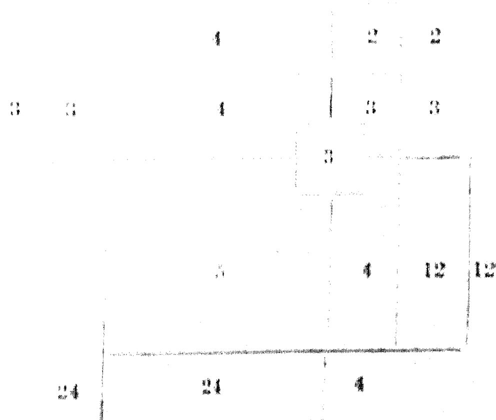
Some women collect the dust trodden on by a child-bearing woman in an earthen pot and eat it every day till it is exhausted.[2]

Some throw grains of *adad* (Phaseolus mungo) over the bed of a woman in confinement.*

Others daub their foreheads with the blood emitted by a woman in menses.[7]

There are some who pour water in a circle at the village gate on a Sunday or Tuesday, and when in period, partake of the powder of *mindhal* mixed with *lâpsi* (coarse wheat flour fried in *ghi* and sweetened with molasses or sugar) seated on the threshold of the house.[8]

Many wear round their necks leaves called *bhojapatras* on which the mystical figure given below is drawn by an exorcist.



Pieces of paper on which the following *jantra* is written by an ascetic, woven in a string made of five kinds of silk, are also worn round the elbows:—

Swâhâ aum rhin kling swâhâ.

About a month and a quarter after the delivery of a woman, a ceremony called *zarmân zarvân* is performed, when the woman goes to a neighbouring stream or well to fetch water for the first time after her delivery. Near the stream or well five small heaps of sand are made and daubed with red lead. Next, a lamp fed with *ghi* is lighted, and seven small betelnuts are offered to the

1 The School Master of Kotda Sangani.

2 The School Master of Ganod.

3 Mr. K. D. Desai.

4 The School Masters of Kotda Sangani and Chhatrâsa.

5 The School Master of Jetpur.

6 The Deputy Educational Inspector, Gohilwâd.

7 The School Master of Vanod.

8 The School Masters of Dadvi and Chhatrâsa.

*It is for this reason that barren women are not allowed to approach the bed of a woman in child bed.

stream or well. A cocoanut is then broken, and a part of it is thrown into the water as an offering. Next, the woman fills a jar with the water of the stream or well and returns home, taking with her six out of the seven betelnuts offered to the stream or well. On her way home she is approached by barren women who request to be favoured with one of the betelnuts, as it is believed that swallowing such a betelnut causes conception.[1]

Some believe that only the smallest of the seven betelnuts has the power of producing this result[2]. Others hold that this betelnut must be swallowed on the threshold of a house.[3]

Eating cocoa-kernel and molasses sitting on the threshold of the house on the fourth day of the monthly period is also believed to be a remedy for the cure of barrenness.

Placing a box containing a *kori*, (a small silver coin) on a spot where three roads cross one another is also said to favour conception.[4]

In some places, a black earthen pot containing charcoal and grains of *adad* (Phaseolus mungo) is placed on a spot where two roads cross one another, on a Sunday or Tuesday. On this day the barren woman has to take her meals without salt.[5]

Cutting off a lock of a child's hair and keeping it in custody is also believed to satisfy the longing of a barren woman for a child. This result can also be obtained by securing a piece of a garment of a suckling child.

Some worship daily a cocoanut and a betelnut consecrated with incantations.[6]

Some take a bath on the third day of their period, and stand on the threshold of the house with their hair sprinkled over with *kankotri* (red powder). Next, a *ghi*-fed lamp is offered to the deities, and the devotee prostrates herself before the lamp.[7]

It is also believed that barrenness can be cured by religious vows, by offering alms in propitiation of malignant planets such as Mars, and by reciting the *jap* or incantation called *gopàl santàn* to please the deity of that name.[8]

One of the religious vows of this nature is to observe, fasts on twelve consecutive Sundays or Tuesdays. On these days the devotee fixes her gaze on the sun and offers him worship, after which she takes a meal prepared in milk without salt or sugar.[9]

Some hold a recitation of the *chandi kavach* a hundred times through Bràhmans with sacrificial oblations of clarified butter, sesamum seed, *kamod* (a kind of rice), *gugal* (rhododendron), sandal wood and sugar-candy.[10] Others have the story of the *Harivansha* recited on seventeen consecutive days, during which period the devotee (i.e., the barren woman) observes *brahmacharya* that is abstains from sexual enjoyment. This ceremony is believed to exorcise the fiend of barrenness.[10]

Some keep a vow of standing on their legs for the whole day on the fourteenth of the month of *Phàlgun* (the fifth month of the Gujaràt Hindu year) and of breaking their fast after worshipping the sacred pyre.[11]

There is another vow called the *Punema* or full-moon day vow, the observance of which is believed to favour the birth of a son.[12]

[1] The School Master of Todia.
[2] The School Master of Mota Devalià.
[3] The School Master of Luvaria.
[4] The School Master of Chhatràsa.
[5] The School Master of Ràjpàra.
[6] The School Master of Khiràsara.
[7] The School Master of Jhinjhuwàda.
[8] The School Master of Dhànk.
[9] The School Master of Kotdà Sangani.
[10] The School Master of Ganod.
[11] The School Master of Todia.
[12] The School Master of Ganod.

THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF KASHMIRI.

BY SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E.

IN the Kashmîr Census Report for 1911 (p. 179) the following remarks are made regarding the classification of Kâshmîrî :—'Kâshmîrî used to be hitherto treated as of Sanskritic origin. It has this time been grouped with Shiṇâ-Khôwâr according to the revised system of classification, but the claim locally urged that it is essentially a Sanskritic language persists, and in view of the historical fact that the Valley of Kashmîr, before its conversion to Islâm, was wholly populated by Brâhmaṇs with their *shastric* lore, that claim might merit reconsideration.' As this point has thus been raised in an official publication of the Kashmîr State, it is advisable to discuss the question of the correct classification of the Kâshmîrî language in some detail.

In the first place, questions of sentiment, however much we may sympathize with them, must be put altogether to one side in dealing with a purely scientific question. No one values the contributions of Kashmîr Paṇḍits to Sanskrit literature more highly than the present writer. For upwards of two thousand years Kashmîr has been a home of Sanskrit learning, and from this small valley have issued masterpieces of history, poetry, romance, fable, and philosophy. Kâshmîrîs are proud, and justly proud, of the literary glories of their land. During all these centuries, Kashmîr has been subjected to the civilization of India proper. The Piśâcha tribes to its North and North-West remained a hostile and barbarous people, devoid of Indian culture and with no literary history of their own. Kâshmîrîs themselves maintain that their country was formerly inhabited by Piśâchas, who were ultimately overcome by Aryan immigrants from India, and this tradition is borne out by the features presented by their language. That the literary activity of the country and the imported Indian culture should not have reacted on the vernacular speech of the inhabitants is impossible. It has reacted most powerfully, and under that influence the language has become deeply imbued with forms and idioms derived from the languages of India proper. But all the time the basis,—the old speech of the original Piśâcha inhabitants,—has, as will be shown in the following pages, remained firmly established, and it is upon this basis that linguistic science demands that classification be founded. It need hardly be said that it does not therefore follow that the present inhabitants of Kashmir are necessarily of Piśâcha stock. The language no more proves this than the fact that the descendants of the Norman invaders of England now speak English proves that they are of Anglo-Saxon origin.

It has been previously pointed out that the Piśâcha languages, which include the Shiṇâ-khôwâr group, occupy a position intermediate between the Sanskritic languages of India proper and the Eranian languages farther to their West. They thus possess many features that are common to them and to the Sanskritic languages. But they also possess features peculiar to themselves, and others in which they agree rather with languages of the Eranian family. It is unnecessary to discuss here those common to them and to Sanskritic languages, but, as regards the others, we shall see that they are also to be found in Kâshmîrî.[1] That language possesses nearly all the features that are peculiar to Piśâcha, and also those in which Piśâcha agrees with Eranian. We therefore now proceed to examine, from this point of view, Kâshmîrî phonetics, accidence, syntax, prosody, and vocabulary.

[1] For further details, see *The Piśâca Languages of North-Western India*, by G. A. Grierson, published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1906.

As many languages will have to be referred to, it will be convenient to use abbreviations of their names. These are as follows :—

Ar.=Arabic.
Av.=Avesta (the ancient Eranian language).
Bsh.=Bashgalî Kâfir (a Piśâcha language).
Gwr.=Gawar-bati (Piśâcha).
Grw.=Gârwî (Piśâcha).
H.=Hindî (as typical Sanskritic language).
Kh.=Khôwâr (Piśâcha).
Kl.=Kalâsha (Piśâcha).
Ksh.=Kâshmîrî.
My.=Maiyã (Piśâcha).
Pash.=Pashai (Piśâcha).
Pr.=Prakrit.
Prs.=Persian.
Sh.=Shiṇâ (Piśâcha).
Skr.=Sanskrit.
V.=Veron (Piśâcha).
Wai.=Wai-alâ (Piśâcha).

Phonetics.—In none of the modern Piśâcha languages, except in the case of a few borrowed words, are there any sonant aspirates. When such letters originally formed part of a word, the aspiration is dropped, so that *gh* becomes *g*, *jh* becomes *j* or *z*, *ḍh* becomes *ḍ* or *r*, *dh* becomes *d*, and *bh* becomes *g*. There is nothing like this in India proper, but it is a universal rule in Kâshmîrî. Thus :—

gh becomes *g*, Skr. *ghôṭaka-*, a horse, Ksh. *guru*. So Wai. *guṛ*, Gwr. *goṛa*; Grw. *gôr*, Pash. *gôṛâ*; but all Indian languages *ghôṛâ*, etc.

jh becomes *j* or *z*. Skr. *budhyatê*, Pr. *bujjhai*, Ksh. *bôzi*, he will hear; but H. *bûjhê*.

ḍh becomes *ḍ* or *r*. Skr. *vardhatê*, Pr. *vaḍḍhai*, Ksh. *baḍi*, he will increase; but H. *baṛhê*.

dh becomes *d*. Skr. *dugdha-*, Pr. *duddha-*, Ksh. *dŏd*, milk; but H. *dûdh*.

bh becomes *b*. Skr. *bhrâtar-*, Ksh. *bôyu*, a brother; so Kl. *bâya*, but H. *bhâî*.

All the modern Piśâcha languages disaspirate their sonant letters in the same way as Ksh., is as indicated in the first example given above.

One of the most typical characteristics of moder Piśâcha nlanguages is the not uncommon hardening of original sonant letters, so that *g* becomes *k*, *j* becomes *ch*, *ḍ* becomes *ṭ*, *d* becomes *t*, and *b* or *v* becomes *p*. This was the universal rule in the days when Paiśâchî Prakrit was spoken. In process of time most of the hardened letters have again become softened,—as is the tendency in the growth of all languages,—but, nevertheless, several instances of these hardened letters still survive, and in borrowing from other languages the tendency again comes into play, and sonant letters in borrowed words often become surds. Examples for Kâshmîrî are :—

g becomes *k*. Skr *khaḍga-*, a sword, Ksh. *khaḍak*. Similarly, in other modern Piśâcha languages, we have Bsh. *kile*, Wai, *kele*, V. *kili*, Pash. *kuli*, all signs of the plural, and the same in origin as the Prs. *gala*. For borrowed words, we may quote Prs. *lagâm*, Ksh. *lâkam*, a bridle; Ar. *'îdgâh*, Ksh. *yêdikâh*, an 'îdgâh; Prs. *kâghaẕ*, Ksh. *kâkaz*, paper.

j becomes *ch* or *ts*. Skr. *kshudyatê*, Pr. *khujjai*, Ksh. *khôtsi*, he will fear. Similarly, Bsh. has *achu*, a tear, as compared with H. *ãjhû*.

ḍ becomes *ṭ*. Skr. *dṛiḍha-*, Ksh. *droṭ*^{u}, firm.

d becomes *t*. Skr. *śvâpada-*, Ksh. *hâpat-*, a bear. Similarly, Prs. *dâman*, Bsh. *tâman*, the skirt of a garment ; Skr. *dugdha-*, Pr. *duddha-*, Sh. *dût*, milk.

b or *v* becomes *p*. Skr. *śava-*, Ksh. *hap-*, a corpse ; Prs. *bâz*, Ksh. *pöz*, a falcon. So, Ar. *ṭabîb*, Bsh. *tapîp*, a physician ; Skr. *svasâr-*, Kh. *ispusâr* a sister.

It will be noticed that, in respect to the hardening of sonant consonants, Kâshmîrî is in entire agreement with the modern Piśâcha languages.

A noteworthy peculiarity of the Piśâcha languages is the confusion between cerebral and dental letters. This is universal and extends to Kâshmîrî. Compare the following :— Sh. *gôt*, or *gôṭ*, a house ; Bsh., V. *osht-*, Wai. *ôsht*, Gwr., Kl. *usht-*, Ksh. *wöth-*, but H. *uṭh-* arise ; Ksh. *dal* or *ḍal*, a leaf ; Grw. *aṭh*, Sh. *ath*, eight ; Skr. *kâla-kûṭa-*, black poison, Ksh. *kṭa-kâl* or *kta-kâl*. and many other similar cases.

A marked feature of Kâshmîrî is consonantal epenthesis, *i. e.* the change in a consonant under the influence of a following vowel or semivowel. This also occurs in the modern Piśâcha languages, but not in India.

Thus, in Ksh. *k* becomes *ch* before palatal letters, as in *thok*^{u}, weary, fem. *thüchü* ; *hŏkh*^{u}, dry, fem. *hŏchhü*. So from the root *kar*, do, we have Wai. *châ-st*, he does ; and the Sh. *môchô*, before, is connected with the Skr. *mukha-*, a face.

Similarly, *t* and *ṭ* change in Ksh. to *ts* and *ch*, respectively, as in *rât-*, night, plur. *rötsü* ; *püṭü*, a board, plur. *pachĕ*. So, we have Bsh. *ktî*, but V. *ktseh*, the back ; Eranian root *yet*, come, compared with Bsh. *ats*, Wai. *atsh* ; Skr. *putra-*, a son, Grw. *pûch*, Sh. *puch* or *push* ; Skr. *strî*, a woman, Sh. *chei* or *tshrîga* ; Sh. *trak* or *chak*, see, and others.

In Ksh. under such circumstances *ḍ* becomes *j*, and *d* becomes *z*, as in *büdü* (fem.), great, plur. *bajĕ* ; *grand*, a counting, plur. *grünzü*. Similarly, the H. *dhî*, a daughter, is *jû* in Bsh. ; and the H. *dô*, two, is represented in Kh. by *jû*, and in Ksh. by *z*^{a}*h*.

In Ksh. *l* under similar circumstances becomes *j*, as in *angujü*, a finger, representing the Skr. *aṅguli-*. So the Pañjâbî *gall* (fem.), a word, is represented by *gijji* in Bsh.

The Kâshmîrî system of epenthetic changes of vowels, though strange to nearly all the languages of India proper, obtains also in the Piśâcha languages, although too little is known of these to enable us to set out definite rules for them. As examples we may quote the change of *a* to *i* under the influence of a following *i* in the V. *izhĩ*, Gwr. *itsin*, Kl. and Kh. *ech*, an eye, as compared with the original Av. *aśi*. So the Bsh. *dusht*, a hand, has its plural *duisht*, for *dushti*, just as *as*^{i}, we, is pronounced *a*^{i}*s*^{i} in Kâshmîrî. Again, the Skr. *âsya-*(*i. e.* **âsia-*), a mouth, becomes *ish* in V., and the Skr. *sûrya-*(*i. e.*, **sûria-*), the sun, becomes *swir* in My., *sîr* in Grw., and *sir*^{i} in Ksh. As an example of the epenthesis of *u*, we may quote the Kl. *gŭṛo*, for *gãṛo* or *gâṇo*, singing, in which the *â* has become *u* under the influence of the following *o*. Similarly, in Bsh. *bṛôh*, a brother ; Sh. *dônô*, a bull ; Bsh. *kôr*, Kl. *kurô*, Sh. *kôn*, an ear, and many others, *a* or *â* has become *u* or *o*. Many more examples could be quoted, but the above are sufficient to show that Kâshmîrî shares its tendency to epenthesis with all the Piśâcha languages.

In Kâshmîrî, when a word ends in one of the letters *k*, *ch*, *ts*, *ṭ*, *t*, or *p*, that letter is aspirated, and becomes *kh*, *chh*, *tsh*, *ṭh*, *th*, or *ph*, respectively. There is nothing like this in India, but it certainly also occurs in V., and probably in other Piśâcha languages. Thus, the Ksh. *krak-*, noise, becomes *krakh*, and similarly the V. *masek-*, moon, becomes *masekh*.

In the languages of India proper, when a Prakrit word contained a double letter letter is either retained unchanged, or else reduced to a single letter with a lengtheni the preceding vowel in compensation. Thus, the Pr. *bhatta-*, boiled rice, becomes Pañjâbî *bhatt*, and the H. *bhât*. But in Ksh., and in Lahndâ and Sindhî (two langu much subjected to Piśâcha influence), the vowel is *not* lengthened, although the double sonant is reduced to a single one. Thus, the same Sanskrit word becomes *bhat*^{u} in Si and *bata* in Ksh. It also, perhaps, reappears in the Bsh. *bita*, meat. The following gives further examples of the same law :—

Sanskrit.	Apabhraṁśa Prakrit.	Pañjâbî.	Lahndâ.	Sindhî	Kâshmîrî.	West Hin
darbhaḥ, a kind of grass.	*dabbhu* or *ḍabbhu.*	*dabbh*	*dabh*	*ḍabh*^{u}	*dab*	*ḍâbh*
uchchakaḥ, high.	*uchchaü*	*uchchâ*	*uchchâ*	*uchô*	......	*ũchâ*
satyaḥ, true.	*sachchu*	*sachch*	*sachchâ*	*sach*^{u}	......	*sãch* or
ṛikshaḥ, a bear.	*ṛichchhu*	*richchh*	......	*richh*^{u}	......	*rîchh*
śabdaḥ, a sound.	*saddu*	*sadd*	*sadd*	......	*sada*	*sâd*
dugdham, milk.	*duddhu*	*duddh*	*duddh*	*ḍḍudh*^{u}	*dŏd*	*dûdh*
agrê, before.	*aggahi*	*aggê*	*aggê*	*aggê*	......	*âgê*
adya, to-day.	*ajju*	*ajj*	*ajj*	*aj*	*az*	*âj*
chakram, a wheel.	*chakku*	*ċhakk*	*chakk*	*c ak*^{u}	......	*châk*
tarkayati, he ascertains.	*takkêi*	*takk-*	*takk-*	*tak-*	......	*tâk-*
śushkakaḥ, dry.	*sukkhau*	*sukkhâ*	......	*sukô*	*hŏkh*^{u}	*sûkhâ*
karma, an action.	*kammu*	*kamm*	*kamm*	*kamu*	*kömü* (exceptional long vowel).	*kâm*
charma, skin.	*chammu*	*chamm*	*chamm*	*chamu*	*cham*	*châm*
karṇaḥ, an ear.	*kaṇṇu*	*kann*	*kann*	*kan*^{u}	*kan*	*kân*
sarpaḥ, a snake.	*sappu*	*sapp*	*sapp*	*sap*^{u}	......	*sãp*
śvaśrûḥ, mother-in-law.	*sassû*	*sass*	*sass*	*sas*^{u}	*hash*	*sâs*
bhaktam, boiled rice.	*bhattu*	*bhatt*	......	*bhatu*	*bata*	*bhât*
raktakaḥ, red.	*rattaü*	*rattâ*	*ratt*, blood	*ratô*	*rat-*, blood	*râtâ*
kartayati, he cuts.	*kaṭṭêi*	*kaṭṭ-*	......	*kaṭ-*	*kaṭ-*	*kâṭ-*
hastaḥ, a hand.	*hatthu*	*hatth*	*hatth*	*a thu*	*atha*	*hâth*
pṛishṭham, the back.	*piṭṭhu, puṭṭhu*	*piṭṭh*	......	*puṭhi*	*pĕṭh*	*pîṭh*

The above table shows how regularly the law applies to Kâshmîrî, and I here q a few examples from Bsh. in order to show how typical this is of the Piśâcha langu generally :—Pr. *uchcha-*, high, H. *ũchâ*, but Bsh. *ucha-sth*, to raise ; Pr. *chamma-*, s H. *châm*, Bsh. *cham ;* Pr. *kaṭṭêi*, he cuts, H. *kâṭê*, but Bsh. *katâ*, a knife ; Pr. *piṭṭhi*, back, H. *pîṭh*, Bsh. *ptî* (for *pitî*). Similarly for the other Piśâcha languages. We thus that, in this respect Kâshmîrî is in entire agreement with Piśâcha, and differs from languages of India proper.

So far we have dealt with general phonetic rules, but when we consider letters in detail the connexion between Kâshmîrî and Piśâcha is equally manifest. Thus :—

In the Dard group of Piśâcha languages an initial *k* sometimes becomes *g*, as in My. *gî*, what ? The same occasionally happens in Ksh. *gâsh*, light, as compared with the Skr. *kâśa-*.

In India, when the letter *v* in Sanskrit forms the latter member of a compound consonant, the first member of which is a mute, it is elided in Prakrit, and the first member is doubled. Thus, Skr. *pakva-*, ripe, Pr. *pakka-*, H. *pakkâ*. In the Piśâcha languages, including Ksh., exactly the reverse process is followed. It is the first member that is elided, while the *v* is retained and is hardened to *p*. Thus, the Skr. *pakva-* becomes the Ksh. *popu*. There is very little like this in the modern Indian languages, but in Piśâcha we have cases like Bsh. *psûṛ*, a father-in-law (Skr. *śvaśura-*) ; V. *pseh*, what ?, derived from a word akin to Av. *chvant-*. It will be observed that in these the sibilant is preserved as well as the hardened *v*, and the same is the case in the Kh. *ispusâr*, a sister, connected with the Skr. *svasâr-*. In Indian languages this only occurred in Apabhraṁśa Prakrit, where we find such forms as *paĩ* for Skr. *tvam*, thou, and other cases of the change of *tv* to *pp*, but no other compound, with *v* for the second member, became *p*.

In Indian languages an original *t* between two vowels is as a rule dropped, as in Skr. *krita-*, done, H. *kiâ* ; Skr. *pitâ*, a father, H. *piu* ; Skr. *śata-*, a hundred, H. *sau*. In Paiśâchî Prakrit this *t* was, on the contrary, preserved, and this rule is followed with great consistency in the modern Piśâcha languages, as well as in Kâshmîrî. Thus, from the Pahlavi *katak*, a house, we have Kh. *khatan* ; Skr. *tata-*, a father, Bsh. *tot*, Wai. *tata*, and so others ; Skr. *kṛita-*, Bsh. *kutt*, done, Ksh. *kyutu* (*i. e.*, *kitu*), for ; Skr. *śata-*, a hundred, Bsh. *sher* (with change of *t* to *r*), Ksh. *hat-* (with change of *ś* to *h*) ; Skr. *bhûta-* become, Ksh. (Sirâjî) *butô*, was.

In India an original *ty* becomes *ch*, as in H. *sach*, true, from Skr. *satya-*. In Piśâcha and Ksh., on the other hand, *ty* often becomes *t*, as in Ksh. *sat*, true. So, corresponding to the Skr. *nṛityati*, he dances, we have the Bsh. root *nât-* and the Sh. root *nat*, but H. *nâch*.

In India a Skr. *tr* becomes *t*, as in Skr. *putra-*, a son, H. *pût* ; Skr. *gôtra-*, a clan, H. *gôt*, and so on. In the Piśâcha languages and in Ksh. it may remain unchanged, as in Wai. *piutr*, Kl. *pûtr*, Ksh. *pŏtr*, a son ; Skr. *trîṇi*, three, H. *tîn*, while, compared with the Av. *thrâyô*, three, we have Bsh., Kl., Ksh, *trĕh*, Wai., Sh. *trê*, Kh. *troi*.

We have seen that in the Piśâcha languages *tr* usually remains unchanged. Often, however, in the Dard group it is as already stated changed to *ch* or *sh*. Thus, we have the Sh. root *chak* or *trak*, see ; the Skr. *gôtra-*, a clan, becomes *gôt* or *gôsh* in Sh.; the Skr. *putra-*, a son, is *push* in Sh. and *pûch* in Grw.; the Skr. *strî*, a woman, is *chei* in Sh. Similarly, in the Râmbanî dialect of Ksh., we have *chêî* or *trai*, three, corresponding to the Sh. *chê*, V. *chhî*, and My. *châ*. It may be noted that a similar change occurs in the neighbouring Eranian Ghalchah languages, as in Wakhî *pötr*, Sarîqôlî *pöts*, a son.

One of the most persistent consonants in India is the letter *n*. In the modern languages it almost always survives, but in the Piśâcha languages and in Ksh. it is liable to elision. Thus, Skr. *manusha-*, a man, is Kl. *môch*, V., Sh. *mush*. In Ksh. we have the corresponding word *m̃öts-*, which is said to be the word for 'man' used by demons, the ordinary word being *manôsh*, which is borrowed direct from Skr. In other words, the original Piśâcha term has been discarded as vulgar in favour of the high-flown borrowed Skr. word. Another

mportant example is the Ksh. word *dyâr*, money, which, strange to say, is a corruption of he Latin *denarii*, come to Kashmîr through Greek and Sanskrit, or through Greek direct. The Skr. form of the word is *dînârâḥ*.

The Hindû Prakrit grammarians noted as a peculiar fact that in Paiśâchî Prakrit *ny* became *ñ*. This is not the case in India, where *ny* became *n*, as in Skr. *dhânya-*, H. *dhân*, paddy; Skt. *anya-*, H. *ân*, another. But Ksh. exactly follows the Paiśâchî Prakrit rule. It has *dâñĕ*, paddy, and several other similar words.

In modern Piśâcha languages *r*, when standing alone, is frequently elided. Thus, we have the Sh. root *mir*, but Gwr. root *mî*, die ; Pash. *karam* or *kam*, I do ; Bsh. *shei*, the head, as compared with the Skr. *śiras*; Bsh. *dâo*, wood (Skr. *dâru-*); Kl. *chau*, four (H. *châr*). So in Ksh. we have *bösi*, a kind of almanac, derived from the Skr., *bhâskarî; grângal* or *gângal*, distraction; and *brônṭh* or *bônṭh*, before. So, in the Kashṭawârî dialect of Ksh. we have *nyit* for *nîrit*, having emerged ; and in the Sirâjî dialect *ichchh* for *richchh*, a bear, and many others.

In India, when *r* originally preceded another consonant, it is usually dropped, as in H. *sab*, all, from Skr. *sarva-*; but in the Piśâcha languages and in Kâshmîrî the *r* is usually retained, and if any consonant is dropped it is the second one. Thus, corresponding to the Skr. *karṇa-*, an ear, we have Bsh. *kôr*, Kh., Wai. *kâr*, Kl. *kuṛõ*; to the Skr. *gardabha-*, an ass, we have Kl. *gardôk*, Kh. *gurdôhg*; to Skr. *sûrya-*, the sun, we have Kl. *sûri*, Gwr. *suri*, Kh. *sûri*, My. *swîr*, and Ksh. *sirî*; and to Skr. *sarva-*, all, Ksh. *sôru*.

In India, a sibilant now and then becomes *h*, as in Skr. *êkasaptati-*, H. *ikhattar*, seventy-one. This change is, however, rare except in Lahndâ and Sindhî, which are under strong Piśâcha influence. On the other hand, in the Dard Piśâcha languages and in Ksh. this change is very common, and is subject to the rule that it is mainly confined to an original *ś* or *sh*, *s* being rarely changed. Moreover, the sibilant is retained before certain vowels. A good example of this latter point is the Ksh. *hihu* (pronounced *hyuhu*), like, derived from an older *hiśu*. But the feminine of *hihu* is *hishü*, even in the modern language, because a sibilant does not become *h* when followed by *ü-mâtrâ*. Other examples of this change are :—

Skr. *upaviśati*, he sits down, Ksh. *bĕhi*, and so other Dard languages ; Skr. *viṁśati-*, twenty, Sh. *bêh*, Ksh. *wuh*; Skr. *daśa-*, ten, Ksh. *dah*; Skr. *śata-*, a hundred, Ksh. *hat-*; Av. *ẖśvaś*, six, Gwr. *shoh*, My., Kl. *shôh*, Ksh. *shĕh*; Skr. *śiras-*, a head, Ksh. *hîr* ; Skr. *śava-*, a corpse, Ksh. *hap-*; Skr. *visha-*, poison, Ksh. *vĕh*, and many others. It should be observed that this obtains almost exclusively in the Dard group. For instance, in the Kâfir Piśâcha dialects we have Bsh. *viṯsi*, twenty ; *diṯs*, ten ; *shai*, a head ; and *wish*, poison. The compound consonants *shp* and *śm* of Skr. sometimes become a simple *sh* in Piśâcha. Thus, Skr. *pushpa-*, a flower, becomes Kl. *pũsh-ik*, Ksh. *pôsh*; and the Skr. *Kaśmîra-*, Kashmîr, becomes *Kashîrü* in Ksh. Similarly, *sk* becomes *s* in *bösi* for Skr. *bhâskarî*, a kind of almanac. There is nothing like this in India.

It has been stated that the Piśâcha languages often show changes peculiar to Eranian, especially East Eranian, languages, and which are not found, or are rare, in India. A few of these may be mentioned here, as they are noticeable in Ksh. :—

In East Eranian the change of *ch* to *ṯs* is common. So also in modern Piśâcha and Ksh. The same change occurs in the Indian Marâṭhî, but only before certain vowels. Here it occurs before all vowels. Thus, while Kl. and Pash. have *kuch*, the belly, Wai. has *kiuṯs*. Compare H. *châr*, with Gwr. *ṯsûr*, Ksh. *ṯsôr*; H. *pãch* five, with Gwr. *panṯs*, Ksh.

pânis; Burushaski *chômar*, with Gwr. *tsimar*, iron; Skr. *chhâgala-*, with Ksh. *tshâwul*ᵘ, a goat.

Another very similar change,—that of *j* to *z*,—is frequent in Eranian. It is very common in Ksh. One example will suffice. Compare Skr. *jîva-*, life, with Gwr. *zien*, alive, Ksh. *zuv*, life. There is a similar change on the Indian Marâṭhî, but not before *i*.

The change of *d* to *l* is regular in East Eranian. It is common in the Piśâcha Veron, and is also found in other Piśâcha dialects. An interesting example is the Prs. *mâdar*, a mother, which corresponds to the Sh. *mâlî*. In Ksh. *l*, but not *d*, becomes *j* before *ü-mâtrâ*, so that we get *möj*ü, a mother. From Sh. *mâlî*, a secondary masculine is formed, *viz.*, *mâlô*, a he-mother, *i. e.*, a father, the Ksh. form of which is *môl*ᵘ.

In Eastern Eranian *sht* is frequently changed to *t*. So, in Piśâcha and Ksh., the Prs. *pusht*, the back, becomes Bsh. *ptî*, Sh. *patô*, Gwr., Ksh. *pata*, behind, and so on in others, just as in the East Eranian Balôchî it becomes *phut*.

In modern Indian languages, the *sh* of the Skr. *shaṭ*, six, becomes *chh*, as in the H. *chha*, Bengali *chhay*, Pañjâbî *chhê*. The Piśâcha languages, including Ksh., follow the Eranian method of changing the initial *khśv* of the Av. *khśvaś*, six, to *sh*, instead of using the Indian *chh*. Thus we have Bsh. *sho*, Wai, *shû*, V. *ushu*, Pash. *sh*ᵃ, Kl. *shôh*, and so on, which agrees with the Ksh. *shĕh*. There is nothing like this in India.

In modern Eranian dialects, an original *ś* sometimes changes to *ch*, as in the Kashâni *chûm* for the standard Prs. *shâm*, evening. This, also, is not uncommon in Piśâcha and in Ksh. Thus, the Av. *aśi-*, an eye, is represented by Bsh., Wai. *achẽ*, Kl. *ĕch*, Ksh *achh*ⁱ. So Skr. *śûnya-*, empty, becomes Ksh. *chhon*ᵘ; Skr. root *paś*, see, is represented by the Sh. *pach*; Skr. *aśru-*, a tear, is *osh*ᵘ in Ksh., but *achu* in Bsh.; Skr. *śvêta-*, white, Ksh. *chhoṭ*ᵘ. In India, the reverse is the case, *chh* often becoming *s*, and the change from *ś* or *sh* to *chh*, as in the H. *chha*, is very rare.

Finally, Ksh. has certain phonetic changes of its own that are quite foreign to India. In India, *dm* becomes *dd*, as in the Bengali *pŏddo*, from Skr. *padma-*, a lotus. In Ksh. this becomes *m*, as in the word *pam-pôsh*, a lotus-flower. Again, in Ksh. *ld* becomes *l* (a thoroughly un-Indian change), as in *gal*, a shout, connected with the vedic Skr. *galda-*, and with the Bsh. *gijjî*, speech. This word is also heard, under the form *gall*, in Pañjâbî and Lahndâ, which are, as we know, strongly influenced by modern Piśâcha. Sanskrit itself in post-vedic times borrowed it from Prakrit in the form *gâli-*, from which there is a series of modern Indian derivatives meaning 'abuse.'

Accidence.—Turning now to accidence, in the first place it should be noticed that, like Eranian languages, Kâshmîrî possesses a suffix with the force of the indefinite article, equivalent to the Persian *yâ-ĕ waḥdat*. Just as in Persian *î* (ancient *ê*) is suffixed, so, in Kâshmîrî, *â* is suffixed. Thus, Prs. *yak-î*, Ksh. *akh-â*, a certain one, a. It is hardly necessary to point out that there is nothing like this in India; but the same phenomenon is presented by Bsh., as in *palê-i*, a servant.

The main principles of the declension of nouns is very similar in Indian languages, in Eranian languages, and in modern Piśâcha. We may, however, point out that there are some important differences of detail between Ksh. and Indian languages. Thus, in all the languages of northern India, strong masculine nouns, such as *ghôṛâ*, a horse, end in the

nominative singular in *â*, and in the nominative plural in *ê* (*ghôṛê*). In Ksh., the corresponding nouns end in *u-mâtrâ* in the singular, and in *i-mâtrâ* in the plural, as in *guru*, a horse, plural *guri*. Moreover, all masculine nouns have, in Ksh., a dative singular ending in *s* (as in *tsûras*, to a thief, *guris*, to a horse), and a dative plural in *n* (as in *tsûran*, to thieves, *gurĕn*, to horses). In some Indian dialects there are oblique plurals in *n*, but there is nothing like the Kâshmîrî dative singular in *s* till we reach Marâṭhî, far to the South. Further, Ksh. has cases of the agent (as in *guri*, by a horse) and ablative (as in *guri*, from a horse), to which there is nothing corresponding in India. The *s*-dative is not peculiar to Ksh., but also exists in Kl. and Pash., and also perhaps in Sh., where it has the force of the agent.

To add definiteness to the meaning of the cases, postpositions are employed in Indian and prepositions in Eranian languages. In the Piśâcha languages both are used, though Ksh. prefers the former. Of the postpositions, one or two only remind one of India, the rest being peculiar to Piśâcha. The Ksh. postpositions of the genitive, *sondu*, *uku*, and *unu*, all have parallels in India,—a relative of *sondu* being found in the Mârwâṛî *handô*, of *uku* in the H. *kâ*, and of *unu* in the Gujarâtî *nô*. Similarly, it is possible to compare *manz*, in, with the H. *mãjh*, but it more nearly resembles the Piśâcha V. *munj* and the My. *maz*. But the other postpositions are either quite peculiar to Piśâcha or are borrowed from Persian. As Piśâcha examples, we may quote *kyutu* (an adjective), for; *putshy*, for; *pĕth*, on; *kĕth*, in; and *pĕṭha*, from.

Ordinary adjectives here call for no remarks, but the Ksh. numerals are so decidedly Piśâcha and so distinct from the forms current in India that some attention must be paid to them. Thus:—

One. This is *ak-*. It may be either Indian, Eranian, or Piśâcha, but is more like Prs. and Gwr. *yak* than Indian *ék*.

Two, *zah*. In Ksh. *di* becomes *z*, so that the word is connected with the Bsh. *diu* and the Kh. *jû*, rather than with the Indian *dô*.

Three, *trĕh*. This is regular Piśâcha. Cf. Bsh., Kl. *treh*., Wai. *trê*, Sh. *tré*, Kh. *troi*, and so on. India has *tîn*, and the like.

Four, *tsôr*. The *ô* is Piśâcha, as in Kh., Grw. *chôr*, Gwr. *tsûr*, Sh. *chorr*. India has *â* as in *châr*.

Five, *pânts*. This may be Indian, Eranian, or Piśâcha.

Six, *shĕh*. This is Piśâcha, as in Bsh. *sho*, Wai. *shu*, V. *ushu*, Pash. *sha*, Gwr. *shoh*, Kl. *shôh*, Sh. *shah*, and so on.

Seven, *sat-*. This, with the short *a*, is Piśâcha, as in Pash., Gwr., Kl. Grw., *sat*, Sh. *satt*, and so others. India has *sât*.

Eight, *öṭh* or *aiṭh*. This may be Indian or Piśâcha, but the vowel is not Indian.

Nine, *nav*. This may be Indian, Eranian, or Piśâcha.

Ten, *dah*. This is Piśâcha, with the typical change of *ś* to *h*.

Twenty, *wuh*. The same remarks apply.

Hundred, *hat-*. The same remarks apply.

From the above we see that all the first ten numerals *may* be of Piśâcha origin, and that some of them *must* be. Some are distinctly not Indian.

The first two personal pronouns may be shown as follows :—

I	*bŏh*	thou	*tsᵃh*
me	*mĕ*	thee	*tsĕ*
my	*myônᵘ*	thy	*chyônᵘ*
we	*asⁱ*	ye	*tŏhⁱ*
us	*asĕ*	you	*tŏhĕ*
our	*sônᵘ*	your	*tuhondᵘ*

It will at once be seen that not one of these forms agrees with the corresponding Indian pronouns.

Similarly for the demonstrative pronouns we have :—

	This.	That (near).	That (far).
Sing. Nom.	*yih*	*huh*	*suh*
Dat. (animate)	*yimis*	*humis, amis*	*tamis*
Dat. (inanimate)	*yith*	*huth, ath*	*tath*
Plur. Nom.	*tim*	*hum, am*	*tim*
Dat.	*timan*	*human, aman*	*timan*

Again it is not necessary to draw attention to the various points of difference between his and the Indian forms. It may be especially pointed out that India has nothing corresponding to the distinction between the proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns, although it once existed in Sanskrit.

While none of the above forms are Indian, they all have their cognates on other Piśâcha languages. This has been fully worked out in my *Piśâca Languages of North-Western India*, and need not be repeated here.

The above remarks also apply to the other pronouns, and space need not here be wasted in considering them. Particulars will be found in the work just mentioned.

As regards verbs, the general principles of conjugation are on the whole the same in Indian, in Eranian, and in Piśâcha, but a few facts stand out. While the present tense of the verb substantive, based on the participial form *chhuh*, he is, is also to be found in India, the past tense, formed from the root *âs*, sit, in *ôsᵘ*, he was, is not at all used in that sense in that country.[2] This root *âs* is, however, common in Piśâcha. Thus, for 'he was' we have My. *ās*, Grw. *âsh*, Kh. *ásistai*, Kl. *âsis*, and so on.

In the conjugation of the ordinary verb, the present participle ends in *ân*, as in *mârân*, striking, a form that does not occur in India, but which has many Piśâcha relatives, such as Bsh. *vinan*, Gwr. *thlimân*, Kl. *tîman*, all meaning 'striking.'

While the Indian verb has only one past participle, Ksh. has three,—one (*môrᵘ*, struck) indicating past time in the near past, another (*măryôv*) indicating past time indefinitely, and a third (*mâryâv*) indicating remote past time. One of these (*mâryôv*, for *mâryô*) has the same origin as the past tense of India (Braj *mâryau*), but the others have had an independent line of growth. Although we do not yet know enough in regard to the Piśâcha languages to distinguish between the meanings of the various forms of the past participle in them, it is certain that Wai., Kh., Sh., and My. have at least each two. Thus, Wai. has *vinâ* and *vinasta*, Kh. *gani* and *ganista*, Sh. *shidô* and *shidêgô*, and My. *kuṭa* and *kuṭagal*, all meaning 'struck.'

The Ksh. infinitive is built on the same lines as in Indian languages, *i. e.*, it ends in *un* (*mârun*), which may be compared with the H. ending in *nâ* (*mârnâ*). In most Piśâcha

[2] It is not the same as the root *as*, be, which does occur in several Indian languages.

languages, the infinitive ends in *k*, but in V. it ends in *n* to which *k* is added, as in *pesumti-n-ik*, to strike. The termination *un* is therefore not specially Indian.

In the formation of the tenses Ksh. differs widely from Indian languages. The old present, a tense that survives alike in Indian, Persian, and Piśâcha, in India generally has the force of the present subjunctive, but in Ksh. it is used as a future. In its conjugation it shows little relationship with Indian languages. Thus, to compare Ksh. with H., we have:—

		Ksh.	H.
Sing.	1.	*mâra*, I shall strike.	*mârũ̆*, I may strike.
	2.	*mârakh*	*mârê*
	3.	*mâri*	*mârê*
Plur.	1.	*mârav*	*mârẽ̂*
	2.	*mâriv*	*mârô*
	3.	*māran*	*mârẽ̂*

On the other hand, as shown in the book above referred to, the Ksh. conjugation closely follows that of the other Piśâcha languages. The same remarks also apply to the imperative.

As regards the participial tenses, they are made in the Piśâcha languages on the same principles as in India. A present and imperfect are formed from the present participle conjugated with the appropriate tenses of the verb substantive, and a perfect and pluperfect from the past participle conjugated with the same. These call for no remarks.

Ksh. has three past tenses, one corresponding to each of the three past participles. Indian languages, of course, have only one. Some Indian languages form the past tense by adding pronominal suffixes to the past participle, as in the Bengali *mârilâ-m*, struck-by-me, *i. e.*, I struck. In Ksh. the same procedure is followed, but with the important difference that the suffixes do not form a necessary part of the word. They are removable, and may be used or not as the speaker desires. Thus, he may say either *môrum*, struck-by-me, or *mĕ môru*, by-me struck, for 'I struck.' This affects the whole structure of the language.

Syntax.—In the order of words in a sentence, Ksh. differs altogether from Indian languages. In the latter the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, and last of all the verb; but, in ordinary Ksh. the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian. Thus, in Ksh. they say:—

suh chhuh gâṭulᵘ mahanyuvu
he is clever man,

while in H. they say:—

wŏh hôshyâr âdmî hai
he clever man is.

Now, the order of words used by a man in speaking indicates the order of his thoughts. Hence, the order of thought in Kashmîr is different from the order of thought in India.

Prosody.—In prosody, although the whole literary history of Kashmîr is intimately connected with Sanskrit, modern Kâshmîrî has abandoned Indian metres. The metres used are all Eranian, and what may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindû epics like the *Râmâvatâracharita*, is the well known Persian metre called *Bahri Hazaj*.

Vocabulary.—Finally we come to the question of vocabulary. It is on this that the claim that Kâshmîrî is a Sanskritic language is most strongly based, and, if languages were classed according to vocabulary, the claim would be difficult to controvert. But it is well known that vocabulary cannot be used as a basis of linguistic classification. If it were, High Urdû would have to be classed with Persian as an Eranian language, for the great majority of its words are borrowed from Persian. So, if vocabulary were the test, the Kâshmîrî spoken by Musalmâns, who form nine-tenths, and more, of the population of the Valley, might be classed as a form of the same language.

As has been stated above, Kashmîr has for at least two thousand years been under Indian literary influence. It is the only one of the Piśâcha languages that has a written character and that has a literature. For centuries it was the home of great Sanskrit scholars, and at least one great Indian religion, Śaivism, has found its most eloquent teachers on the banks of the Vitastâ. Some of the greatest Sanskrit poets were born in and wrote in the Valley, and from it has issued in the Sanskrit language a world-famous collection of folklore. Under such circumstances it would be extraordinary if the great bulk of Kâshmîrî vocabulary were not closely connected with the vocabularies of the neighbouring Sanskritic languages, and such, indeed is the fact.

But, nevertheless, some of the commonest words,—words that are retained longest on any language, however mixed, and that are seldom borrowed, such as the earlier numerals, or the words for 'father,' 'mother,' and the like,—are closely allied to the corresponding Shiṇâ words, and are therefore of Piśâcha origin. The following is a list of some Shiṇâ words which have cognate forms in Kâshmîrî. Some of these words occur in Indian languages, but they are also Piśâcha, and are examples of the same form appearing in both families of Aryan speech

English	Shiṇâ	Kâshmîrî
acid	*churko*	*t̠s̠ok*^{u}.
after	*phatû*	*pata.*
anger	*rŏsh*	*rash.*
army	*sĩ̃*	*sîna.*
arrow	*kon*	*kân.*
aunt (father's sister)	*papî*	*pŏph.*
aunt (mother's sister)	*mâ*	*mâs.*
autumn	*sharô*	*harud.*
bad	*kachô*	*koch*^{u}.
be	*bo-*	*bŏv-.*
bear	*îch*	*ichchh* (Sirâjî).
beard	*daĩ*	*ḍörü.*
between	*majja*	*manz*, in.
bite	*chup-* (verb)	*t̠s̠op*^{u} (noun).
blow	*phû-*	*phukh-.*
blue	*nîlo*	*nîl*^{u}.
bone	*ati*	*aḍijü.*
be born	*jo-*	*zĕ-.*
both	*bêye*	*biyĕ*, a second time.
bow	*dânû*	*dûñü.*
boy	*shuḍâr*	*shur*^{u}.
break	*put-*	*phuṭ-.*
breath	*shã̃*	*shâh.*
brown	*gûro*	*guruṭ*^{u}.

English	Shiṇâ	Kâshmîrî.
bull	*dâno*	*dând.*
camel	*ûnt*	*ũṭh.*
cold	*shidalo*	*shatîl.*
cow	*go*	*gâv.*
crooked	*kâlŏ*	*hol^{u}.*
crow	*kã*	*kâ^{a}.*
dance	*nat-*	*nats̠-.*
day	*des*	*dŏh.*
death	*mâren*	*mâra.*
die	*mir-*	*mar-.*
dog	*shû*	*hûn^{u}* (or, dialectic *shûn^{u}.*)
door	*dar*	*dar.*
dry	*shuko*	*hŏkhu.*
ear	*kon*	*kan.*
earthquake	*bũyiâl*	*buñul^{u}.*
eat	*ko-*	*khĕ-.*
eclipse	*grã*	*grôn^{u}.*
elephant	*hasto*	*host^{u}.*
escape	*much-*	*mŏkal-, muts̠.*
eye	*ăchi*	*achh^{i}.*
face	*mukh*	*mŏkh.*
far	*dûr*	*dûr.*
father	*mâlo, bâbo*	*môl^{u}, bâba.*
finger	*agûi*	*onguj^{ü}.*
flour	*ânt*	*ôṭ^{u}.*
foot	*pâ*	*pâd.*
forget	*amush-*	*mash-.*
fortnight	*pach*	*pach.*
fox	*lõy*	*lôh.*
give	*di-*	*di-.*
gold	*son*	*sŏn.*
grape	*jach*	*dachh.*
grass	*kach*	*kach.*
great	*baddo*	*boḍ^{u}.*
hand	*hat*	*atha.*
handle	*dono*	*dan.*
hot	*tâto*	*tot^{u}.*
industrious	*gresto*	*grîst^{u},* a farmer.
kill	*mâr-*	*mâr-.*
knee	*kutû*	*kọ̆ṭh^{u}.*
language	*bâsh*	*bâshĕ,* child's cry.
lay down	*po-*	*pâw-.*
lead (metal)	*nâng*	*nâg.*
leaf (of tree)	*pâto*	*pat^{ar}-.*
learn	*sich*	*hĕchh.*
lip	*ânti*	*wuṭh.*

English	Shiṇâ	Kâshmîrî.
little	*chon*	*chhon*^{u}, empty.
man	*manuzho*	*manôsh* or *mahanyuv*^{u}.
meat	*mos*	*mâz.*
milk	*dut*	*dŏd.*
moon	*yûn*	*zûn.*
month	*mâz*	*mās.*
more	*mûṯs*	*matâ*, much.
mother	*mâlî*	*möjü* (for *mölü*).
mouth	*aĩ*	*ös* (for *âsi*).
naked	*nanno*	*non*^{u}.
name	*nâm*	*nâv.*
new	*nowû*	*now*^{u}.
night	*râti*	*rât-.*
nose	*nâto*	*nast.*
old	*pronõ*	*prôn*^{u}.
place	*dish*	*dîsh.*
plough	*hal*	*ala.*
pride	*badyâr*	*bajĕr* (for *baḍyĕr*), greatness.
ram	*karĉlo*	*kaṭ-.*
receive	*lay-*	*lab-.*
return	*far-*	*phêr.*
right (not left)	*dashino*	*dachhin*^{u}.
rise	*uth-*	*wŏth-.*
sand	*sigel*	*sĕk-.*
scatter	*shij-*	*chhik-.*
seed	*bî*	*byâl*^{u}.
shoulder	*piow*	*pyuk*^{u}.
silver	*rûp*	*rŏp.*
singing	*gai*	*gĕv-.*
sit	*bai-*	*bĕh-.*
smoke	*dûm*	*d*^{a}*h.*
smooth	*pichiliko*	*pishul*^{u}.
snow	*hin*	*shîn.*
son	*puch*	*putr-.*
soul	*jîl*	*zû.*
spade	*bel*	*bêl.*
strength	*shat*	*hĕkat-.*
sun	*sûri*	*sirî.*
sweet	*môro*	*mŏdur*^{u}.
take hold	*lam-*	*lam-*, pull.
tear (vb.)	*ṯsêr-*	*tsaṭ-.*
throat	*shoto*	*hoṭ*^{u}.
to-day	*acho*	*az.*
tongue	*jip*	*zĕv.*
tooth	*dŏn*	*dand.*
vein	*nâr*	*nörü*
village	*girom*	*gâm.*
wall	*tuk*	*kuṭh*^{u}, a room

English	Shiṇâ	Kâshmîrî
weep	*ro-*	*riw-.*
wife	*gren*	*garĩñ,* mistress of a house.
window	*darí*	*dörü.*
wine	*mo*	*mas.*
with	*sâti*	*söti.*
woman	*chai*	*trai.*
work	*kŏm*	*kömü.*
write	*lik-*	*lĕkh-.*
yes	*âwâ*	*awa.*

We therefore arrive at the following conclusions. Kâshmîrî is a mixed language, having as its basis a language of the Dard group of the Piśâcha family allied to Shiṇâ. It has been powerfully influenced by Indian culture and literature, and the greater part of its vocabulary is now of Indian origin and is allied to that of the Sanskritic Indo-Aryan languages of northern India. As, however, its basis,—in other words, its phonetic system, its accidence, its syntax, its prosody,—is Piśâcha, it must be classed as such, and not as a Sanskritic form of speech.

EARLIEST SEAT OF THE SENAS.

BY S. KUMAR, M.R.A.S., CALCUTTA.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in the third edition of his *Early History of India,* writes :—" The earliest actually known seat of the Senas was at Kâśîpurî, the modern Kâśîârî, on the Suvarṇarekhâ river, in the Mayurbhañja State, the most northerly of the Orissa Tributary States, adjoining the Midnapur District.[1]" Then in support of this statement, the following passage from the *Report of the Archæological Survey of Mayurbhañj* of Mr. Nagendranatha Vasu has been quoted :—

" We have read in the genealogical history of the Pâśchâtya Vaidika of Bengal, written)n palm leaves and about three hundred years old, that the royal Sena dynasty reigned in ι place called Kâśîpurî and situated on the banks of the Suvarṇarekhâ. Two sons were)orn to Vijayasena, one of the rulers of this place, the elder being named Malla and the youn;er Śyâmala. It was the latter that conquered Eastern Bengal and made the city of 'ikrampura his capital. According to the *Pâśchâtya Kulamañjarî,* Śyâmalavarmâ's sway ı Vikrampura commenced in Śaka 994, *i.e.,* 1072 A. D. There is no doubt that the ancient ame of Kâśîpurî has now degenerated into Kâśîârî." " I cannot follow out " says Mr. Smith the problems of local history suggested by that passage, and the observations which)llow in the work cited." " At present " continues Mr. Smith, " I am concerned to note ıat Kâśîpurî or Kâśîârî was the early seat of the Sena Kings. The date 1072 A. D. for ijayasena's son seems to be too early." In the footnote, Mr. Smith comments :— " It is not ısy to see how Kâśîpurî could become Kâśîârî. An alternative synonymous name Kâśîârî may have existed. The name of the town seems to be derived from that of Kâśasena, ıe second of 'the four Senas' of Târânâth, who may be identified with either Hemantasena, : Vijayasena, but probably the latter, whose name is definitely associated with Kâśîpurî."

The statement that the "royal Sena dynasty reigned in a place called Kâśîpurî, on ıe Suvarṇarekhâ river, is said to have been found by Mr. Nagendranatha Vasu in the genealogical history " of the Pâśchâtya Vaidika class of Bengal. It is a manuscript in palm ·aves and declared by Mr. Vasu to be " about three hundred years old."

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[1] P. 420.

Now, let us consider the exact historical value of these genealogical works on which Mr. Vasu places so much reliance. The palm leaf manuscript, above referred to, gives the following account :—

A king, called Syâmalavarmâ, "brought down several *sâgnika* Brâhmaṇs from Karṇâvâtî (*sic*) with a view to perform a *yajña* called the *Sâkunasatra*."[2] The elder brother of this king was called Mallavarmâ. Both these Varmans are said to be the sons of one Vijayasena. And from another genealogical work, Mr. Vasu declares that "the aforesaid Vijayasena conquered Gauḍa, and was the father of the highly famous Vallâlasena."[3] But this theory of the conquest of Gauḍa by Vijayasena was afterwards probably given up by Mr. Vasu; otherwise, he could not have maintained, in a recent article, that Syâmalavarman was the first Sena King of Bengal.

Recently, a copper plate Grant of Bhojavarman has been discovered at Belâbo and published in the *J. A. S. B.*, n. s., X, 121 ff., and in the *E. I.*, XII, p. 37ff. This grant has brought to light new facts and yielded a new genealogy of the Varmans. According to this grant, Bhojavarman had the following lineage :—

Vajravarman
|
Jâtavarman
|
Sâmalavarman
|
Bhojavarman

Thus, we find that Bhojavarman's father was one Sâmalavarman, or more correctly Syâmalavarman. This record plainly states that Vajravarman, and so his descendants, belonged to the Yâdava clan of the Lunar race.

From this, Syâmalavarman does not seem to be connected in any way with the Senas of Bengal. His father's name was Jâtavarman ; he defeated Karṇadeva of the Kalachuri-Chedi dynasty and got one of his daughters in marriage.

After the discovery of this inscription, two alternatives were open to Mr. Vasu :—

(1) that this Syâmalavarman was a different person from the one referred to in the genealogies of the *Pâśchâtya Vaidikas*;

(2) that they were one and the same person.

Mr. Vasu chose the latter. In doing so, he found that in the face of this admission, it would, no longer, be possible to maintain the infallibility of his "three-hundred-years-old" palm leaf manuscript, on which he had so boldly based his account of the lineage of Syâmalavarman some eight years ago. In a Bengali journal of some note,[4] Mr. Vasu has admitted the identity of the father of Bhojavarman and the Syâmalavarman of the *Kulapañjikâs*. But he would still uphold his original theory of the descent of Syâmalavarman from Vijayasena on the statement of the *Kulaśâstras*. And in support of his views, he says that he has found in one of the *Kulapañjikâs*, which he has got in his possession, a copy of a grant of Syâmalavarman. Mr. Vasu, in quoting from this copy of the grant, admits that it is of the same type as that of Viśvarûpasena. But by actual examination of the reproduction of the grant we are led to think that the genuineness of the record is rather difficult to maintain. We believe it to have been interpolated by some clever Brahman with an ulterior motive of self-interest. The manuscript, thus mutilated, came into the hands of Mr. Vasu, who, we think, a little too credulously and without bestowing sufficient consideration on the matter, has jumped to a conclusion, which cannot stand the test of scientific criticism. Mr. Vasu thinks it to be of the "same type as the Grant of Viśvarûpasena,"[5] but we find it to be

[2] *Mayurbhañj A. S. R.* by N. N. Vasu. pp. 122 ft. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Bhâratavarsha*, I. 18. [5] *J. A. S. B.*

an exact copy of the latter with only a slight modification, not quite enough to shield its identity. Mr. Vasu's words are :—" They are both cast in the same form." The expression seems to us too mild to describe the actual identity of the records. In the second grant the expression *Varmavaṁsa-kulakamala* has been substituted for the *Senavaṁsa-kulakamala* of the first one, and the name, *Śyâmalavarman* appears in place of *Viśvarûpasena* of the original. Hence, this piece of evidence may be rejected as unreliable, as it is based on a datum of doubtful validity. In this connection, it might also be noted that only a copy of the wording of a grant can never lead us to any definite conclusion with regard to its genuineness, since any epigraphic discussion, under the circumstance, is impossible. The epigraphic evidence of an inscription is almost a sure test of its genuineness. In the case in which any particular record fails to stand this test, we are surely justified in rejecting it as spurious, and hence, not at all suitable for serving as a basis of any constructive argument.

Mr. Vasu admits that the manuscript, on which he based his original theory of Śyâmalavarman's descent, was a copy only, and as such it abounds in mistakes, which scribes and copyists of India, who are not always very accomplished scholars, are liable to commit. The passage quoted from this manuscript by Mr. Vasu reads as follows :—

Trivikrama mahârâja Senavaṁśa-samudbhavaḥ
Âsît paramadharmajñaḥ Kâśîpurasamîpataḥ.
Svarṇarekhâ-nadî yatra svarṇayantramayî subhâ
Svargaṅgâ-salilaiḥ pûtâ sallokajanakatârinî
Asau tatra mahîpâla Mâlatyâṁ nâmataḥ striâṁ
Âtmajaṁ janayâmâsa namnâ Vijayasenakaṁ.
Âsît sa eva râjâ ca tatra puryâṁ mahâmatiḥ
Patnî tasya Vilolâ ca pûrṇa-candra-samadyutiḥ.
Striyâṁtasyâṁ hi putrau dvau Malla-Śyâmalavarmakau
Sa eva janayâmâsa kṣauṇî-rakṣakarâ bubhau.
Malla statraiva prathitaḥ Syamal'otra samâgataḥ
Jetuṁ satrugaṇân sarvân Gauḍadeśanivâsinaḥ
Vijitya ripuśârdulaṁ Vaṅgadeśanivâsinaṁ
Râjâsît paramadharmajño namnâ Śyâmalavarmakaḥ.

This passage is the key-note of Mr. Vasu's theory. It states that of the Senas, Vijayasena, son of Trivikrama, had two sons, Malla and Śyâmala. Malla remained in his original home, on the banks of the Suvarṇarekhâ-nadî, while Śyâmala came to Gauḍa, and established a kingdom in Bengal. This passage by itself militates against the accepted chronology and the recognised data for the history of Bengal. We might take this opportunity of reminding Mr. Vasu of certain evidence, if it is evidence at all, adduced from his favourite work of *Dânasâgara*, supposed to be written by Vallâlasena, where it is found stated :—

Tadanu Vijayasenaḥ prâdurâsît Varendre " After (Hemantsasena) Vijayasena came to Northern Bengal."

So that, in the light of this passage, Śyâmalavarman cannot be regarded as *the first Sena King of Bengal* as hinted by the *Kulapañjikâs* ; and the date Śaka 994, *i. e.*, 1072 A. D., for the establishment of the Sena Kingdom in Eastern Bengal, by the supposed son of Vijayasena, is not only "too early", but altogether against all chronological data.

But now that the discovery of the Belâbo copper-plate Grant has brought to light the fact that the lineage of Śyâmalavarman, as deduced from the genealogical works, is no longer tenable, Mr. Vasu has come forward with another palm-leaf manuscript, which he vouches to be an original one and about " three hundred years old ." It is a *Kulapañjikâ* by Îśvara Vaidika, deposited with a local Paṇḍit at Tâlâ, a place near Calcutta. This manuscript Mr. Vasu declares to be more reliable and free from such mistakes as are found in the one he first cited.

The passage[6] that Mr. Vasu quotes from the Tâlâ manuscript offers the following chief points for consideration :—

(1) l. 1, the word *Śûravaṁśa*[7] appears in place of *Senavaṁśa* of No. 1.

(2) l. 2, *deśe Kâśîsamîpataḥ* for *Kâśîpurasamîpataḥ* of No. 1.

(3) l. 3, *Svarṇarekhâpurî* for *Svarṇarekhânadî* of No. 1.

(4) l. 5, the name *Kaṇasenakaṁ* for *Vijayasenakaṁ* of No. 1.

(5) After l. 5, the two quotations differ a good deal in the subject matter, *e. g.*, Vilolâ appears as the daughter of Kaṇasena in No. 2.

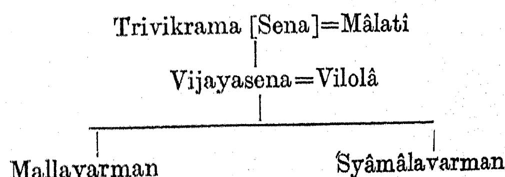
(6) Malla and Śyâmala are mentioned in both the passages as sons of Vilolâ.

(7) The name " Śyâmalavarmâ " has been spelt with a dental sibilant in No. 2.

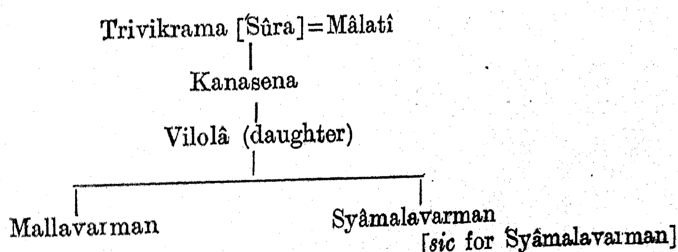
Well, in the quotation from the Manuscript No. 2, we find it stated that Trivikrama of the Śûra dynasty had a son named Kaṇasena (*sic* for Karṇasena) by his queen Mâlatî: Kaṇasena had a daughter called Vilolâ, who had two sons, namely Malla and Śyâmala.

The account deduced from the Manuscript No. 1, is widely different from that derived from the Manuscript No. 2,—they are almost irreconcilable. No. 1 says that Trivikrama was of the Sena family, whereas according to No. 2, he was one of Śûras of Bengal. The first manuscript indicates that a place near *Kâśîpura* was the seat of the Sena family, while No. 2 shows that it was the original home of the Śûras. The genealogies given by the two manuscripts are also different, thus :—

No. 1.



No. 2.



[6] The passage reads as follows :—

" Trivikrama Mahârâja Śûravaṁśa-samudbhavaḥ,
Âsît paramadharmajño deśe Kâśîsamîpataḥ
Svarṇarekhâpurî yatra svarṇayantramayî śubhâ,
Svargaṅgâ salilaiḥ pûtâ sallokajanatoṣinî.
Asau tatra mahîpâlo Mâlatyâṁ nâmataḥ striyâṁ.
Âtmajaṁ janayâmâsa namnâ Kaṇasenakaṁ.
Âsît sa eva râjâ ca tatra puryâṁ mahâmatiḥ,
Kanyâ tasya Vilolâca pûrṇacandrasamadyutiḥ.
Srîyâṁ tasyâṁ hi dvau putrau Malla-Syâmalvarmakau [*sic*]
Sâ eva janayâmâsa kṣauṇî rakṣakâbv-ubhau.
Mallas tatraiva prathitaḥ Syâmalo'tra [*sic*] samâgataḥ,
Jetuṁ śatrugaṇân sarvân Gauḍadeśanivâsinaḥ,
Vijitya ripuśârdûlaṁ Vaṅgadeśanivâsinaḥ [*sic*],
Râjâsît paramadharmajño nâmnâ Syâmalavarmakaḥ [*sic*]
Jitvâ sarvamahîpatiṁ bhujavalaiḥ pañcâsyatulyo [*sic*] valî.
Srîmadvikramapura nâma nagare râjâbhanniścitaṁ."

[7] Mr. Vasu understands this to mean "dynasty of heroes," but I cannot agree with him. See *Bharatavarṣa*, I, 31.

From the Belâbo grant, we have come to know that Syâmalavarman's mother v Vîraśrî, a daughter of Karṇadeva and a grand-daughter of Gâṅgeya of the Kalachuri-Ch dynasty. It is rather suspicious to find the name of Karṇasena, or Kaṇasena, in the Man cript No. 2, as a substitute for Vijayasena of No. 1. We cannot also lose sight of the f that the Manuscript No. 2 was discovered some time after the Belâbo Grant was brou to the notice of the public. We might, perhaps, be justified in doubting the genuiner of the manuscript. One might reasonably declare that probably No. 2 is a spurious docum and should not have been treated with such reliance as Mr. Vasu has granted it.

In the *Vaidika-Kulamañjarî* of Ramadeva Vidyâbhûshaṇa, Syâmalavarman has b described as one of the sons of Vijayasena of the Sûra dynasty. This statement also m tates against the acceptance of the *Kulapañjikâ* by Îśvara Vaidika as a genuine and relia work. Mr. Vasu himself feels a good deal of difficulty in accepting *in toto* the stateme of these *Kulaśâstras.*[8]

Mr. Vasu, following rather too closely the genealogical works, has concluded that S malavarman was the **first of his dynasty to reign in Gauḍa and so in Bengal**, but the Bel Grant proves, as strongly as any fact in history, that Jâtavarman can alone be styled such.

Mr. Vasu in his *Mayurbhañj Archaeological Survey Report* has stated that from genealogical history of the Pâścâtya Vaidikas we learn that the "royal Sena dynasty reig in a place called Kaśîpurî," situated "on the banks of the Suvarṇarekhâ," although "K purasamîpataḥ" would mean only "*near Kâśîpura.*" But later, and especially in his ar on the subject in *Bhâratavarsha,*[9] he seems to have abandoned this theory, in favour of ano which does not seem to be in any way sounder. He has said that Siṁhapura of the Bel Grant must be a place "near Kâśî" and is identical with the "Svarṇarekhâpurî" na by Îśvara Vaidika. The key-stone of this theory is the identity of Syâmalavar with the younger son Vijayasena and that Syâmalavarman was the first Sena King of Ber or Gauḍa. But when we find so many things against its validity, we cannot admit conclusion to be sound and acceptable. Mr. Vasu has also agreed that Siṁhapura *Sam-ho-po-lo* of Hieun-thsang. Well, then Siṁhapura cannot be on the Ganges, nor is it " Kâśî." However, it cannot be denied that the Vârmans of the Belâbo Grant do not s to have any relation with the Senas of Bengal, and that Syâmalavarman was not the you brother of Vallâlasena and the second son of Vijayasena as Mr. Vasu concludes, and that Hemantasena has never been known to have another name, *viz.*, Trivikrama of Pañjikâs. And also it should be noted that there is no ground for believing that Syâ varman was only a kingling under the Senas.

If our above conclusions be right, then it follows that the Senas had nothing to do Siṁhapura, which is neither very close to Kâśî, nor identical with it, as Mr. Vasu mai As to the real seat of the Senas before they held their sway in Bengal, we are still in th It is difficult to trace the original home of a soldier of fortune, as Vijayasena, probably The theory of Kâśîârî or Kâśîpurî is only a figment. We can say this only, that the Vallâla points to a foreign origin, probably South Indian, and in the present state of knowledge any further step forward would be unsure—perhaps, dangerous.

[8] *Bhâratvarsha,* I, p. 32. [9] *Op. cit.*

THE NYASAKARA AND THE JAINA SAKATAYANA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, CHITRASHALA, POONA.

WE shall not part with Sâkaṭâyana until he has been made to yield all the literary information which his work contains. It has been already proved that he frequently refers to the authors of the *Kâśikâ* and that he derives his material even for his *sûtras* from that work. On this latter point only one more instance need be cited here. On the following two *sûtras* of Pâṇini

अत्तोऽनन्ने III, 2, 68.
क्रव्ये च III, 2, 69.

the remarks of the *Kâśikâ* are thus wound up—

कृत्तविकृत्तपक्वमांसभक्षः क्रव्याद् उच्यते ।
आममांसभक्षः क्रव्यादिति ॥

Sâkaṭâyana condenses this remark into his *sûtra* thus—

क्रव्यात्क्रव्यादावामपक्वाशौ *Amogh.* IV, 3, 178.
Chintâmaṇi „ „
Hemachandra V, 1, 151.

But the most interesting fact which I wish to bring to the notice of Sanskrit scholars is that this Jaina grammarian is largely indebted for the material of his *sûtras* and his *Amoghavṛitti* to the celebrated Nyâsakâra Jinendrabuddhi, the Buddhist Commentator of the *Kâśikâ*. The great reputation which the Nyâsakâra enjoys rests on the fact that he is not content to explain the text of the *Kâśikâ*, but offers independent interpretations of the original *sûtras*. He tells us why Pâṇini uses so many synonyms in the following *sûtra*:

स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च Pâṇini II, 3, 39.
स्वामीश्वरादीनामेकार्थत्वेपि भेदेनोपादानं पर्यायांतरनिवृत्त्यर्थं ॥ इह मा भूत् । ग्रामस्य राजेति ॥
Nyâsa on Kâśikâ II, 3, 39.
Deccan College Ms. 33 of 1881-82 p. 52 (*b*)

Sâkaṭâyana copies this remark thus:—

स्वामीश्वराधिपतीति पर्यायोपादानात् पर्यायांतरयोगे न भवति । ग्रामस्य राजा । ग्रामस्य पतिः ।
Amogh. I, 3, 179.
Cf. Hemachandra, *Bṛihadvṛitti* II, 2, 98.

After explaining the text of the *Kâśikâ* on the *sûtra* यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् (Pâṇini II, 3, 37) the Nyâsakâra proposes the following instance of his own, and asks why the locative is used in it though there are not two actions here:—

अथ कथं कलिकामानेष्वाम्रेषु गतः ॥ पक्केष्वागत इत्यत्र सप्तमी न हीह भावः श्रूयते ॥ यद्यपि न श्रूयते तथापि गम्यते ॥ कलिकामानेषु जातेष्विस्यदोषः ॥ *Nyâsa on Kâśikâ* II, 3, 37.
D. C. Ms. 33 of 1881-82, p. 52 (*b*).

Sâkaṭâyana reproduces this remark thus:—

आम्रेषु कलायमानेषु गतः । पक्वे(क्वे)ष्वागतः [॥] कलायमाने[षु जाते]ष्विति गम्यते । गम्यमानमपि विभक्तेर्निमित्त भवत्येव । यथा वृक्षे शाखा ग्रामे देवदत्तः । *Amogh.* I, 3, 180.

1 कलायो मालवकप्रसिद्धोधमधान्यविशेषः (Laghu Nyâsa II, 2, 106).

Yakshavarman in his *Chintâmaṇi* reads जातेष्विति गम्यते. Hemachandra also reads अत्र जातेष्विति गम्यते *Bṛihadvṛitti* II, 2, 106.

The authors of the *Kâśikâ*, in explaining the *vârtika* स्वाङ्गकर्मकाच्च on Pâṇini आङोयमहन: I, 3, 28, remark :—

आयच्छते पाणिं। आहते शिरः॥ स्वाङ्गं चेह न पारिभाषिकं[2] गृह्यते। किं तर्हि स्वमङ्गं स्वाङ्गं तेन इह न भवति। आहन्ति शिरः परकीयमिति।

The Nyâsakâra says :—

नात्र पारिभाषिकं स्व ङ्गं गृह्यते अद्रवं मूर्तिमत् स्वाङ्गमिति किं तर्हि स्वमंगं स्वांगामिति आत्मीयमंगामित्यर्थः D. C. Ms. 34 of 1881-82, p. 68 (*b*).

Sâkaṭâyana says that he accepts this view and t at he uses the two separate words स्वेङ्गे in his *sûtra* in order to avoid the ambiguous compound स्वांग thus :—

यंह्नः स्वेंगे वा(चा)ङः

आङ्पूर्वाद्यमेर्हंतेश्च लस्तङो भवति। कर्मण्यसति। स्वे आत्मीये चांगे कर्तुः कर्मणि। ....

स्वांग इति समासे प(पा)रिभाषिक[3]प्रतिपत्तिः स्यादित्यसमासः। *Amogh.* I, 4, 59.

Hemachandra follows Sâkaṭâyana thus :—

आङो यमहनः स्वेङ्गे च।

स्वाङ्ग इति समस्तनिर्देशे पारिभाषिकस्वाङ्गप्रतिपत्तिः स्यादित्यसमस्ताभिधानम्

Bṛihadvṛitti III, 3, 86.

Let us turn to the two following *sûtras* of Pâṇini :—

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः II, 1, 65.

प्रशंसावचनैश्च II, 1, 66.

On the latter *sûtra* the *Kâśikâ* says :—

रूढिशब्दाः प्रशंसावचना गृह्यन्ते मतल्लिकादयः

The Nyâsakâra explains :—

त्रिप्रकारा हि प्रशंसाशब्दाः॥ केचिज्जातिशब्दाः परपदार्थे प्रयुज्यमानाः प्रशंसामाचक्षते। सिंहो देवदत्तः॥ केचिद्गुणशब्दाः गुणसंबंधेन प्रशंसावचना भवंति॥ रमणीयो ग्रामः। शोभन(नः) पाक इति। केचिद्रूढिशब्दा मतल्लिकादयः॥ तेषां प्रशंसैव पदार्थः। तदिह वचनग्रहणात् प्रशंसायामेव ये वर्तंते ते गृह्यंते रूढिशब्दाः॥ गोप्रकांडमिति॥ शोभन[ः] प्रशस्तो गौरित्यर्थः॥ योगविभागो असंदेहार्थः॥ यदि पूर्वयोग एव प्रशंसावचना गृह्येरन्॥ तदा संदेहः स्यात्॥ किं पोटादिभिर्वचनग्रहणं प्रत्येकमपि संबध्यते। अथ प्रसं(शं)सयैवेति॥ पोटादिभिश्च संबध्यता (द्भुतया) तत्पर्यायैरपि समासः स्यात्।

D. C. Ms. 33 of 1881-82 p. 24 (*b*).

In this passage the Nyâsakâra says that Pâṇini does not combine the two *sûtras* into one because the term वचन would have caused ambiguity. Sâkaṭâyana accepts this view and, dispensing with the term वचन, coins a new phrase प्रशंसारूढ, which is not open to the above objection, and writes his one *sûtra* in lieu of Pâṇini's two thus :—

पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्वष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तप्रशंसारूढैर्जातिः

and explains the new phrase thus :—

प्रशंसारूढा मतल्लिकादयः आविष्टलिंगाः। तैः गोमतल्लिका। अश्वमतल्लिका। ....
..............। रूढग्रहणादिह न भवति। गौः रमणीया। गौः शोभना। *Amogh.* II, 1, 73.

[2] *Mahâbhâshya* IV, 1. 54.

[3] *Amogh.* I, 3, 27.

Hemachandra borrows the amended *sûtra* as well as the explanation of Śâkaṭâyana in his *Bṛihadvṛitti* (III, 1, 111), while his commentator the Laghu-Nyâsakâra remarks :—

रूढग्रहणादिति । रूढग्रहणस्योक्तरूपमतल्लिकादिपरिग्राहकत्वाद्रमणीयशोभनशब्दयोश्च रमणीयत्वादिगुणमुपादाय प्रशंसायां वर्तमानत्वादाभ्यां जातिर्न समस्यत इति

It is interesting to note that Haradatta, who copies the three kinds of प्रशंसा mentioned by the Nyâsakâra proposes the following emendation :—

प्रशंसावचनपोटायुवतीत्येकयोगे कर्तव्ये योगविभागश्चित्यप्रयोजनः

Padamañjarî, vol. I, p. 384.

The next *sûtra* of Pâṇini, which I wish to notice here is :—

युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः II, 1, 66.

Patañjali says that युवतिः जरती can be formed into the compound युवजरती, युवा being changed into युवति according to the maxim प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणं भवति. But the *Kâśikâ* mentions another compound यवा जरन् युवजरन् which is not authorized by the above maxim, which applies only to the first member of the compound. The Nyâsakâra, who is conscious of this difficulty, accounts for the second compound thus :—

नन्वेवमपि जरत्या समास उच्यमानो जरता न प्राप्नोति युवजरन्निति ॥ नैष दोषः। वृत्यं(त्यं)तरे रजद्भिः(जरद्भि)रिति पठ्यते ॥ उभयथा ह्याचार्येण शिष्याः प्रतिपादिता इत्युभयं सिद्ध्यति

D. C. Ms. No. 33 of 1881-82, p. 25 (*a*).

Śâkaṭâyana simplifies the matter by admitting जरत् into his *sûtra*.

खलतिजरत्पलितवलिनैर्युवा· *Amogh.* II, 1, 75.

but does not give illustrations. The *sûtra* is fully explained by Yakshavarman in his *Chintâmaṇi*, which is followed by Hemachandra. (*Bṛihadvṛitti* III, 1, 113)

On the other hand, Kaiyaṭa is obliged to accept the explanation given by the Nyâsakâra :—

पुंलिङ्गस्य स्त्रीलिङ्गेन सामानाधिकरण्यं नोपपद्यत इत्यर्थापत्त्या परिभाषा ज्ञाप्यते। तेन युवतिर्जरतीति स्त्रीलिङ्गयोः समासः ॥ नन्वेतयोरपि विरुद्धवयोवाचित्वान्नास्ति सामानाधिकरण्यम् ॥ नैष दोषः। जरत्यां युवतिधर्मोपलम्भात् । युवतेर्वा जरतीधर्मसद्भावात् तद्रूपारोपात् । युवतिशब्दस्यैव पूर्वनिपातार्थमिदम् अनियमो हि गुणशब्दत्वात्स्यात् ॥

जरद्भिः इत्यपि पाठं शिष्या आचार्येण बोधिता इति युवजरन्नित्यपि भवति

Mahâbhâshya, Nirṇayasâgara ed. Vol. II, p. 405.

Haradatta says :—

अस्यां हि परिभाषायां सत्यां युवशब्दस्य ग्रहणे युवतिशब्दस्यापि ग्रहणादुपपद्यते युवतिजरतीशब्दयोः सामानाधिकरण्यमसत्यां तु नोपपद्यत इत्यर्थापत्त्या परिभाषा ज्ञायते।.........।युवजरन्निति। जरद्भिरित्यपि पाठः केनचिदाचार्येण बोधित इति पुंलिङ्गेनापि समासो भवतीति भावः। युवतिर्जरतीति। कथं विरुद्ध[वयो]वाचिनोः सामानाधिकरण्यम्, अन्योन्यधर्मोपलम्भात्तद्रूपत्वारोपाद्भविष्यति, यद्येवं विभिन्नलिङ्गयोरप्येवमेव सामानाधिकरण्यसंभवात्कथं परिभाषा ज्ञाप्यत इति चिन्त्यं, युवशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं वचनमनियमोहि गुणशब्दत्वात्स्यात्

Padamañjarî, Benares Ed., Vol. I, pp. 383-84.

In this passage Haradatta says that he is not prepared to accept Kaiyaṭa's explanation as regards youth and old age by आरोप, because it would equally apply in the case of

different genders and would thus render unnecessary the परिभाषा insisted upon by Patañjali. Nâgoji Bhaṭṭa defends Kaiyaṭa thus :—

तद्रूपारोपादिति । नन्वेवं पुंस्त्वस्याप्यारोपोस्तु किं ज्ञापकेन असंगतं च तदिति चेन्न । उभयारोपे गौरवात् लक्ष्यानुरोधेन भाष्यप्रामाण्येन क्लृप्तपरिभाषाज्ञापनस्यैवौचित्याचेत्यलम् । जराङ्गैरित्यपीति । अत्र मानं चिन्त्यम् । युवजरान्निति । बहुलग्रहणेनापि सुसाधम् ।

Mahâbhâshya, Nirṇayasâgara Ed., Vol. II, pp. 405-406.

From these passages it is evident that Haradatta is posterior to Kaiyaṭa and that both are indebted to the Nyâsakâra.

In his remarks on the *Kâśikâ* (Pâṇini I, 3, 47) the Nyâsakâra[4] says that भासन and other words in the *sûtra* convey the different meanings of the root वदति itself. Sâkaṭâyana, who borrows the word दीप्ति as the equivalent of भासन from the *Kâśikâ* says :—

दीप्त्यादयः सर्वे [वदति]धातोरर्था एवेत्येके *Amogh.* I, 4, 51.

By एके the Nyâsakâra is obviously referred to here.

Sâkaṭâyana owes his explanations of many words entirely to the Nyâsakâra.

(*a*) पैत्रकमश्वा अनुहरन्ते मातृकं गावोनुहरन्त इति पितृवन्मातृवद्गमनमेषां स्वभाव इत्यर्थः

Nyâsa on *Kâśikâ* I, 3, 21.

D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, p. 68 (*a*).

पितृवन्मातृवच्च गमनमेषां स्वभावत एवेत्यर्थः *Amogh.* I, 4, 13.

(*b*) उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः *Kâśikâ* I, 3, 75.

चिकित्साशास्त्रमधिगंतुं उद्यमं करोतीत्यर्थः *Nyâsa* on *Kâśikâ* I, 3, 75,

D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, p. 74 (*a*).

चिकित्सिते ग्रंथे उद्यमं करोतीत्यर्थः *Amogh.* I, 4, 67.

(*c*) आक्रामति माणवकः कुतपमिति अवष्टंभयतीत्यर्थः *Nyâsa* on *Kâśikâ* I, 3, 40.

D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, p. 69 (*b*).

आक्रामति माणवकः कुतपं । अवष्टभ्नातीत्यर्थः *Amogh. & Chintâmaṇi*, I, 4, 26.

(*d*) विक्रामत्याजिनसन्धिः Kâśikâ I, 3, 41.

द्विधाभवति स्फुटीभवतीत्यर्थः *Nyâsa* on *Kâśikâ* I, 3, 41.

D. C. Ms. 34 of 1881-82, p. 69 (*b*).

विक्रामत्यजिनसन्धिः स्फुटतीत्यर्थः *Amogh.* I, 4, 24.

The Nyâsakâra calls himself *Bodhisattva-deśîyâchârya* Jinendrabuddhi, while Sâkaṭâyana wishes to assure distant posterity that he is in no way inferior in erudition to his Buddhist predecessor by assuming to himself an exactly similar title *Śruta-kevali-deśîyâchârya* Sâkaṭâyana :—

इति बोधिसत्त्वदेशीयाचार्य जिनेंद्रबुद्धिविरचितायां काशिकाविवरणपंचि(जि)कायां प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः समाप्तः ॥ D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, p. 76*a*.

[4] D. C. Ms. No. 34 of 1881-82, p. 70*a*.

इति श्रू(श्रु)तकेवलिदेशियाचार्यशाकटायनकृतौ शब्दानुशासने वृत्तौ प्रथमस्याध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥ Ms. of the Jaina Maṭha, Kolhapur.

Before discussing the chronological relations between the Nyâsakâra and Sâkaṭâya it will be convenient to examine two more sûtras of the latter. Patañjali quotes two vers containing past participles of certain verbs conveying the sense of the present tense und Pâṇini III, 2, 188. These verses are also found in the *Kâśikâ* with the following remark

तथा सुप्तः । शयितः । आशितः । लिप्तः । तृप्तः । इत्येवमादयोपि वर्तमाने द्रष्टव्याः

Kâśikâ III, 2, 188.

All these words and some others are included in the verses that occur in t *Amoghavṛitti* under the following *sûtra* :

मतिपूजार्थञि(ञी)च्छील्यादिभ्यः क्तः IV, 3, 278.

सतीति वर्तते । मत्यर्थेभ्यः पूजार्थेभ्यः ञि(ञी)द्भ्यः शील्यादिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः सत्यर्थे वर्तमानेभ्यः क्तप्रत्ययो भवति । .... । शील्यादिभ्यः ।

शीलितो रक्षितः क्षांत आक्रुष्ट(ष्टो) जुष्ट उद्यतः ।
संयतः सं(श)यितस्तुष्टो रुष्ट(ष्टो) रुषित आसि(शि)तः ॥
कान्तोभिव्याहृतो हृष्टो तृप्तस्तृप्तो मृतस्तथा ।
लिप्तः स्निग्धश्च दयित इत्याद्याः सति लक्षिताः ॥
कष्टं भविष्यतीत्याहुः स गम्यादिषु दृश्यताम् ।

केचिद(द्) [य]त्र भूतकालता तत्र क(क्त) इतीदं नारं (र) भे (भं) [ते]

Amogh. & Chintâmaṇi IV, 3, 278.

By केचित् Chandra is referred to, who has no corresponding *sûtra*. In the last line we ar told that कष्टं is to be looked for in the गम्यादिगण which occurs in the following *sûtra* :—

गम्यादिर्वर्त्स्यति IV, 3, 280.

गम्यादिः शब्दगणः इनादि प्रत्ययान्तः वर्त्स्यति धात्वर्थे साधुर्वेदितव्यः । गमी । आगामी .... कष्टं । पदे सामान्यवृत्तावप्यर्थात्प्रकरणाच्छब्दान्तरसंनिधेर्वा विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्भवति । श्व(श्वो)गमी ग्राममिति स वाक्यार्थः । *Amogh. & Chintâmaṇi*, IV, 3, 280.

It is thus evident that the verses, the *sûtras* and the *Amoghavṛitti* containing the गणपाठ were all composed by Śâkaṭâyana himself.

Chandra has the following independent *sûtra* :

समानस्य पक्षादिषु V, 2, 103.

We learn from the *Kâśikâ* that this is got by योगविभाग or separating the word समानस्य from Pâṇini's *sûtra* VI, 3, 84, which deals exclusively with Vedic forms, in order to account for words like सपक्ष. In his *sûtra* (V, 2, 104) Chandra borrows his material from Pâṇini (VI, 3, 85). These facts were before Śâkaṭâyana, who improves upon Chandra's method by composing one *sûtra*, while he relegates to his *Amoghavṛitti* all the words noticed by Chandra and the authors of the *Kâśikâ*. In order to enable the reader to appreciate the importance of this subject I shall cite below the *sûtras* of Pâṇini and Chandra :

Pâṇini.	Chandra.
(*a*) समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्द्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु VI, 3, 84.	(*a*) समानस्य पक्षादिषु V, 2, 103.
(*b*) ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु VI, 3, 85.	(*b*) नामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनधर्मजातीये वा V, 2, 104.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

A CORRECTION IN THE INDIAN CALENDAR.

(*Extract from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April* 1915, p. 335.)

I HAVE to thank Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai for having, in his *Indian Chronology* (pp. 99-101), pointed out two errors of calculation in the *Indian Calendar* (1896), of which the late Sankara Balkrishna Dikshit and myself were the authors. I find, on examination, that his criticism is perfectly just. It is unnecessary for me to explain how these regrettable mistakes arose, but it is of importance that they should be notified for the guidance of those who are in the habit of using our tables for the verification of dates of inscriptions.

The mistakes concern the intercalation and suppression of lunar months in the years Śaka 430 and 674 current, or A.D. 507-8 and 751-2. The following corrections should be made in Table I of the *Indian Calendar* :—

(I) In the entry for the year A.D. 507-8 (p. xiv) in columns 8-12, instead of the present entry "12 Phalguna; 9983; 29·249; 52; 0·156"; and (ii) in the entry for the year A.D. 751-2 (p. xxx), where those columns are left blank, the following should be substituted :—

YEAR A.D.	COL. 8.	COL. 9.	COL. 10.	COL. 11.	COL. 12.
507-8	8 Kârttika	9884	29·652	65	0·195
	11 *Mâgha* (*Ksh.*)	15	0·046	9980	29·940
	12 Phâlguna	9980	29·940	51	0·153
751-2	8 Kârttika	9976	29·928	12	0·036
	9 *Mârgaś.*(*Ksh.*)	12	0·036	9920	29·760

The result is the same whether calculation is made by the first *Ârya Siddhânta* or by the *Sûrya Siddhânta*.

In case these corrections should lead to any doubt as to the accuracy of our other calculations it will be well to note that the above are the only mistakes that have as yet been brought to my notice in all the tables of the *Indian Calendar* since its publication eighteen years ago. Moreover, as Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has, freshly and by a different system, gone over the whole ground covered by our tables and finds no other correction necessary, that in itself is sufficient proof of their reliability. His criticism in these two cases is a testimony to the correctness of the remainder. Nevertheless *humanum est errare*, and I shall be greatly obliged if any reader of the *Antiquary* will tell me if he detects any other mistake. I have discovered one for myself, which I take this opportunity of notifying. In Table I of the *Indian Calendar*, in the entry for the year A.D. 1496-7, col. 13, the entry in brackets "(86)" should be "(87)."

R. SEWELL.

BOOK NOTICE.

A COLLECTION OF MALAY PROVERBS, by J. L. HUMPHREYS. Reprinted from Journal, No. 67, Straits Branch, R. A. S., December 1914.

THIS short collection of proverbs from Johor and Naning is notable and worthy of general study for the manner in which it is put together. There is the proverb, its rendering into English, its application and a brief account of the circumstances in which it is used, involving a useful insight into the ways and thoughts of the people. It is thus useful not only to the anthropologist, but also to the magistrate and the administrator. It need hardly be pointed out that this is the really practical way, in which to present a collection of Oriental proverbs to British readers and I congratulate the author on his effort.

R. C. TEMPLE.

18*th April* 1915.

Pouring water at the root of, or circumambulating, a *pipal* or *bābul* tree after a bath without removing the wet clothes, is also believed to cause conception.[1]

Some observe the vow of entertaining thirteen Brāhmans and thirteen virgins to a feast, and of setting up Randal Bantva.[2]

Women whose children die in infancy give them opprobrious names such as Khacharo (filth), Ghelo (stupid), Natho, Uko, Ukardo, Bodho, Pujo, Adàvo, Mongho, Tulhi, Tutho, Kadavi, etc. in the belief that by so doing the life of the children is lengthened.[3] The idea is almost Asiatic in extent. Among Musalmàns also such names are given; and even among the Persians and Arabs boys are given such names as Masriequ and Osaid—the Stolen and the Black. Sometimes parents arrange that their childern be actually stolen; and some next of kin, generally the aunt, is made to commit the kindly felony. She afterwards returns the child for a certain amount in cash or clothes. The custom is as old as the scriptures, there being an allusion in the Koràn to how the little Joseph was made to steal some garment of his aunt and was claimed as a forfeit by her. Speaking about Levi, the older brothers of Joseph say to the Egyptian soldiers, "If he hath stolen (the king's goblet) verily the brother of his too did (formerly) steal."

Some make a vow of not cutting the hair of their children till they are taken to Ambāji, where their hair is cut for the first time.[4]

Some treat their children as beggars until they attain the age of five years, that is, they are dressed till that age in clothes obtained by begging. Some bore the nose of the child.[4]

[1] The School Master of Chhatràsa.

[2] The School Master of Khirasara.

[3] The School Master of Ganod.

[4] The School Master of Todia.

CHAPTER V.

WORSHIP OF THE MALEVOLENT DEAD.

The beliefs current as to the cause of dreams are many. One of these is that memory of known facts or incidents heard or seen causes dreams. Dreams are also supposed to be caused by disorders in the brain, by brooding constantly over a particular occurrence, by anxiety or by the perpetration of sinful acts.[1] Those who are indebted to the *pitris* (ancestral spirits) are also said to be troubled by dreams.[2] A hearty meal at night just before going to bed is also supposed to cause dreams.[3]

There are three conditions of human existence, (1) *Jàgriti* that is wakefulness (2) *Swapna* that is dream and (3) *Sushupti* that is sleep. The incidents which impress the mind strongly during wakefulness are reproduced in dreams. Very often thoughts that never occur to our minds strike us in dreams. These are ascribed to the impressions made on the soul during past lives.[4]

It is said that the interpretation of dreams goes by contraries. But at times they are fully borne out. A good dream is an indication of future good, and a bad one of future evil.[5]

There are some persons whose dreams are always fulfilled. Dreams dreamt by persons pure of mind and heart seldom turn out false.

Dreams occurring in the first quarter of th night are believed to be fulfilled in a year those in the second quarter of the night in si months, those in the third quarter in thre months, and those in the last quarter in on month. A dream seen during an hour an a half before daybreak bears fruit in te days, while that seen just at day-break is realised immediately.[6]

Dreams that occur before midnight ar never fulfilled.[7]

If a person has a bad dream, he should g to sleep at once, and not communicate it t any one. If he has a good dream, he shoul not sleep on that night after its occurrenc Early on the following morning he shoul communicate it to a preceptor or saint; bu if neither be available, he should repeat i into the ears of a cow. A good dream shoul never be told to a bad or low-minded persor

If a man sleeps after a good dream and ha a bad one, the former loses its force whil the latter gains ascendancy and comes true.[8]

It is related that Allàuddin the bloody onc entered the house of a blacksmith when th latter was asleep dreaming that he saw treasure trove after having bathed in stream and drunk a little water. At th same time Allàuddin saw a small insect com

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[1] The School Master of Chhatràsa.

[2] The School Master of Dhànk.

[3] The School Master of Dadvi.

[4] The School Master of Ganod.

[5] The School Master of Dhànk.

[6] The School Master of Chhatràsa.

[7] The School Master of Ganod.

[8] The School Master of Chhatràsa.

out of the blacksmith's nostril, drink water from a neighbouring cistern, and return to the place from whence he came. When the dream was over, the blacksmith woke and communicated it to Allāuddin, which enabled the latter to spot the treasure, found by excavating the place where the insect was hidden.[1]

The king Nala was questioned in his sleep several times by an individual unknown to him, "May I come now or later ?" Nala replied "Come now" thinking that if it was misfortune that put him the question, it would be better to get rid of it soon, so that the latter part of life might be passed happily. The questioner proved to be misfortune, and it is related that Nala met many mishaps during his youth.[1]

Similarly, a bad dream dreamt by Harischandra was followed by a series of calamities.[1]

Rāvan, the demon king of Lanka or Ceylon, had a dream in the third quarter of the night that Lanka was destroyed, and the destruction of Lanka followed.[2]

To see or think or experience in dreams the following, as the case may be is considered to be auspicious :—

(1) A cow, (2) a bullock, (3) an elephant, (4) a palace, (5) a mountain, (6) a high peak, (7) the droppings of a bird, (8) ointment, (9) weeping, (10) a king, (11) gold, (12) the crossing of the ocean, (13) a lamp, (14) flesh, (15) fruit, (16) a lotus, (17) a flag, (18) the image of one's favourite god, (19) a saint, (20) a Bràhman, (21) an ancestral spirit, (22) a white snake biting the right side, (23) a flowering tree, (24) climbing a tree, (25) climbing the *Ràyan* (Mimusops hexandra), (26) a woman dressed in white, (27) walking over a layer of lead, (28) lifting a goblet filled with wine, (29) a lion, (30) the goddess of wealth, (31) a garland, (32) driving in a carriage to which an elephant, a lion, a horse or a bullock is yoked, (33) swallowing the disc of the sun or the moon, (34) the hands or feet of a man, (35) worship of a deity, (36) barley, (37) rice, (38) sandal paste, (39) the *Dro* grass (Cynodon Dactylon), (40) the moon, (41) the sun, (42) a goblet, (43) an ocean of milk, (44) jewels, (45) smokeless fire, (46) an image of the god Shiva, Brahma or Ganesh or of the goddess Gauri, (47) a celestial vehicle, (48) the heaven, (49) the *Kalpavriksha* or the magic tree that satisfies all desires, (50) a river in floods. (51) fish, (52) curdled milk, (53) going on a pilgrimage, (54) ornaments, (55) crossing a river, (56) eating the flesh of a man's legs or flowers.[3]

To see in a dream (1) a person leading a life of celibacy, (2) a virgin, (3) a green tree, (4) or students returning from school, is also considered to foretell good fotune.[4]

Similarly, the sight of an unwidowed woman and the thought of the death of any person, in a dream, is believed to bring good luck.[4]

A dream in which one of the following objects is seen is also supposed to be good :—

1. An assemblage of Bràhmans, (2) a gardener, (3) milk, (4) a prostitute, (5) a shield and sword, (6) a musket, (7) a scimitar, (8) an antelope, (9) an unwidowed woman carrying on her head a jar filled with water, (10) a mongoose, (11) a peacock, (12) a woman carrying a child on her waist, (13) newly-washed dry clothes, (14) a costly fan, (15) a man dressed in white clothes.[5]

In a book called *Harit-sanhita* the subject of the influence of dreams on human happiness or misery is fully treated.

The book says :—If the sun, the moon, the congregation of the stars, a lake filled

[1] The School Master of Dhànk.
[3] The School Master of Chhatràsa.
[2] The School Master of Todia.
[4] The School Master of Ganod.
[5] The Schol Master of Kolki.

with clusters of expanded lotuses, or crossing the sea or a river full of water be seen or experienced in a dream by a man, he attains wealth, happiness and prosperity and relief from diseases.

"If a cow, a horse, an elephant, a king or a flower called *prashasta* is seen in a dream by a sickly person, his illness disappears; if by one laid in sick bed, he is cured; if by one confined in a jail, he is released." [1]

If a child grinds its teeth and weeps in a dream, it indicates liquidation of pecuniary liabilities. One who sees a man die in a dream is blessed with longevity.[2]

A bite by a white snake in a dream is an omen of increase of wealth.[3]

"All black objects except a cow, a horse, a king, an elephant, and fish, seen in a dream, are the precursors of disease and calamity."

"One who sees in a dream his body devoured by crows, herons, camels, serpents, boars, eagles, foxes, dogs, wolves, asses, buffaloes, birds moving in the sky, tigers, fishes, alligators or monkeys, experiences in the immediate future a heavy loss or a terrible disease.[4]

The following objects seen, heard or experienced in a dream are believed to forebode evil :—

1. Cotton, (2) ashes, (3) bones, (4) whey, (5) singing, (6) merriment, (7) laughing, (8) studying, (9) a woman dressed in red, (10) a red mark on the forehead, (11) a *gandharva* or heavenly bard, (12) a demon, (13) a wizard, (14) a witch, (15) a prickly shrub, (16) a cemetery, (17) a cat, (18) vomiting, (19) darkness, (20) a hide, (21) a woman with a bad reputation, (22) thirst, (23) a contest between two planets, (24) fall of a luminous body, (25) a whirlwind, (26) *vishotak* (a disease in which the skin is covered with ulcers) (27) one carrying away one's vehicle, wife, jewels, gold, silver or bell-metal utensils, (28) the breaking of one's own house (29) the drinking of a poisonous liquid.[5]

If in a dream one relishes a dish of sweetmeats, plays upon a musical instrument, or sees a widow dressed in the garment of an unwidowed woman, it is believed to prognosticate evil and bring misfortune.

Similarly, if in a dream, the sleeper marries or hears the crowing of a crow or the bark of a dog, or an owl speak like a man, it portends misfortune.[6]

Seeing an auspicious mark, or bathing in or being besmeared with oil, in a dream, is an indication of one's death in the near future. Going to the south riding a he-buffalo, or seeing a widow, brings on misfortune.[7]

If a man in health comes across a corpse in a dream, he apprehends illness. If a patient does the same, he fears death.[8]

It is a common belief that the soul can leave the body temporarily.

When a man feels thirsty in sleep, his soul is supposed to leave the body to drink water, and if it finds the water pots covered, not to return to the body, which is found dead the next morning.* It is for this reason that most people drink water at the time of going to bed.[9]

Shankarâchârya was a life long celibate. Once, in a discussion with the wife of Mandan Mishra, she put to him a question on the subject of the pleasures of married life. To answer the question it was necessary to have the experiences of a married life. To

[1] The Shâstri, Bhâyâvadar Pâthashâla.
[2] The School Master of Todia.
[3] The School Master of Gondal.
[4] The Shâstri, Bhâyâvadar Pâthshâla.
[5] The School Master of Chhatrâsa.
[6] The School Master of Kotda Sangani.
[7] The School Master of Dadvi.
[8] The School Master of Gondal.
[9] The School Master of Dhânk.

* The Musalmān Haditte has it that spirits cannot open closed doors, uncover covered pots, or even remove a piece of cloth if it is spread over a tray or vessel to save its contents from view.

gain these experiences Shankarāchārya's soul left his body and entered the corpse of a king just dead, and enjoyed the pleasures of married life for six months in the company of the queen of the deceased king. It then returned to his body, which was preserved by his disciples according to his instructions, and answered the question put to him by the wife of Mandan Mishra.[1]

It is related that the spirit of the daughter of a black-smith in Luvaria returned to her body two hours after her death, after which she lived for a fortnight.

A similar story is told of a Nāgar Brāhman, who lived for some years after the return of his spirit to his body.[2]

About forty years ago, the corpse of a Kanbi in Lilāpur was carried to the burning ground for cremation, and there his spirit returned to his body. On being asked where he had been, the Kanbi replied that he had been to Dharmarāja, the lord of hell, who told him to go back to his body, saying that his life's thread had not yet ended. It is related that the Kanbi lived for some years after this incident.

Another instance of the soul departing and then returning to the body is that of a Kanbi woman in Lilàpur, whose soul returned to the body after she had been carried to the burning ground. The woman lived for five years after this occurrence.[3]

A Brāhman in Limbdi named Vaijnàth had, by the performance of *yoga*, obtained the power of sending his spirit out of his body and recalling it at pleasure.[4]

The soul of a living being leaves its physical tabernacle during sleep and hovers about. It can go to and return from even the heavenly and infernal regions.

There are eighteen kinds of *siddhis* or accomplishments, one of which is *parakàyà-pravêsh* or the power of entering the body of another and returning to one's own body at will. The soul cannot exist separated from the body. When a person who revives after death is asked how he returned to life, he declares that he has been carried to the presence of the god of death by his messengers, being mistaken for another bearing the same name and living in the same locality. When such a mistake is detected, the god of death tells the soul of the man concerned that his life's span has not yet ended, and sends it back to the body, which appears to be dead.[5]

Often the soul of a man ascends to his temples, when the man is supposed to be dead although he is alive. In such cases, when the soul descends, the man is supposed to come to life again.

It is believed by some people that if all the desires of a man are not satisfied at the time of his death, his soul leaves the body to satisfy them and subsequently returns to the corpse, whereupon the body revives.[6]

A devotee in his meditative trance can send forth his soul whithersoever he pleases.[7]

It is also believed that the soul of man leaves the body in sleep to enjoy those pleasures which it cannot enjoy in wakefulness.[8]

The popular conceptions of the character and functions of the *bhut* or disembodied soul are as follows :

A ghost has no recognised form. It may assume the form of a human being, a goat, a blaze of fire, a whirl-wind or any other object it pleases.[9]

Some assume a terribly gigantic and fearfully uncouth frame, with big fang-like

[1] The School Master of Dhànk.
[2] The School Master of Luvaria.
[3] The School Master of Lilàpur.
[4] The School Master of Ganodj
[5] The School Master of Vanod.
[6] The School Master of Dadvi.
[7] The School Master of Kolki.
[8] The School Master of Mojidàd.
[9] The School Master of Dhànk.

teeth, long matted hair and a height that reaches the sky. At times they assume the form of a child and cry heart-breakingly at a concealed corner of a road. Should a passer-by, out of compassion, try to save it, the supposed infant begins to lengthen its legs to show its benefactor its real and supernatural dimensions. Sometimes it transforms itself into a gigantic and terrible being, taking possession of the man if he becomes afraid.[1]

Some evil spirits manifest themselves as showers of burning charcoal, while some are so forward as to offer their services as guides to strangers from one village to another. Some assume the form of *Bhensàsur*—a demon in the form of a buffalo—said to be a most malignant ghost.[2]

The throat of a ghost is as narrow as the fine end of a needle, and yet it is believed to require a dozen potfuls of water to quench its thirst. It cannot get pure water, as such water is guarded by the god Varuna. It has, therefore, to quench its thirst with such dirty water as it can get. Similarly, it cannot get clean food, and has to satisfy its hunger on human excretions, the droppings of birds and other animals, urine, and the filth of houses.[3]

It is generally believed that evil spirits do not cast shadows. All attempts to catch them prove futile, as they vanish in the form of a flame.[4]

If it is sought to catch hold of a goat-shaped ghost, the goat swells into such a monstrous size that the spectator gets terrified, whereupon the ghost finds an opportunity of disappearing in a flame.

It is believed that ghosts prefer darkness to light and silence to noise. They live on the *Pipal* (Ficus religiosa) or *Shami* (Prosopis spicigera) trees.[5]

A ghost presents itself to the vision of a man by blocking its way in the form of a goat or some other animal.[6]

Ghosts are believed to infest woods, unused wells, cellars and old tanks. They are also found in ruins and cemeteries. As far as possible they keep themselves aloof from mortals; but at times they are visible to human beings, mostly to those destitute of religion and morals. They roam about and terrify people. Sometimes they enter the persons of human beings. Such men either gain in strength, fall sick, or become senseless. The ghosts who possess them make them laugh or work, without being fatigued, with ten times the vigour they originally possessed.[7]

Ghosts keep their persons uncovered, feed upon flesh and blood, sleep during the day, and roam about at night.[8]

Often a large concourse of ghosts meet together and dance, sing and make merry uttering loud and fierce shrieks. A ghost has no back, and has its feet reversed. It keeps away from man, but terrifies him by pelting him with stones from a distance.[9]

On the fourteenth day of the dark half of *Áshvin* (the twelfth month of the Gujaràti Hindu year) all ghosts are believed to go about playing pranks with poor mortals and possessing them.[10]

The *Navaràtra* holidays is the season when ghosts appear in many places.[11]

Ghosts enter corpses or possess human beings and speak through them as a medium. Sometimes they assume their original human form, and often torment people with disease.

1 The School Master of Kolki.
2 The School Master of Dadvi.
3 The School Master of Ganod.
4 The School Master of Bàntva.
5 The School Masters of Sànka and Songadh.
6 The School Master of Charàdva.
7 The School Master of Dhànk.
8 The School Master of Kotda Sangani.
9 The School Master of Vanod.
10 The School Master of Kolki.
11 The School Master of Lilàpur.

They present themselves as animals and pass away in a blaze. They hum in the air without being seen, wrestle with men or carry unseen human beings from one place to another. Some women are believed to conceive by intercourse with male ghosts.[1]

If a man happens to step in the circle described by water round the offering given to a ghost, viz., *utàr*, he is possessed by the ghost. A house haunted by a ghost is the scene of great mischief.[2]

Ghosts are said to be most mischievous during the first part of the night. Their fury diminishes with the advance of night.[3]

Ghosts are inimical to human beings, terrify them, and sometimes, assuming the form of a cobra, kill those whom they hated most during life.[4]

They are pleased with offerings of blood.[5]

To throw stones at houses and trees and to set them on fire are their usual pranks.[6]

The ghost called *Jàn* manifests itself as a giant, its height reaching the sky. If a man comes under its shadow, he is seized by it and dashed to pieces on the ground. On the contrary, if a man wins its favour, he becomes prosperous. Hence a proverb has been current that "seizing another as by a *jàn*" meaning "being attacked by a dire misfortune."*

There is a female ghost called *Chudel*. Its back is covered with flesh, its feet are reversed, its form is hollow and its face handsome like that of a charming woman.[7].

It is said that a woman dying in childbed becomes a *chudel*. Her form is a skeleton behind with the figure of a pretty woman in front.

It is believed that mastery over ghosts can be obtained by dint of incantations or *mantras*. Those who subjugate ghosts in this way have power to command them to do their behests. But the process by which such powers are procured is believed to be beset with dangers, and many lose their lives in so doing.[8]

There is also a belief that a *bhut* or ghost can be brought under control by lopping off a lock of its hair or top knot and keeping it in one's custody.[9]

It is said that this lock ought to be kept inside the right thigh by tearing a hole in the flesh. It is believed that the thigh can be cut open by a hair of the ghost without injury.[10]

The ghost so subjugated should never be kept unemployed; otherwise it oppresses its master.[11]

It is believed that the spirits of deceased persons become ghosts under the following conditions:—

1 If scriptural ceremonies are not performed with the ceremonial offerings of rice balls to the deceased.

2 If the deceased dies with a strong attachment to worldly objects.

3 If the death is unnatural that is, caused by an accident.

All ghosts get absolution by the performance of propitiative ceremonies by their descendants as prescribed in the scriptures.[12]

There are various beliefs current as to the state of the soul after death. The *Garud puràn* contains many passages illustrating its movements after it leaves the body. Says the book :—

"When the soul leaves the body it assumes a form as small as a thumb. At this very

1 The School Master of Ganod.
2 The School Master of Dadvi.
3 The School Master of Kolki.
4 The School Master of Oman.
5 The School Master of Khiràsara.
6 The School Master of Ràjpàra.
7 The School Master of Dhànk.
8 The School Master of Vanod.
9 The School Master of Dadvi.
10 Mr. K. D. Desài.
11 The School Master of Gondal.
12 The School Master of Ganod.

* The word *Jàn* is the plural of the Arabic *jinni*. It has remained as a relic of Arab supremacy and occupation of the Kathiàwàr coast just in the beginning of Islàm during its first conquests—about half a century after the Prophets' death.

moment it is caught by the servants of Yama while he is crying out ha! ha! looking at its corporal receptacle."

And again:—

"Covering the body of the soul (which suffers intensely) and strangling it forcibly, the servants of the god Yama carry it away just as a culprit is carried by a king's soldiers."

The verses that follow describe the miseries inflicted upon the poor thumb-shaped soul for the sins committed by him during his lifetime. The sinful soul has to undergo similar miseries in hell. From hell it returns to this world guarded by the servants of Yama, to partake of the rice-balls and other articles of food offered by the sons or other relatives. It is then again taken to hell to suffer more miseries and penalties in expiation of past sins. Then it returns once more to receive the offerings of rice-balls made at *shràddha* ceremonies. If, even after this, any desires remain unfulfilled, it has to continue a wretched existence in the other world.[1]

In a chapter of the *Pretamanjari* of the *Garud Puràn* it is stated that the souls of righteous men go to the next world unmolested.[2]

Some people believe that the departing soul assumes a form like a thumb, and remains in that state until relieved by the performance of *shràddha* by his heirs. It then enters the other world to enjoy the fruits of its good actions. The *Yamapuri* or the city of the god of death is 8,600 *Yòjans*—a *Yòjan* being equal to four miles—to the south of the earth. The lord of this place is Dharmaràja. Yama is his servant, whose duty is to carry the soul from one place to another.[3]

Others maintain that two states await the soul after death according to whether it has performed righteous or sinful acts during life.

The righteous attain to heaven and enter the *Pàrshad Vaikunta* of Vishnu. The sinful go to hell or *Yamaloka*.[4]

The sinful souls go to *Yamaloka* and are made to suffer the miseries of twenty-eight *naraks* or hells in proportion to the sins perpetrated by them, after which they return to the earth.

The following are some of the punishments meted out to wicked souls for their sins, in their next lives:—

1 Those who murder Bràhmans suffer from consumption.

2 Those who slaughter cows are born as tortoises.

3 Those guilty of female infanticide suffer from white leprosy.

4 One who kills his wife, as well as a woman guilty of causing abortion, becomes a beggar.

5 Those who commit adultery become impotent.

6 He who seats himself on the bed or seat of his preceptor is affected by skin diseases.

7 Flesh-eaters get a red body.

8 Those who indulge in drink get black teeth.

9 A Bràhman partaking of prohibited food suffers from dropsy.

10 One who eats sweets without sharing them with the by-standers suffers from cancer in the throat.

11 One who offers polluted food to departed spirits suffers from black leprosy.

12 One who disobeys and despises his teacher suffers from wind *apasmàr*.

13 One who does not believe in the *shàstras* suffers from enlargement of the spleen or Bright's disease.

14 A perjurer is born dumb.

[1] The Shàstri, Bhàyàvadar, Pàthshàla

[2] The School Master of Dhànk.

[3] The School Master of Ganod.

[4] The D. E. Inspector, Hàlàr.

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